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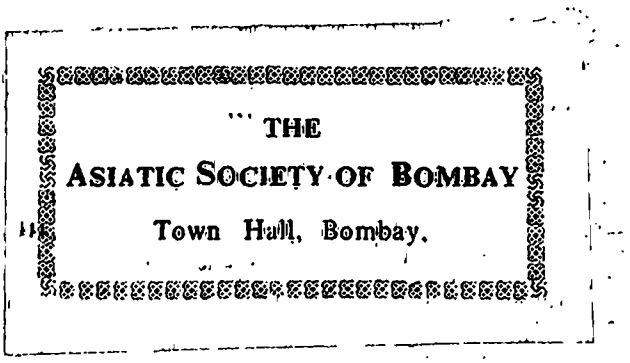

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THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

M. L'ABBÉ FLEURY,

FROM

A.D. 429. TO A.D. 456.

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TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Leo the Great are the chief actors in the period of Ecclesiastical History which forms the subject of the following Volume. They are the especial Witnesses and Doctors of the Incarnation, stationed on opposite sides of the Sacred Mystery, which then became matter of controversy, and the life of the two Ecumenical Councils respectively, which at Ephesus and Chalcedon condemned the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. These Councils, and the troubles which preceded and followed them, are the staple of the narrative, which extends through a course of thirty years, from Genseric's devastation of Africa to his sack of Rome, and from the death of St. Augustine to the last years of St. Leo.

In the preceding Volume we left Pelagianism almost expiring under the hand of the former of these Saints, in the West; in the beginning of the present, with the instinct proper to heresy, it unexpectedly combines with the new elements of error which are agitating the Eastern metropolis, though foreign to them in subject-matter and character, as well as in locality. At the same time it is resuscitated in the West, in the more subtle form of what is called Semi-Pelagianism, of which the south of France was the chief seat

and St. Prosper the chief opponent. That Saint himself; Cassian, by birth a Scythian, and Vincent of Lerins, one or both unhappily on the heterodox side in the controversy, though zealous against Nestorianism and Pelagianism; St. Lupus the brother of Vincent; St. Germanus the associate of St. Lupus in expelling Pelagianism from Britain; and St. Hilary of Arles; are all ornaments of the Gallic Church during the period contained in this Volume. In Syria, Theodoret's public life is commensurate with the whole period, commencing with his controversy with St. Cyril, and terminating in his restoration to his see at the Council of Chalcedon, and his death shortly after it. Africa at the same era is again fruitful in Confessors and Martyrs, under the persecution of the Arian Genseric.

In the preparation of this Volume the plan has been followed which has been observed in those which preceded it; the references, however, to the Councils are so numerous that, except in some special cases, the notice of Mansi's Edition has been omitted.

For the entire labour of the work, for the revision of the translated text and the original margin, for the valuable Notes and the enlarged Index, and for carrying the Volume through the press, the Editor is indebted, as in former Volumes to other friends, so in the present to the Rev. William Kay, Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College.

J. H. N.

Littlemore, Nov. 8, 1844.

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p. 92. l. 14. *from bottom*, *for* imitatom *read* unitatom.
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*** The marginal dates at pp. 192, 248-256, should be p. 192, A.D. 437; p. 248, A.D. 446; p. 249 and pp. 251-256, A.D. 447; p. 250, A.D. 448.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

BOOK XXV.

A. D. 428. CH. I.

I. The heresy of Nestorius.

NESTORIUS had brought with him from Antioch the Priest Anastasius[1], his syncellus[2] and confidant. He preaching one day in the church of Constantinople said[3], "Let no one call "Mary mother of GOD; for she was a woman, and it is im- "possible that GOD should be born of a human creature." These words gave great offence to many both of the clergy and laity: "for they had always been taught," says the historian Socrates, "to acknowledge JESUS CHRIST as GOD, "and not to sever Him in any way from the Divinity." Nestorius, however, declared his assent to what the Priest Anastasius had thus advanced, and several sermons[4] which he delivered on the subject are still extant.

[1 Supr. 24. c. 55.]

[2 See chap. V. infr. and the note on that place.]

[3 Liberat. Brev. c. 4. Evagr. Hist. 1. c. 2. Socr. 7. 32. B.

[4 Ap. Mar. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 5. sqq.

The first[5] is supposed to have been preached on Christmas-day, the twenty-fifth of December, A.D. 428, in the Consulate of Felix and Taurus: for it was in this the first year of his Episcopate, that Nestorius began publicly to disseminate his heresy. In this sermon he sets out with some observations about Providence, he then proceeds to speak of the restitution of mankind, and having quoted the words of St. Paul[6], "By one man came death, and by one man the "resurrection," he adds a request that all such as inquire whether Mary should be called mother of GOD, or mother of a man, Theotocos, or Anthropotocos, would attend to his discourse. "What! hath GOD a mother? Then are the pagans "excusable when they assign mothers to their gods! Then is "Paul a liar, when he says, concerning the divinity of JESUS "CHRIST[7], 'Without father, without mother, without descent!' "No, Mary did not bring forth a God; for[8] 'what is born of the "'flesh is flesh:' the creature did not bring forth the Creator,

[5 Cass. de Incarn. 7. 6. note a. Prosper. Chron. an. V. Theodosii. Liberat. c. 4.

[6 1 Cor. xv. 21.

[7 Heb. vii. 3.

[8 John iii. 6.

"but only a man who was the organ of Deity. The HOLY GHOST "did not create GOD the WORD, [which if Mary were θεοτόκος "He must have done[1]] according to that which we read: "'What is formed in her is of the HOLY GHOST[2].' GOD was "incarnate, but did not die; He raised from the dead Him in "whom He was incarnate." And later on he says, "I adore "the habit for the sake of Him who wears it; I adore Him who "appears outwardly, because of the concealed Deity which is "inseparable from Him." A. D. 428. CH. II.

[1] these words are inserted to supply the ellipse]

[2] Matt. 1. 20.

In another discourse[3] he reproves the Bishops, whose successor he was, in these terms. "I see abundance of zeal and "piety in the people, but very little knowledge in divine mat-"ters; it is not their fault: but,—how shall I be able to say "it?—they who have instructed them, have not had time to "do it with care and exactitude." He continued to propound his errors respecting the person of the Son of GOD, pretending that when Scripture treats of His temporal birth, or of His death, it never calls Him GOD, but only CHRIST, SON, or LORD. It was most probably at this time that Eusebius[4], an advocate at Constantinople, who though only a laic was a man of eminent virtue, and well skilled in the doctrines of religion, rose up against Nestorius, in full Church, and in the warmth of his zeal cried out, "It was the eternal "WORD Himself who underwent a second birth according to "the flesh, and was born of a woman." The people were evidently excited; the larger body, comprising too those who were best informed on the question, expressed their great approbation of Eusebius; the rest were enraged at him. Nestorius, not to be wanting to his adherents, declaimed against Eusebius[5] in a third sermon delivered a short time after, in the beginning of January 429, (perhaps on the day of the Epiphany,) in which under pretence of opposing the Arians and Macedonians, he in reality attacks the Catholic doctrine, his position throughout being that we ought not to say that the *Divine Word* was born of Mary, or died, but only *the man in whom the Word was.*

[3] Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 8.

[4] Cyril. c. Nest. Lib. i. p. 20. E.

[5] Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 11.

II. The opposition of the Catholics.

The result was that the advocate Eusebius, who was afterwards Bishop of Dorylæum, drew up a protest[6] which ran thus; "All who shall receive this paper I conjure by the Holy "Trinity, to make it known to the Bishops, Priests, Deacons,

[6] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 13. p. 338.

A. D. 429. CH. II.

" Readers[a], and Laity, who live in Constantinople, and to give " them a copy of it for the conviction of the heretic Nestorius, " whose opinions are none other than those of Paul of Samo- " sata, anathematized some hundred and sixty years ago by " the Catholic Bishops." He then draws a parallel between the doctrines of the two, quoting their own words, and shewing that Nestorius maintains just as Paul did, that the WORD and JESUS CHRIST are different, and not, as taught by the Catholic faith, one and the same. In refuting them he quotes the Creed used at Antioch[1], differing a little in expression from the Constantinopolitan in use among us, but the same as to sense. He also alleges the authority of St. Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, who had assisted at the Nicene Council; intending by all this to prove that Nestorius did not follow the tradition of that Church, in which he had been brought up. About the same time Marius Mercator[2], then at Constantinople, published a letter addressed to all the faithful: in which he also compares the doctrine of Nestorius and Paul of Samosata, shewing their points of agreement and difference. It would seem that these tracts appeared in the same month of January. Socrates[3] the historian, who was at Constantinople at this very time, states that after reading the writings of Nestorius, and conversing with his followers, he finds that he had not fallen into the error of Paul or Photinus[b], since he recognised in CHRIST the hypostasis of

[1] Cass. de Inc. 6. 3.

[2] Pt. 2. p. 17.

[3] 7. 32.

[a] See above xx. 32. q. Isidore of Seville (ad Luitfrid.) describes their office as being "to read the lessons, " and to preach to the people out of the " Prophets." From St. Cyprian Ep. 38, 39, (al. 33, 34.) and the Council of Toledo, I. can. 2 and 4, it would seem that they read the Epistles and Gospels. At first (Cyprian, u. s.) none but men of tried worth were admitted to the office; it was afterwards conferred on boys and even children: v. Bingham, iii. 5. § 5. where several instances are adduced, and cf. Balsamon in Nomocan. Photii, tit. i. de fide c. 28. "Whereas " the law says that the Reader should " be eighteen years old at least, now- " a-days Readers-cleric are appointed " (*σφραγίζονται*), not more than six or " sometimes than three years old."

[b] See xviii. 6. q. The truth seems to be, as Socrates states it, that Nestorius could not be charged with this heresy; see his own statement at the end of c. 2. infr., which is confirmed by the account given by Epiphanius, Hær. 71. "Photinus follows in the " steps of Paul of Samosata, and as- " serts that CHRIST did not exist from " the beginning, but only began to " exist when He was conceived by the " HOLY GHOST." Nothing, in fact, is more striking in the history of the heresies respecting the Second Person of the Trinity than the way in which the subject-matter of controversy was gradually narrowed down after various oscillations on the one side and the other. Photinus belonged to the Modalists or Sabellians, who made the Trinity not a real but only a metaphysical division of persons. But Nestorius avoided this error, for (as Mar. Mercat. says, p. 628. vol. viii. Galland.) "he allowed

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the Divine WORD; "but," adds Socrates, "he dreaded the "word Theotocos as he would a spectre; and this proceeded "from his extreme ignorance; for being naturally eloquent, "he imagined himself a learned man, which he certainly was "not, and so he would not submit to the labour of studying "the old commentators on Scripture, being puffed up by his "fluency of speech till he fancied himself superior to all "others put together." These are the words of Socrates, who proceeds to shew that both Origen and Eusebius[1], the friend of Pamphilus[c], had made use of the word Theotocos, and quotes the very passages where it occurs.

[1 Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Euseb. de Vit. Constant. III. 43. See Pearson on the Creed, p. 310. note n, with Burton's Annot.]

From that time many began to separate themselves from the communion of Nestorius, to treat him as a heretic, and speak against him without any reserve; there were even some of them who threatened to throw him into the sea. It is of this persecution that he complains in a sermon preached in the beginning of Lent[2], in the same year, 429. He there speaks of the penalty of the sin of our first parents agreeably to the Catholic doctrine, and in language opposed to the erroneous tenets of the Pelagians; and this in the presence of Julian and other Pelagians who had taken refuge at Constantinople[3], whom in other respects Nestorius treated with great lenity, nay, whose protector he had avouched himself to be. Celestius had returned to Rome about the year 424, but being driven out of Italy by the order of Pope Cælestine, he came to Constantinople[4] with Julian of Æculanum, Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, all of them Western Bishops, who had been deposed and banished for their heretical opinions. They complained to the Emperor and Nestorius, as if they were unjustly-persecuted Catholics[5]. Nestorius, while he fed them with hopes that he would procure their restoration, continued to preach against them, even in their presence;—whether it was that they had disguised their doctrine or from some other cause of which we are ignorant. Three of these sermons are extant, and speak correctly

[2 Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 76.

[3 Præf. Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 73.

[4 Ep. Nest. ad Cælest. Conc Eph. Pt. 1. c. 16.

[5 Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 73.

"not only the λόγος προφορικὸς, or "'prolatitium verbum' of Paul of Sa-"mosata; he allowed that the WORD "was substantive and consubstantive "with the Father." His heresy related not to the two natures of CHRIST, but to the Incarnation, or junction of these two natures; which he asserted to be a connection (συνάφεια) rather than a union (ἕνωσις).

[c] For the account of this surname see Fleury, 9. 28. Nicephorus (H. E. 6. 37.) says that Pamphilus was maternal uncle to Eusebius.

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enough on the subject of original sin. The two first are on the history of the creation of man, which were read at the beginning of Lent[1]; the third on the temptation of CHRIST. This last is entire, and in the original Greek; all that remains of the two former is the translation of them, or rather the extracts from them, given by Mercator.

[1] Chrysost. [t. i. p. 1. and 56. t. v. p. 1. Wheatly, p. 136. ed. 1839.]

[2] Supr. 24. 44.

Proclus, titular Bishop of Cyzicus[2], who officiated only as Priest at Constantinople, preached a sermon there about this time on the Incarnation[3]; it was on some great festival, most probably the Annunciation, i. e. the twenty-fifth of March. He therein boldly confirms the Catholic doctrine, that the son of Mary is not a mere man, but truly GOD; that it is true to say GOD suffered and died, and that the Holy Virgin ought to be called, in the strict sense, Mother of God, Theotocos, without any matter of scoffing being hereby given to the Gentiles, or of calumny to the Arians. Nestorius, who was present, was extremely mortified at this discourse, the more so because, being very elegant, it drew great applause from the people. He answered it on the spot; for whenever a Priest or another Bishop spoke in the Church, it was customary that the Bishop of the Church, if he were present, should also add some word of instruction to the people. Nestorius maintains, then, in this sermon[4], that we ought not to say simply GOD is born of Mary, but GOD, the WORD of the FATHER, was joined to Him who was born of Mary. "I cannot bear," says he, "that it should be said GOD "was made a Priest[5]," a phrase which Proclus had casually made use of. Nestorius maintains that it was the man, and not GOD the WORD, who rose from the dead; and that we should distinguish between the temple, and GOD who inhabits the temple. "It is a gross calumny," he adds, "to accuse me of "holding the errors of Photinus[6]. He makes the Divine WORD "come into existence at the time He was brought forth by "Mary, whereas I affirm that GOD the WORD existed[7] always "from eternity." Nestorius, however, confesses that he appears at first sight to differ from the other Doctors of the Church. He composed three additional sermons in answer to that of Proclus, but he never attacks him by name. He directs his discourse to Arius, Apollinarius, and the other heretics.

[3] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 1. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 19.

[4] Serm. 4. ap. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 26.

[5] n. 5.

[6] n. 13.

[7] semper existere ante secula.] n. 6.

These sermons of Nestorius[1] were collected into one volume, being arranged in order with figures, and every other accompaniment which would help to make people remember them. They soon spread themselves over all the provinces of the East and West, and were brought even to Rome, though without the author's name prefixed. They were distributed among the monasteries of Egypt, and great were the disputes they excited there. St. Cyril[2], Bishop of Alexandria, received intelligence on the subject from some Monks, who repaired to him according to an old custom they had, apparently with a view to celebrate some festival. They informed him[3] that the sermons staggered weak minds to such a degree that some could hardly any longer endure CHRIST to be acknowledged as GOD, and would have Him to be only[4] an instrument of the Divinity, or a vessel which contained it, Theophoros.

A. D. 429. CH. III.

III. St. Cyril's Letter to the Monks.

[1] Cyril. in Nest. I. p. 3. E.

[2] Cyril. Ep. ad Mon. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 2.

[3] Cyr. Ep. ad Nest. ibid. c. 6.

[4] [ὄργανον καὶ ἐργαλεῖον τῆς Θεότητος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος Θεοφόρος.]

St. Cyril[5], apprehensive that the error might take root, wrote an encyclical[d] letter to the Monks of Egypt, wherein he says that they would have done better wholly to have refrained from questions of so great difficulty, and that what he writes to them is intended not to keep up the dispute but to arm them in defence of the truth. "I wonder," he says[6], "how a question "can be raised as to whether the Holy Virgin should be called "Mother of GOD; for if our LORD JESUS CHRIST is GOD, how "is not the Holy Virgin, his mother, Mother of GOD? This "is the faith we have been taught by the Apostles, although "they did not make use of this expression; it is the doctrine "of our fathers, among the rest of Athanasius, of blessed "memory," and he quotes two passages[7] in support of his statement. He next[8] proves that He who was born of the Holy Virgin is GOD in His own nature[9], since the Nicene Creed says that the only begotten Son of GOD[1], of the same substance with the FATHER, Himself came down from heaven, and was incarnate. He proceeds[2]: "You will say, perhaps, Is the "Virgin, then, mother of the Divinity? We answer, It is "certain that the WORD is eternal, and of the substance of the "FATHER. Now in the order of nature, mothers, who have no

[5] Cyril. Ep. ad Cœlest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 14.

[6] Ep. ad Mon. n. 4.

[7] Athanas. Or. III. in Ar. [t. i. p. 563. D. 579. B. 583. A. B.]

[8] n. 5.

[9] n. 6.

[1] [τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν γεννητὸν θέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν

[2] n. 12.

[d] Καθολικὴν ἐπιστολὴν, which Fleury translates 'Lettre Générale.' The rendering in the text is supported by what Œcumenius says in c. i. Jacob. p. 115. Καθολικαὶ λέγονται αὗται οἱονεὶ ἐγκύκλιοι. Encyclic letters were directed to whole Churches, not to individual members of them.

A. D. 429. CH. III.

"part in the creation of the soul, are still called mothers of the "whole man, and not of the body only;—for surely it would "be a hypercritical refinement to say Elizabeth is mother of "the body of John and not of his soul. In the same way, then, "we express ourselves in regard to the birth of Emmanuel; "since the WORD having taken flesh upon Him, is called Son "of Man." The reason of St. Cyril's making use of the instance of St. John Baptist, was its having been employed by Nestorius in one of his sermons[1], where he says, "John "received the Spirit of GOD from his mother's womb, yet "no one calls her mother of the Spirit." In the remaining part of his letter to the Monks, St. Cyril proves at large the unity of CHRIST by the abasement of the Son of GOD[2], who 'humbled Himself to take upon Him the form of a slave[3],'—by the adoration which all creatures pay to Him[4],—from His being named GOD and LORD[5],—because He is exalted above Moses and all the Prophets[6],—because He has redeemed us by His death[7];—in fine[8], if He were not really GOD, the Jews and Gentiles would have good reason to reproach us with worshipping a mere man.

[1] ap. Cyril. c. Nest. I. p. 19. D.

[2] n. 13.

[3] Phil. 2. 6.

[4] n. 16.

[5] n. 19.

[6] n. 21.

[7] n. 24, 25.

[8] n. 27.

[9 Supr. 21. 2.]

St. Cyril, as well as his uncle Theophilus[9], and the rest of his predecessors, wrote paschal letters every year to fix the day on which the moveable feasts, and particularly Easter, should be celebrated; of these letters we have thirty remaining. In the seventeenth he speaks of the mystery of the Incarnation, and refutes the errors of Nestorius, particularly those broached in his first sermon; now this letter states that the ensuing Easter would fall on the twelfth day of the Egyptian month Pharmouthi[e], answering to the seventh of April, on which day Easter did actually fall, A.D. 429. It follows that this seventeenth paschal letter of St. Cyril must have been written before the sixth of January, 429, for these letters were always read in the churches on the Epiphany. It was about this time that St. Cyril is supposed to have written his scholia on the Incarnation, in which he explains the

[e] Josephus (Ant. Jud. ii. 14. 6.) says that the destruction of the first-born took place in this month. Jablonski (Opusc. i. p. 376.) remarks that the word means 'fatal, deadly,' and so the name may have been given to it in reference to that great event. In the Anthologia Græca (t. ii. p. 610. ed. Brunck.) we have Εἰαρινῶν Φαρμουθὶ ῥόδων πρωτάγγελός ἐστι.—See also a quotation from Theon in Salmas. Exercitationes Plinianæ, p. 747, sqq.

words CHRIST, EMMANUEL, and JESUS, and shews the nature of the union which subsists between the humanity and the WORD[1], his great object being to prove that this union is a real and substantial one[2]. The work was composed for the instruction of such as were not much conversant with the subject. He adopts the method of geometers, setting out with a definition of terms, and proceeding from the most simple to the most complex propositions. A. D. 429. CH. IV.

[1] V. Garner. in Mercat. Pt. ii. p. 216.
[2] Non σκετικὴν et moralem, sed φυσικὴν et substantivam.]

The letter to the Egyptian Monks was not long[3] in reaching Constantinople, where some of St. Cyril's clergy resided, to superintend affairs relating to his own Church. Here it proved to be of great benefit[4], and several magistrates wrote to thank him for his services. Nestorius was extremely irritated by it; he got a person, called Photius[5], to write a reply, and sought by every means possible to injure St. Cyril. There happened to be some Alexandrians at Constantinople, whom St. Cyril had condemned for their crimes in accordance with the canons[6]; one for having unjustly oppressed the poor and the blind, another for having drawn his sword upon his mother, another for having stolen some gold in confederacy with a maid-servant, and for having always had a very bad reputation. He names three of them[7], Cheremon, Victor, and Sophronas, besides a young man whose father's name was Flavian. These men[8] Nestorius employed to calumniate St. Cyril, and suborned them to present petitions against him, to himself and to the Emperor Theodosius.

[3] Cyr. Ep. 1. ad Nest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 6.
[4] Ep. ad Cælest. Ibid. c. 14. p. 343.] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 12. [p. 334. A.]
[5] Ibid. c. 8. [p. 315.]
[7] Ibid. c. 12. p. 335. A.
[8] Cyr. Apol. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. c. 13. p. 1054. C.

IV. St. Cyril's first letter to Nestorius.

St. Cyril was informed[9] by some trustworthy persons who came to Alexandria, of the resentment which Nestorius displayed against him: moreover he had received a letter from the Pope St. Celestin, and several Bishops who were with him, apparently assembled in Council. The letter informed him that they had received copies of Nestorius's sermons, and wished to know whether he was really the author, declaring that they had caused great offence: many persons also came from the different oriental Churches, all loudly complaining of the sermons. St. Cyril[1], upon this, felt very much inclined to send a synodical letter to Nestorius[2], stating that unless he altered his language and opinions it would be impossible for him to remain in his communion; "but on reflecting," as

[9] Ep. 1. ad Nest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 6.
[1] Ep. ad Cælest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 14.
[2] σῦνοδικῷ γράμματι]

A. D. 429. CH. V.

he says, "that we ought to reach out our hand to raise up a "brother when he has fallen," he resolved to write to him and endeavour to reclaim him. As Nestorius's chief complaint was against the letter to the Monks, he says[1], in reference to it, "the uproar was not occasioned by my letter, "but by the writings which were dispersed, whether proceeding from you or not; the disorder produced by them "was so great as to leave me no alternative but that of "trying some remedy or other. You have no reason to complain or cry out against me; you who were the author of "the disturbance rather think of reforming your discourse, "and put a stop to this universal agitation of men's minds[2], "by calling the Holy Virgin, Mother of GOD. For the rest, "be assured that I am ready to suffer all things for the faith "of CHRIST, even imprisonment and death."

[1] Ep. ad Nest. u. s.

[2] σκάνδαλον οἰκουμενικὸν]

Nestorius wished not to answer the letter, but the Alexandrian Priest whom St. Cyril had charged with its delivery pressed him so strongly that he was obliged to yield. His answer[3] is in an air of affected compliment on the pleasing constraint which had been put upon him. "Experience," he says, "will shew what fruit we are to derive from it; for my "part, I continue in patience and brotherly love, though "you (to say nothing more offensive) have forgotten them in "your conduct towards me." This letter shewed St. Cyril that he need hope for no concession from Nestorius[4], a conclusion in which he was confirmed by the news which he soon after received.

[3] Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 7.

[4] Ibid. c. 14.

V. Violence of Nestorius.

There was a Bishop at Constantinople, named Dorotheus, self-interested, fawning[5], and indiscreet and intemperate in his language: he got up in the full congregation[6], Nestorius being seated on the Episcopal throne, and said with a loud voice, "If any one says that Mary is the mother of God, let

[5] χρειοκόλαξ.]

[6] ἐν συνάξει[f].]

[f] There are two meanings of the word 'synaxis,' both common.—1st. The assembling for prayer, praise, and hearing GOD's word. 2ndly. The communion of the Eucharist. V. Supr. 19. 44, f. The Synaxis was held especially on Sundays; see Cass. Coll. vii. c. 34. "Then let us go forth together to "church as the solemnity of the "LORD's day admonishes, and re"turning after the Synaxis, let us "with redoubled joy converse on those "things which the LORD shall have "given us for our mutual edification." Cf. Collat. 18. 15, and 23. 21. Palladius, Lausia. 59, says, "The Abbot "Hellen came to some Monks on the "LORD's day, and said to them, 'How "'is it that ye have not held a Synaxis "'to-day?' they answered, 'Because "'our Priest has not come,'" &c.

"him be anathema." The people raised a loud cry and ran out of the church, unwilling to communicate[1] with men who used such language. And in truth[2], to excommunicate those who call the Holy Virgin, 'mother of GOD,' was and could be nothing else than to excommunicate all the Churches and all the Bishops then living throughout the world, who all used this expression, nay, and all the departed Saints too who had been accustomed to speak in the same way. Now there is no room for doubting whether Nestorius approved of what had been said by Dorotheus, since he not only said nothing to him about it, but admitted him immediately[3] after to a participation in the Holy Mysteries. A. D. 429. CH. V.

[1] συνάγεσθαι

[2] Ibid. c. 10. c. 22. (ad. Acac.)

[3] Ibid. c. 10.

Some[4] of the Priests of Constantinople repeatedly and publicly admonished Nestorius in their assemblies, but seeing him still pertinaciously refuse to name the Holy Virgin 'mother of GOD,' or to call CHRIST 'GOD truly and in His own nature[5],' they openly withdrew from his communion: others retired more privately. Others again having preached against this new doctrine in the church of the Maritime Peace[h], were suspended from preaching. The people being in consequence deprived of the Catholic instructions they had been accussomed to listen to, cried out, "We have an Emperor but no "Bishop!" some of them were arrested, thrown into prison, and beaten; some reproved Nestorius to his face in the church, and before all the people; but it issued only in their own maltreatment. A Monk, but none of the discreetest, was so carried away by his zeal, as to plant himself in the midst of the church, where the people were assembled, and to attempt to hinder Nestorius from entering, under the plea of his being a heretic; he was beaten and carried before the Prefects, who ordered him to be whipped through

[4] Ibid. c. 30. (Libel. Basil. diaconi.) n. 2.

[5] The emphatic words "in His own "nature" involve the very essence of the controversy. Nestorius allowed that the WORD was GOD in His own nature, but said that He who was born of Mary was Son of GOD not *naturally* but *by adoption*, (ex adoptione non naturâ. See Mar. Mercat. p. 628. vol. viii. Galland.) This view was revived by the Adoptianists of the eighth cent., Felix Bp. of Urgèlla, and Elipand Abp. of Toledo; and was condemned at the Council of Frankfort, A. D. 794. See Fleury, 44. 50, sqq.

[h] The church here meant is probably the one mentioned in Procop. De Ædif. Justin. i. c. 7. as named after the Martyr Irene; he describes it as being situated at the head of the Ceras (the Golden Horn), whence the name Maritime would be affixed to distinguish it from the great church Irene mentioned by Procop. i. c. 2, as second in magnificence only to that of St. Sophia.

A. D. 429. CH. V. the streets, preceded by a town crier; and afterwards to be banished the city.

[1 Supr. 20. 6. p.] [2 n. 3.] Basil a Deacon and Archimandrite[1], Thalassius a Reader and Monk, and some others[2], went, by appointment, to the Bishop's palace to have an interview with Nestorius, and ascertain whether they had rightly understood what they had heard from him. After putting them off three times, he at length asked them what they would have? "You said," replied they, "that Mary was only mother of a man, of the "same nature as herself; and that what is born of the flesh, "is flesh; which in this application of the words is not "orthodox." He immediately caused them to be seized, and a company of officers drove them to the Bishop's prison, beating them as they went along; on reaching the prison they were stripped and tied to posts, then thrown on the ground and stamped upon. For a long time they were kept under guard, suffering all the pains of hunger. They were then handed over to the Prefect of Constantinople, who sent them to another prison loaded with chains. His next step was to have them brought to his Prætorium, but as no one appeared on the part of the prosecutors, he sent them back under the charge of his officers to their former prison. At length Nestorius sent for them, and after giving them a sophistical exposition of his doctrine, dismissed them.

Basil and Thalassius presented a petition to the [Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian[3]] in their own name, and that of the whole body of Monks; in which, after detailing all these violent proceedings of Nestorius, they pray the Emperor not to suffer the Church to be corrupted in their time by heretics[3]. "GOD knows," they add, "our wish is not to revenge ourselves, "but that the faith in CHRIST may remain immoveable. We "beseech you, therefore, in this place and at this time to order "that a general Council be convened to restore union to the "Church, and to re-establish the preaching of the truth "before error has time to spread further. Meanwhile let "Nestorius be deprived of all power to use either violence "or menaces to any man, until the question relating to "the faith has been set at rest; and let those who would "insult the Catholics be coerced by the Prefect of Con-stantinople." If you reject our petition[4], we protest before

[3 Conc. Eph. p. 425. B.] [3 n. 4.] [4 n. 6.]

"the eternal King, who shall come to judge the quick and "the dead, that we are guiltless of the evils that may "follow." One subject of complaint in this petition was, that Nestorius not only employed his own clergy and Syncelli to support him, but some also belonging to other dioceses; who by the requisition[1] of the canons ought to remain peaceably in the cities[2] to which they are ordained. Those clerks were called Syncelli[1] who were the most closely attached to the Bishop's person, and who lay in his chamber to be faithful witnesses of the purity of his manners.

[1] Bingh. Ant. vi. 4. § 4, 5, 7.]

[2 εἰς τὰς ἰδίας παροικίας ἢ πόλεις ὅπου ἐχειροτονήθησαν.]

About the same time Marius Mercator published his narrative concerning Cælestius, the head of the Pelagian party at Constantinople[3]. This narrative he gave to the Church of Constantinople, not to the Bishop, but to the Catholic clergy and several other pious persons; he presented a copy also to the Emperor Theodosius; and as it was published in Greek, the language of the country, he translated it into Latin, which was his mother tongue. It is dated in the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, i. e. in the year 429. It comprises a summary of all the transactions relating to Cælestius and Pelagius for the twenty years preceding; that is, from the time their heresy was first

VI. Mercator's Memoirs of Pelagianism.

[3] Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 5.

[1] Dufresne (s. v.) makes this word to be a late formation from the Latin: —'qui in eâdem *cum* summo Pontifice 'aut Patriarchâ *cellâ* habitabat.' The office existed for some time in the Western Church: thus Leo III. in his letter to Kenulph, King of the Mercians (Will. of Malmesb. I. c. 4.—Spelman, vol. i. p. 323), calls St. Augustine the Syncellus of Gregory, who in the Roman synod of A.D. 595. (Conc. t. v. p. 1199.) had ordered that certain clergy should attend the pontifical chamber to be witnesses of their superior's private life and conversation, and profit by his example.—It would seem from Damasus (Conc. t. i. p. 719.) that this was but the revival of an older statute made by Lucius I. However, Gregory's constitution was ratified by various Councils, e. g. that of Tours, A.D. 567. (Conc. t. v. p. 855. can. 12.) The Latin name was Cellulanei (t. viii. p. 61. can. 1).

In the East the office was more common, and more deeply rooted in the institutions of the Church. At Constantinople the Syncels possessed a very high rank; in Constantine's time they sat by the side of the Patriarch, taking precedence even of the Metropolitans. (Joan. Curopalat. ap. Suicer. s. h. v.) According to Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 257.) the Syncel (by which perhaps we are to understand the Protosyncel) was Patriarch-elect: for in explaining the office of Seriphes (Shereef) among the Saracens, he says, "As on "the death of the Patriarch the Syncel "is elected into his place, so does the "Shereef succeed the Caliph." And certainly Nicephorus does give some instances of men in this office being elected Patriarchs, as Theodore, George, Anastasius, and John (Chronogr. p. 314), but these were only isolated cases, in which the succession was incidental.

Heraclius restricted the number of Syncels at Constantinople to two. The office in course of time became titular, and was given by the Emperors to Bishops and Archbishops themselves, whom they styled Syncelli Pontificales or Augustales.

A. D. 429. broached. He notes down their errors, their condemnation,
CH. VII. and the different expedients they resorted to, and concludes with these words: "Now that Pelagius and Cælestius have "been convicted of these impious errors, Julian and his "party ought unhesitatingly to come forward to condemn "them[1], that so they may give satisfaction to the Church; "and if they accuse any person of holding opinions contrary "to the faith, it is their duty to point him out by name, and "they shall be answered according to the order of the "Church, [which is very willing to receive them back,] for "many who were adherents of Julian have left him to con- "demn Pelagius, and submit themselves to the apostolical "see, and all these, on recanting their errors, were thought "fit subjects for the Church's compassion."

[1 by subscribing the letter of Zosimus. V. Supr. 23. 51.]

VII. Nestorius' letter to Cælestine.

Nestorius made no great account of this declaration, which neither was addressed to him, nor recognised him as Bishop; but he took occasion from the presence of these Pelagians at Constantinople to write to the Pope St. Cælestine, and endeavour to prepossess him in his favour[2]. His letter ran thus: "Julian, Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, who "style themselves Bishops of the West, have repeatedly sent "in addresses to the Emperor, complaining that they are "suffering from persecution although they are true Catho- "lics; they have made similar complaints to us, and though "frequently rejected, they still persist in making these "representations. We have given them the best answer we "could, seeing that we are so imperfectly acquainted with "the facts of their case: but to prevent their giving any "further annoyance to the Emperor, and to remove all risk "of our Churches' peace being so seriously endangered as it "would be if we undertook the defence of strangers whom, "for aught we know, you may have canonically condemned, "be so good as to send us some account of them; for new "sects have no claim on the protection of true pastors."

[2] Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 16. [p. 349.] Mercat. Pt. I. p. 66.

What Nestorius here says was obviously insincere; he could not be ignorant that the Pelagians[3] had been condemned at Constantinople eight or ten years before by his predecessor Atticus; indeed, he shews the real object of his letter, when he proceeds thus:

[3] Supr. 24. 25.

"Hence it is that having found a considerable deviation

"from the true doctrine in some of the inhabitants of this "city, we daily employ both gentleness and severity with a "view to their cure. The malady is one very much resem- "bling that of Apollinarius and Arius; they in a manner "confound the doctrinal elements relating to our LORD's "Incarnation, and say that GOD the WORD, who is consub- "stantial with the FATHER, was built up simultaneously with "His temple, and buried along with His flesh; as if He had "derived His origin from the Virgin, the mother of CHRIST, "(*Christotocos.*) And they affirm that this His flesh did "not remain such after the resurrection, but passed into the "nature of the Deity. They are not afraid to call the Virgin "Theotocos[1], although the Nicene Fathers [those holy men," he continues, "who transcend all praise,] only said that our "LORD JESUS CHRIST was incarnate of the HOLY GHOST, "and the Virgin Mary; not to mention the Scriptures, "which every where call her the mother of CHRIST, and not "of GOD the WORD. I suppose that rumour has already "informed your holiness of the contests we have been in- "volved in on this subject; time has shewn that these were "not without their use; for many have been reformed, and "have learnt from us to see that the child must be of the "same substance as the mother; that there is no mixture of "GOD the WORD with the man; but a uniting to It of our "LORD's created humanity which, now joined to GOD, was at "first produced from the Virgin, by the HOLY GHOST. If any "one makes use of the term Theotocos to express the con- "junction of the humanity to the WORD, rather than any "quality of her who brought it forth, we say that the term "is improperly applied to her;—for a true mother must be of "the same nature with that which is born of her:—but that "it may at the same time be tolerated on the ground that the "temple of the WORD, which is inseparable from Him, was "taken from her: not as implying that she is mother of the "WORD; for one cannot bring forth what is older than one's "self." Along with this letter, Nestorius sent to the Pope his writings on the Incarnation[2], subscribed with his own hand; the bearer was a nobleman called Antiochus.

A. D. 429. CH. VIII.

[1 ausi *cum modo quodam* Theotocon dicere.]

[2 τετράδας ἐξηγήσεων. Conc. Eph. p. 351.]

VIII. St. Cyril's second letter to Nestorius.

About this time St. Cyril wrote his eighteenth paschal letter for the year 430, in which Easter fell on the fourth of

A. D. 430. CH. VIII.

Pharmouthi, that is, the thirtieth of March. In it he treats of the Incarnation, and gives an elaborate refutation of the errors of Nestorius. Soon after this he received letters from his clergy residing at Constantinople, particularly from the Deacon Martyrius, who negotiated there all affairs relating to the Church of Alexandria. They sent him a copy of a reply to his letter to the Monks written by the Priest Photius, and some new sermons of Nestorius. They also furnished him with the names of the men who had calumniated him at Constantinople, and informed him that the followers of Nestorius talked of peace and reconciliation. St. Cyril on receiving this intelligence wrote a second letter to Nestorius, in the month of Mechir[k], and in the thirteenth indiction[1]; that is, about the beginning of February 430, perhaps in the Council which was usually convened before the coming in of Lent.

[1] Conc. Chalc. [ap. Labbe IV. p. 158.]

In this letter[2] St. Cyril first observes that he is aware of the calumnies with which he has been aspersed, and that the authors of them are known to him; but unwilling to dwell on this ungrateful topic, he turns to Nestorius himself and exhorts him, as his brother, to reform his doctrine, and by giving in his adhesion to the doctrine of the Fathers to put an end to the offence he had caused. He then enters upon an exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation, and says, "We must admit in the same CHRIST two generations; first, "the eternal, by which He proceeds from His Father; "second, the temporal, whereby He is born of His mother. "When we say that He suffered, and rose again, we do not "say that GOD the WORD suffered in His own nature, for "the Divinity is impassible; but because the body which "was appropriated to Him suffered, we also say that He "suffered Himself. So too we say that He died. The "Divine WORD is in His own nature immortal, He is life "itself; but because His own true body suffered death, we "say that He Himself died for us. In the same way, when "His flesh is raised from the dead, we attribute resurrection

[2] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 8.

[k] St. Jerome (Comm. in Zech. t. viii. p. 1709) says "the month Sabat (Zech. "i. 7) is in the depth of winter, cor- "responding to the Egyptian Mechir, "and Latin Februarius." On the names of the Egyptian months, see La Croze, Thes. Epist. t. iii. p. 133; and on their origin, Jablonski Opusc. t. i. pass.

"to Him. We do not say[1] that we adore the man along A. D. 430. CH. IX.
"with the WORD[1], lest the phrase *along with* should suggest
"the idea of their non-identity; but we adore Him as one
"and the same person, because the body assumed by the
"WORD is in no degree external to or separated from the
"WORD." And afterwards; "It is in this sense that the
"Fathers have ventured to call the Holy Virgin 'Mother of
"'GOD;' not that the nature of the WORD, or His Divinity,
"did receive beginning of His existence from the Holy
"Virgin, but because in her was formed and animated with
"a reasonable soul that sacred body to which the WORD
"united Himself in hypostasis, which is the reason of its
"being said that He was born according to the flesh." In
the course of this letter he frequently repeats the words
(*καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσις*) 'union in hypostasis[m];' feeling the
inadequacy of the Greek word *πρόσωπον*, which we ordinarily render 'person,' and which does not express the idea
of unity with sufficient strength. The first time that I have
met with the expression, 'hypostatical union,' is in this letter,
by far the most celebrated of all that St. Cyril wrote to
Nestorius.

[1 *οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπον συμπροσκυνοῦντες τῷ λόγῳ,*]

It was probably about the same time and on the same
occasion that St. Cyril wrote to those of his clergy who
resided at Constantinople[2], commenting on the propositions
of peace that were offered on the part of Nestorius. "I have
"read the memorial you sent me," he says, "and see from
"it that the Priest Anastasius has been conversing with you
"and pretending he seeks for peace, and that he said to

IX. Other letters of St. Cyril.

[2 Conc. Eph. Pt. i. c. 12. [p. 331. C.]

[1] St. Cyril probably here refers to what would seem to have been with Nestorius a common way of expressing himself. Thus at the close of his first Sermon (VV. PP. Galland. t. viii. p. 629): "Since the Deity resides in the "manhood which He assumed, that "which is assumed is called GOD from "Him who assumed it. Look we then "with awe on the Divine Incarnation: "*τὴν Θεοδόχον τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ συνθεο-*"*λογῶμεν μορφὴν*: let us *along with* the "Divine honour we pay to GOD the "WORD, ascribe equal honour to the "GOD-enshrining form." And again in Serm. ii. (p. 633): "Let us then "extol the Sacrament of the Incarna-"tion with never-ceasing hymns: .... "that visible form joined to the in-"visible let us consider equally Divine "with GOD Himself; *τὴν φορουμένην* "*τῷ φοροῦντι συντιμῶμεν φύσιν*, let the "exterior nature be honoured *along* "*with* Him, of whom it is the cloth-"ing."

[m] St. Cyril himself explains the phrase (De Trin. p. 24. C. at end of t. vi.); "The union of the two natures "effected by the second Person (Hy-"postasis) of the Trinity within Itself, "and essentially yet without confusion" (*ἀσυγχύτως ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν*). Cf. Athanas. de Defin. (t. ii. p. 247.)

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"you, 'Our belief agrees with what he has written to the "'Monks;' and then proceeding to what he really had in "view, he says of me, 'He has himself admitted that the "'Nicene Council nowhere makes mention of the word "'Theotocos.' I wrote to say, that the Council did well not "to mention it, because this matter was not at that time a "subject of controversy; but in effect, it does say that Mary "is Mother of GOD; since it says that the same who was "begotten of the Father, was incarnate, and suffered."

[1 p. 334. B.] Afterwards[1] speaking of a writing of Nestorius he says, "He "takes pains to prove that the body alone suffered, and not "GOD the WORD; as if in refutation of some who say that "the impassible word is passible. No one has ever said any-"thing so absurd. His body having suffered, He is said to "have suffered Himself; as we may say that the soul of man "suffers when his body suffers, even when, in strictness, the "soul is in its own nature free from suffering. But what "they wish to insinuate is, that there are two CHRISTS, and

[2 ἰδικῶς.] "two sons, one properly[2] man, the other properly GOD, and "to make a union only of persons, (Prosopœn); this is the

[3 διὰ τοῦτο ποικίλλονται.] "object of their chicanery[3]."

[4 p. 334. D.] He next quotes[4] Nestorius' words to the effect that he had found his people in a state of great ignorance, for which his predecessors were in fault. "What then," says St. Cyril, "is he more eloquent than John, or better qualified for his "office than blessed Atticus? Why not rather frankly own "that he is introducing a new doctrine?" "If I am ac-"cused," he adds, "I shall not shrink from travelling to "defend myself in a Council; but let him not expect to be "my judge; I will not acknowledge him: and if it please "GOD, he shall himself be impeached for his blasphemies. "He complains that the word Theotocos is uncommon, and "that it is not used either in Scripture or by the Council. "But in what part of Scripture has he found the words "Christotocos or Theodochos [or Theotocos as applied by "him to the Father?]" "To conclude," he says, "however "deeply I am offended, tell them that we are at peace the "moment he forbears teaching this doctrine, and professes "the true faith. If he really desires peace, let him write a "sincere and Catholic confession of faith, and let him send

"it to Alexandria; and I will write on my side[1], that it is "not necessary to trouble our brethren the Bishops, because "we know that in what he says he means well. But if he "perseveres in his presumption, it only remains for us to "resist it with all our might." A. D. 430. CH. IX. [1] Merc. Pt. 2. p. 52. n. 20, 21.

"I have read the petition which you sent me, as designed "to be presented to the Emperor[2]; but seeing it was full "of invectives against our brother, I determined not to "send it back. I have dictated another, in which I refuse "him for my judge, and appeal to another tribunal; this "you shall present, if necessary. Should he persevere "in his attacks upon me, be careful to write me word, "and I will select some men of wisdom and piety from "among the Bishops and Monks, to be despatched on a "mission at the first opportunity. Act therefore vigorously, "for I will write what is necessary to all who should be in- "formed of our proceedings. I am resolved to give myself "no rest, and to suffer all things for the faith of CHRIST." [2] Ibid. p. 56.

He accordingly wrote several other letters on this subject. There is one[3] to a common friend of St. Cyril and Nestorius, supposed to be Acacius of Melitine, in which St. Cyril writes: "If it were the loss of my estate only "that was necessary to appease my brother, I would have "made it appear that nothing is so precious to me as "charity. But since it is a matter of faith which is in "dispute, and offence has been given to all the Churches, "necessity is laid upon us: for to us GOD has entrusted "the preaching of His mysteries, and upon our heads will "be judged the errors of those whom we have instructed. "For they will say at the day of judgment, that they have "preserved that faith which they received from us. Every "one of the laity shall give an account of his own life, "and we shall give an account of all those who believe in "CHRIST. His injuries and calumnies I disregard; I would "gladly forget them; GOD will take vengeance for them; "let the integrity of the faith be guaranteed, and no one "will be a truer friend to Nestorius than myself. I speak "it in the presence of GOD; my desire is that he may be "full of glory in CHRIST JESUS, that he may efface the dark "spots of the past, and prove that he was unjustly aspersed. [3] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 11.

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"If we are commanded to love our enemies, how much more "should we love our brethren and colleagues? But if any "one betrays the faith, we are fully resolved not to betray "our souls, though our faithfulness cost us our lives; if we "acted otherwise, with what face could we ever again set "forth the praises of the Martyrs before the people?"

X. Second letter of Nestorius to St. Cyril.

Nestorius having received St. Cyril's second letter, answered him at greater length, and not in so courteous a vein as before[1]. He advises him to read more carefully the writings of the ancients, and charges him with having said that the Divine WORD was passible; although St. Cyril had formally guarded against any such misconstruction. He seems to admit the personal unity, when he says that the name of CHRIST signifies the impassible substance, in one single and passible Person[2]; and that the two natures are connected in one Person[3]. But by these words he meant only, as he elsewhere shews, a union of will and of dignity; so that GOD and man made one Person, not in a real but a moral union. Hence he uses not the word *Hypostasis* but *Prosopon*, which is a word of narrower meaning than the Latin *Persona*. He uses also the word *synapheia*, 'connection,' and not *henosis*, 'union.' He maintains that the Holy Virgin ought to be called only Mother of CHRIST, and not Mother of GOD[4]; because although the body of CHRIST is the temple of the Divinity, the properties of the flesh, as its being born, its suffering and dying, cannot be ascribed to the Divinity, without falling into the errors of the Pagans, or of Apollinarius, Arius, and the other heretics. In all this he constantly misrepresents St. Cyril, making him say that the Deity was born of Mary, or died; whereas he said, that the Divine WORD was born and died in respect of the humanity which he assumed.

[1] Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 9. p. 321. (Mercat. p. 57.) [The heading is πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Κύριλλον.]

[2] ἐν μοναδικῷ προσώπῳ [n. 1.]

[3] εἰς ἑνὸς προσώπου συνάφειαν. [n. 2.]

[4] i. e. Χριστοτόκος, not Θεοτόκος.

"I am obliged to you," he adds[5], "for the anxiety you feel "on behalf of those among us who have been offended by "my doctrine; but allow me to say that you are imposed "upon by men whom the holy Council of this place has "deprived for their Manicheism, and by your own clergy. "For our Church is day by day improving, and the people "advance in the knowledge of GOD. The royal family re- "joice exceedingly that the pure doctrine is taught, and

[5] n. 4.

"that the Catholic faith prevails over all heresies." The Council here alluded to seems to have been held at Constantinople in 429; the pretended Manichees whom it condemned were, not improbably[1], Mercator, and the other Catholics who had been zealous in opposing the Pelagians. For owing to Mercator's remonstrance[2], Cælestius, Julian, and the rest of the Pelagians, were expelled from Constantinople, and a consolatory letter from Nestorius to Cælestius is still extant[3]. Now the title with which the Pelagians were accustomed to reproach the Catholics was that of Manichees. It was apparently before this Council[4] that Philip, a Priest of Constantinople, and one of those who had been proposed for its Bishop, was summoned. He had censured the errors of Nestorius, and refused to communicate with him any longer; Nestorius, in consequence, got Cælestius to accuse him of being a Manichee. He afterwards cited him to appear before the Council, but when Philip came thither prepared to defend himself, Cælestius was not forthcoming. Nestorius therefore brought another charge against him; which was, that he had held private assemblies, and celebrated the oblation in his own house, although almost all the clergy declared this to have been their practice on particular occasions[5]. This Council is also with great probability supposed[6] to have published a canon, (falsely ascribed to the Council of Ephesus,) whose import is, "Let him who shall say that "the soul of Adam died by sin be anathematized; for the "devil does not enter into the heart of man." This canon evidently derived its origin from Pelagianism.

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[1] V. Garn. in Merc. Pt. 2. p. 62.

[2] V. Supr. c. 6.

[3] Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 71.

[4] Cyr. Commonit. ad Possid. ap. Baluz. Nov. Coll. p. 377.

[5 ἐν καιρῷ καὶ χρείαις.]

[6] By Garner in Merc. Pt. 2. p. 63. V. Greg. Epist. vii. 34. vi. 14, 15. ix. 49. [and cf. Fleury 30. 44.]

St. Cyril, perceiving from Nestorius' letter, confirmed as it would be by the information he received from other quarters, that Nestorius was supported by the Court, and that his heresy was gaining ground in Constantinople, wrote large letters, or rather treatises on the faith, to the Emperor Theodosius, and his sisters the Princesses. In the letter to the Emperor[7], he enumerates the various heresies relative to the Incarnation[8],—those of Manes, Cerinthus, Photinus, Apollinarius, and lastly that of Nestorius,—though without mentioning them by name; he refutes each of these heresies[9], and, enlarging on that of Apollinarius, he observes that he denied the existence of a reasonable soul in CHRIST, from

XI. St. Cyril writes to the Emperor and the Princesses.

[7] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 3.

[8] n. 6.

[9] n. 7, 8, &c.

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fear lest if he acknowledged the whole human nature to be in Him, he should divide Him into two integral parts. Lastly[1], he refutes Nestorius at some length, adducing the same proofs as in his letter to the Monks; with some additional ones. Thus[2] he urges the words of the Eternal Father; "This is My well-beloved Son[3]." "Observe," says St. Cyril, "he does not say, 'In this is my Son,' clearly "intimating therefore that the Person so addressed is but "one." He also[4] urges the case of the Eucharist, and says, "CHRIST gives us life as GOD, not only by imparting to us "the HOLY GHOST, but by giving us His flesh to eat." He goes more into detail in the treatise[5] addressed to the Princesses Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina, who were all Virgins consecrated to GOD. In it he quotes from several of the Fathers[6], to prove that they made use of the word Theotocos, and acknowledged the unity of CHRIST. St. Athanasius, Atticus of Constantinople, Antiochus of Phœnicia, Amphilochius, Ammon of Adrianople, St. John Chrysostom, Severian of Gabala, Vitalis, and Theophilus of Alexandria, are severally referred to. His quoting St. Chrysostom, in spite of what had passed, is worthy of remark. He afterwards selects some passages from the New Testament to prove the Divinity of CHRIST, and the union of the WORD with the Humanity. St. Cyril knew the great talent and exalted piety of these Princesses, especially of St. Pulcheria; and hence it was that he took such pains to instruct them in the whole of this matter.

[1] n. 25, sqq.
[2] n. 36.
[3] Matt. 17. 5.
[4] n. 38.
[5] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 4.
[6] n. 9, 10.

XII. St. Cyril writes to the Pope and others.

He wrote a letter also to the Pope St. Cælestine[7], in which he gives him an account of all that had passed; of his letter to the Monks, his two letters to Nestorius, and the hostile position he had been obliged to assume. After stating that Cælestine was the first Bishop he had written to on this subject, he thus describes the state of Constantinople: "The "people now refuse to assemble at church[8] with him," (i. e. with Nestorius,) "with the exception of a few light-headed "people, and such as take the opportunity to pay court "to him. The monasteries almost universally, along with "their Archimandrites[9] and many of the Senate, have ceased "their attendance at Divine Service from fear of receiving "some injury to their faith." He proceeds; "Your holiness is

[7] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 14.
[8] ἀποσύναγτοί εἰσι. Cf. Vales. ad Theodorit. p. 16. n. 1.]
[9] V. Supr. 20. 6. p.]

"also to know, that we have all the Bishops of the East on our side; all are shocked and sore grieved, particularly the Bishops of Macedonia." And afterwards, "I was unwilling openly to break off communion with him, until I had laid these particulars before you. Be so good, therefore, as to give me your opinion, whether we ought still to communicate with him, or to tell him plainly that if he persists in his opinions he will be abandoned by every body. It would be proper for you to send to the Bishops of Macedonia and the East a written exposition of your views on this point. And that your holiness may be thoroughly informed both as to his opinions and those of the Fathers, I send you the books in which the passages are marked: I have got them translated as well as they could be done at Alexandria. I send you also the letters I have written." This letter to the Pope was carried by the Deacon Posidonius; it was accompanied by a book[1] containing a summary of the doctrine of Nestorius, and an account of his deposition of the Priest Philip. A. D. 430. CH. XII.

[1] Baluz. u.s.

St. Cyril wrote, about the same time, to Acacius of Berrhæa[n], one of the oldest and most famous Bishops of Syria, who had been ordained by St. Eusebius of Samosata[2] about fifty years before. St. Cyril declares to him[3] how grieved he is at this scandal; he dwells most strongly on the anathema which Dorotheus had pronounced against all such as named the Virgin mother of GOD, and says that many had in consequence openly denied CHRIST's Divinity. Acacius, in reply[4], exhorts St. Cyril to procure a peace; "for many persons," says he, "have come to us "from Constantinople, as well Clerks as laymen, who seem "to defend the proposition which has been advanced, and "maintain, that if it be throughly examined, it contains "nothing which contradicts the Nicene or the Apostles' "Creed." He continues: "The holy Bishop John of Antioch "to whom I ordered your letter to be read, listened to it

[2] [3] Fleury, 17, 46. [3] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 22.

[4] Ibid. c. 23.

[n] Berrhæa, Beræa, or Beroe, is the modern city Aleppo. "The original "name was Chaleb, the Chalybon of "Ptolemy," [the Helbon mentioned by the side of Damascus in Ezek. 27. 18.] "Seleucus Nicator improved the "town and named it after the well-"known city in Macedonia, and so it "continued to be called under the "Romans till its capture by the Arabs "in 636, when the old name Chaleb "was restored." Ersch-and-Gruber. Art. 'Haleb.'

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" with evident emotion; for although he has not been long " in the Episcopate, his sentiments are entirely in unison " with those of us old men; and he discharges his functions " so well that all the Bishops of the East are very proud of " him. Let me then exhort you to manage this affair with " that meekness and prudence which befits the Apostolic " character, ['using the power which GOD has given us for " 'edification and not for destruction.']"

XIII. Cassian's treatise on the Incarnation.

In the mean time[1] Pope St. Cælestine, having received Nestorius' sermons, and afterwards his writings and letter, from Nestorius' own envoy Antiochus, resolved, before he returned an answer, to have them all translated into Latin. He also ordered a treatise to be composed, defending the Catholic doctrine against this new heresy; and it was doubtless at his recommendation that St. Leo, then Archdeacon of the Roman Church, employed for this work John Cassian, who was the best qualified for it, both by the profoundness of his theological knowledge, and the perfect mastery over the Greek language, which a long residence at Constantinople had given him. Having finished his *Conferences* some time before, he intended to continue silent, but he could not refuse St. Leo's request. He composed therefore a treatise on the Incarnation, in seven books. In the first he gives an account of most of the heresies which opposed this mystery, and then speaks of the Pelagians, whose principles, he maintains, gave rise to the error of Nestorius[2][o].

[1] Conc. Eph. p. 1. c. 18.

[2] c. 3.

[o] A little further on Cassian seems to state the converse: that as Pelagianism owed its origin to the Ebionites (ex antiquâ Ebionitarum stirpe surrexit, c. 2), so it is virtually involved in and deducible from Nestorianism. " Nestorius," he says, " (novus non " novæ hæresecos auctor) asserts that " our LORD and SAVIOUR was born a " mere man: now of course he allows " that CHRIST lived without sin; it " follows, therefore, that he must say " as the Pelagians said before him, " that all men may, of and by them- " selves, be without sin: whence the " redemption effected by our LORD is " rendered altogether nugatory. That " the tendency of his views was thus " towards Pelagianism is confirmed by " the fact of his defending and pa- " tronizing those who espoused that " heresy." Perhaps Cassian agreed with the verses attributed to Prosper in considering the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies as reciprocally mother and daughter, Pelagianism giving back the life it first received; so that the error, which, first assailing CHRIST the Head, descended to the individual members of His body, afterwards reascended from the members to the Head.

" Nestoriana lues successi Pelagianæ
" Quæ tamen est utero progenerata meo."

See Garner's Dissertation (Mercat. Pt. i. p. 431), who determines that Cassian had confounded Nestorius' doctrine with that of Paul of Samosata and Leporius (who asserted that CHRIST was made GOD for the meritoriousness of His actions): a mistake he was the more likely to fall into because the Samosatene heresy was at

"For," says he, "believing that man by his own strength "may be without sin, they judge the same of JESUS CHRIST, "saying that He was a mere man[1], but that He made so good "a use of His free will that He avoided all sin; that He "came into the world only to set an example of good works; "that He became CHRIST after His Baptism, and GOD after "His resurrection." This however is not what Nestorius affirmed, for he did expressly say that the Divine WORD was united to man from the womb of Mary[2]; the same is clearly implied in his comparison of St. Elizabeth[3]; and his error related only to the mode of this union. Indeed Cassian himself ascribes the error here spoken of to Leporius[4], of whose history and recantation he gives a brief account[5]. In the second and third books he proves that CHRIST is GOD and man, and that the Virgin ought to be called Mother of GOD, and not only Mother of CHRIST. The fourth is occupied with proving the unity of CHRIST from Scripture. In the fifth he proceeds to shew that this union is real and not moral, and refutes several propositions of Nestorius. In the sixth he urges the evidence of the Creed used at Antioch[p], into which Nestorius had been baptized. In the last he cites the authorities of the Greek and Latin Fathers, especially of his master St. Chrysostom, and concludes with a pathetic exhortation to the Church of Constantinople. He all along supposes that Nestorius is presiding over it as Bishop; from which it is evident that he finished this work before the deposition of Nestorius and the assembling of the Council of Ephesus.

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[1] homo solitarius]

[2] Serm. 3. n. 6. [3] Serm. 4. n. 3, 4. [4] Serm. 5. n. 5, 6. [4] Lib. vii. c. 11.] [5] V. Supr. 24. 49.

XIV. Pope St. Cœlestine's letter against Nestorius.

Nestorius receiving no answer from the Pope, had written a second letter[1] to him by Valerius[q] the Emperor's chamber-

[1] Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 17. Mercat. Pt. I. p. 69.

that time prevalent at Marseilles, where he composed his treatise De Incarn. There can indeed be no doubt that if Nestorius and Pelagius had fully developed their doctrines, these would have been found for the most part to coincide; for as "all truth may possibly "be derived from any one truth," so may any one out of a system of errors necessitate the reception of the whole system; but it does not appear that the doctrines of the one were, explicitly and in point of fact, thus dialectically connected with those of the other.

[p] i. e. The Creed adopted at the Council of Antioch, A.D. 363, which was in fact the Nicene Creed; and so Cassian speaks of it as "symbolum, "quod ecclesiarum omnium fidem lo-"quitur." The Creeds adopted in the Councils held at Antioch, in A.D. 266 and 272, being prior to the spread of Arianism, do not contain the word ὁμοούσιος. Alard. Gazæus in l.

[q] Probably the same as the Valerius who was Consul with Actius in 432. The Antiochus also who conveyed Nestorius's first letter to Cælestine was probably the one who was Consul with Bassus in 431. Garner in Merc. Pt. 1. p. 70. The powerful interest which Nestorius had managed to enlist on his

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lain[r], in which he speaks of the many letters he had written about Julian and the other Pelagians. From this he digresses, as in the former letter, to speak of the other pretended heretics, who, acccording to him, opposed the mystery of the Incarnation, but who were really the Catholics. At length, Pope St. Cælestine, having received St. Cyril's letter by the Deacon Posidonius, convened a Council at Rome about the beginning of August, 430; in which the writings of Nestorius were examined, and compared with the doctrine of the Fathers. The Pope brought before them[t] the authority of St. Ambrose[s], St. Hilary, and St. Damasus; after which the doctrine of Nestorius was condemned, and St. Cyril ordered to carry the sentence into execution. The Pope wrote seven letters in this Council all of the same date: the first to St. Cyril, the second to Nestorius, the third to the clergy of Constantinople, the fourth to John of Antioch, the fifth to Rufus of Thessalonica, the sixth to Juvenal of Jerusalem, the seventh to Flavian of Philippi, that is, to the Bishops of the principal sees in the Eastern empire. The letters are all dated the third of the ides of August, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius and the third of Valentinian, that is, the eleventh of August, 430. The Deacon Posidonius was commissioned to take them to St. Cyril, who was then to forward them to their respective destinations. In the letter to St. Cyril[u] the Pope extols his zeal and diligence, and declares that he entirely acquiesces in St. Cyril's opinion concerning the Incarnation; that if Nestorius continues obstinate it will be necessary to condemn him, but that all means of re-

[t] Fragm. ap. Baluz. Coll. Nov. p. 379.

[u] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 15.

side will be further seen in the history of the Council.

[r] The office of Cubicularius or Chamberlain had been raised by Theodosius, in 422, to be one of the highest state dignities, being made equal to those of Præfect of the City, Præfect of the Prætorium, and Master of Horse. Cod. Theodos. tom. ii. p. 69. These four offices constituted the *second* order of nobility; the *first* comprised only the Consuls, and Patricii; the *third* the Quæstors, the Consistorian Counts, and Masters of Offices. Previously to A.D. 422, the Cubicularius had ranked only in the third order. See Gothofred in l.

[s] "I remember," said Cælestine, "that Ambrose of blessed memory "taught all the people to sing in con- "cert on Christmas-Day,

'Veni redemptor gentium,
'Ostende partum Virginis,
'Miretur omne sæculum,
'Talis decet partus Deum.'

"How well does this agree with our "brother Cyril's language, when he "calls Mary 'Mother of God;' and "with our belief who say that He, "whom the Virgin by the aid of Om- "nipotence brought forth, was very "God. . . . &c." The fragment is taken from Arnobius, c. Serap. p. 218. B.

claiming him ought first to be used. "Therefore," adds he, A. D. 430.
"let all those whom he has separated from his communion CH. XIV.
"understand that they continue in ours, and that from this
"time he himself cannot continue in communion with us, if
"he persists in opposing the apostolic doctrine. Wherefore
"you shall execute this judgment with[1] the authority of our
"see, acting in our stead, and having our power delegated
"to you; so that if, in the space of ten days, after he has
"received this admonition, he does not expressly anathe-
"matize his impious doctrine, and promise to confess, for
"the future, that faith which the Roman Church and your
"Church and all Christendom teaches concerning the gene-
"ration of JESUS CHRIST our GOD, your holiness may forth-
"with set about to provide for this Church," (i. e. the Constantinopolitan,) "under the full assurance that in such case
"it is necessary that he should be utterly separated from our
"body."

[1] συναφθείσης σοι τῆς αὐθεντίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου θρόνου, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τοῦ τόπου διαδοχῇ ἐπ' ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος.]

In his letter to Nestorius[2] he tells him how much he has been deceived in the good opinion he had conceived of him, from the report of his character. He says that he had read his letters and the books which he had sent him, and that he had found his opinions concerning the Divine WORD contrary to the Catholic faith. Passing on to the Pelagians; "As to those heretics," he says[3], "concerning whom you ask
"my advice as if you were ignorant of what had passed,
"they have been justly condemned and deprived of their
"sees; and it is matter of surprise to us that you who, to
"judge from your sermons, so thoroughly believe the doc-
"trine of original sin, should yet suffer men who are under
"censure for denying it, to remain near your person. There
"is always room for suspicion when opposite parties thus
"form a coalition. And how is it that you ask what has
"passed here, when Atticus your predecessor sent us Acts
"made against them? How is it that Sisinius, of holy
"memory, never inquired about them, unless it were that
"he knew they had been justly condemned in the time of
"Atticus?" Lastly, he concludes thus; "Know, that if you
"do not teach concerning JESUS CHRIST our GOD, what is
"held by Rome, Alexandria, and all the Catholic Churches,
"and what up to your time was held by the holy Church of

[2] c. Eph. Pt. I. c. 18.

[3] p. 360. E.

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"Constantinople; and if within ten days after the receipt of "this third admonition, you do not unequivocally and in "writing condemn this impious novelty,—which tends to "put asunder what Scripture joins,—you are excluded from "the communion of the whole Catholic Church. We have "directed this sentence and all the other writings to be "taken by the Deacon Posidonius to the Bishop of Alex- "andria, that he may act in our room[1]; and that our decree "may be known to you and all our brethren."

[1 τοποτηρῶν]

The letter to the clergy and people of Constantinople[2] is full of exhortations to constancy in the Catholic Faith, and of consolation to those who were persecuted by Nestorius. The Pope therein declares void all excommunications pronounced by Nestorius from the time that he began to teach his errors. He adds, that not being able to act in person by reason of the distance, he has commissioned St. Cyril to act in his stead[3]; and concludes with a formal statement of the terms of the sentence. The substance of the letter to John of Antioch[4] is much the same, the condemnation of Nestorius unless he recants within ten days, and the declaration that all excommunications or depositions which had been pronounced by him are null and void. The three other letters to Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi, were only copies of this. Juvenal had not long before[5] succeeded to the see of Jerusalem on the demise of Praylus[6], who had occupied it thirteen years. Juvenal appointed the first Bishop over the nomad Arabs of Palestine, great numbers of whom had been converted by St. Euthymius[7]. The person selected for the office was Peter, whose former name was Aspebetus, the father of Terebo; he had been the first convert. His title was Bishop of Parembolæ, or the Camps, because the Arabs lived in tents dispersed over the whole face of the country[t].

[2 C. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 19.]

[3 τὴν ἡμετερὰν διαδοχὴν ἀπενείμαμεν]

[4 C. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 20.]

[5 between three and four years before.]

[6 Supr. 23. 31.]

[7 S. Euthym. Vita c. 23, sqq. 36. 39. Supr. 24. 27.]

t "The Hagarenes wishing still to "drink of the sweet streams of Eu- "thymius' discourse, crowded round "him and prevented him from enjoy- "ing that tranquillity of seclusion "which he so much prized. He "therefore led them away to another "spot, where, according to a plan "which he gave them, they built a "chapel, and erected their tents in a "circle round about it until such time "as they could build dwelling-houses. "The great Euthymius constantly "paid them visits, and trained them "to submit to the rule of a Priest and "Deacons. But the sons of Hagar "flocked to him in larger numbers "than ever and formed several camps "(παρεμβολάς), so that he sent to "Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who

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XV. Mission of St. Germain and St. Lupus into Britain.

About the same time[1] Pope St. Cælestine commissioned St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre to cross to Great Britain in order to oppose Agricola, the son of a Pelagian Bishop called Severinus, who was corrupting the Churches of Britain by propagating his heresy among them. St. Germain was sent thither as the Pope's Vicar, in the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, that is, A.D. 429. Pelagius was a native of Great Britain, it was no wonder therefore that he had disciples there[u]. The Deacon Palladius, who was the Pope's envoy in the district infected by heresy, urged him to send them succour; and the Bishops of Gaul had on their part received a deputation from Great Britain, inviting them to come speedily to the defence of the Catholic Faith. A numerous Council was accordingly assembled, and they unanimously agreed to entreat St. Germain of Auxerre, and St. Lupus of Troyes, to engage in the enterprize. So that St. Germain received a concurrent mission from this Council and from the Pope.

[1] Prosper Chron. ann. 429. [p. 655.] Beda, l. Hist. c. 17. Constant. Vit. S. Germ. [ap. Bolland. Acta. SS. tom. 32. p. 201.] p. 211. E.

St. Germain had been made Bishop eleven years before, as we have already said[2]; but St. Lupus only two years[3]. He was born at Toul of a very noble family, had studied rhetoric

[2] Supr. 23. 46.

[3] Vita S. Lupi [ap. Bolland. tom. 32. p. 51.] p. 72. F.

" ordained Peter to be Bishop of the " Saracens, as one fitted to guide their " souls in the way of salvation. So " the Saracens flowed in like the waters " of a perennial river, and were all " received into the Christian fold." S. Euthym. V. c. 38, 39. The account given in the Life leads one to think that these events took place in the wilderness of either Ziph or Paran (the scenes of David's retreat from persecution); otherwise we should have been inclined to take Parembolæ to be Mahanaim,—which has the same meaning, 'camps,'—which is called Παρεμβολή by Josephus, Antiq. vii. 9 (quoted by Reland, Palæstina, p. 924) —and which is the word rendered Παρεμβολαί by the LXX in Gen. 32. 2, and 1 Kings 2. 8. At any rate we may well suppose that St. Euthymius, as he looked at his camps of converts, would often ponder on that passage of Jacob's history, when "as he walked " on his way, the angels of GOD met " him, and when he saw them he said " 'Παρεμβολὴ Θεοῦ αὕτη:' so he called " the name of the place Παρεμβολαί. . . " And Jacob said, . . . 'I am not worthy " 'of all Thy mercy, and of all the " 'truth which Thou hast shewed Thy " 'servant, for with this my staff I " 'passed over this Jordan, νυνὶ δὲ γέ- " 'γονα εἰς δυὸ παρεμβολάς.'" Gen. 32.

[u] Pelagius is only a Hellenized form of Morgan, his original name, which means *near the sea*. Fuller, Ch. H., ann. 401. Usher, de Primordiis, p. 207.

He was educated in the monastery of Bangor, which then consisted of two thousand Monks, and of which he was afterwards Abbot. The success which Pelagianism met with in the hands of Agricola is doubtless to be in a great measure attributed to the indolence and ignorance of the British Bishops, against whom Gildas the Wise declaims as foolish, ambitious, simoniacal, and impure (p. 72. sqq. ed. E. H. Soc. 1838), and who are represented by Constantius (V. S. Germ.) to have sent for the Gallican Bishops because of their own want of learning, "quum " illius (i. e. hæretici) syllogisticis con- " clusionibus simplicibus responsis re- " sistere non possent."

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in the schools, and was esteemed very eloquent. He married Pemeniola, the sister of St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles; but seven years after their marriage they separated by consent, in order to live under more exact discipline. Lupus left his father's house and retired to the monastery of Lerins, under the guidance of its Abbot, St. Honoratus[1]. Vincentius, brother of Lupus, also retired to Lerins[2], where he was ordained Priest, and became famous for his writings. Lupus after exercising himself for a year with fasting and watching, went to Macon to distribute the remainder of his wealth among the poor; but when he least thought of it, he was forced away to be made Bishop of Troyes, over which Church he presided fifty-two years.

[1 The friend and teacher of St. Hilary.] Supr. 24. 58.

[2] Eucher. ad Hilar. de laude erem. [p. 985. D. E.]

XVI. St. Genevieve.

St. Germain and St. Lupus proceeding on their journey to Great Britain[3], came to the city of Nanterre, near Paris. The inhabitants, familiar with the fame of their sanctity, came in crowds to meet them. St. Germain, after addressing them with an exhortation, surveyed the people who stood round him, and saw at a distance a young maiden whose looks appeared to manifest something heavenly; he bade her approach, asked her name, and inquired who were her parents. The answer was that she was called Genevieve; and presently her father Severius, and mother Gerontia, came out from the crowd. St. Germain congratulated them on having such a daughter, and foretold that she would one day be an example even to men. He exhorted her to disclose her whole heart to him, and say whether she would consecrate herself as a Virgin to GOD; she declared this was her purpose, and begged of the holy Bishop the solemn benediction usually given to Virgins. They went to church for the service of the none[x]; many psalms were then sung, and many long prayers repeated, during which, the holy

[3] Constant. u. s. p. 211. F. Vit. S. Genovefæ [ap. Bolland. tom. 1. p. 137.]

[x] One of the Canonical Hours. The Council of Laodicea (can. 18.) enjoined public prayer to be always held at the ninth hour, i. e. our three o'clock P.M., which was formerly understood by 'noon,' or 'noon-tide.' "The "hours were at first only allotted to "private prayer, afterwards they were "regularly observed in the monas- "teries, and lastly they came into use "in the churches generally. Thus "they were not introduced into the "Gallican Church till A.D. 530, nor "into the Spanish till the time of "Martin of Braga. The ninth hour "was the time of the Jewish evening "sacrifice; at the ninth hour, 'being the "'hour of prayer,' Peter and John went "up to the Temple; at this hour Cor- "nelius was praying when he was visited "by an Angel; and above all, at this "hour our Saviour expired on the cross, "a sacrifice for the sins of the world." Bingham, xiii. 9. § 8, 13, (abridged.)

Bishop held his right hand upon the head of the maiden; he then retired to take his repast, desiring the parents to bring her to him on the morrow. This they did not fail to do; St. Germain asked St. Genevieve if she remembered her promise; "Yes," she said, "and hope by GOD's assist-"ance and your prayers to observe it faithfully." Then looking on the ground, he saw a piece of copper money stamped with the sign of the cross; he took it up, and giving it to Genevieve, said, "Keep it for my sake, wear it "always about your neck in place of every other ornament, "and leave gold and precious stones to those who serve the "world." He then committed her again to the hands of her parents, and proceeded on his journey. A. D. 430. CH. XVII.

St. Genevieve might be then about fifteen years old; for it is remarked, that from fifteen to fifty years of age she ate only twice a week, namely, on Sundays and Thursdays; and even then only some barley bread and beans, and never drank any wine, or intoxicating liquor. On a certain holiday soon after St. Germain's departure, her mother would have hindered her from going to church, but not being able to keep her at home gave her a blow on the cheek. In an instant the unhappy woman lost her sight, and continued blind for two years. At length calling to mind St. Germain's prediction, she bade her daughter fetch some water from the well, and make the sign of a cross over it. St. Genevieve did so, and washed her mother's eyes with it; upon which her sight gradually returned, and after two or three repetitions was quite recovered. The well is still pointed out with great veneration.

XVII. St. Germain and St. Lupus defeat the Pelagians.

St. Germain and St. Lupus embarking in the winter season, met with a violent storm[1], which St. Germain assuaged by throwing some drops of oil into the sea in the name of the Holy Trinity. Arrived in Britain, they found a crowd assembled to receive them; for their coming had been foretold by some evil spirits which they afterwards cast out, and which, on leaving the possessed, confessed to having been the authors of the tempest. The holy Bishops soon filled Britain with the fame of their doctrine; and so great was the crowd of people that flocked to hear them, that they preached not only in the churches, but in the highways[2], and in the open country.

[1] Constant. (u. s.) p. 212. C. Vit. S. Lupi (u. s.) p. 74. D.

[2] ["Per trivia, per rura, per devia.]

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Thus they every where confirmed the Catholics, and converted the heretics. Their virtue, their doctrine, their miraculous powers, all pointed them out to be thoroughly apostolic men. The Pelagians fled; but at length ashamed of being thus by their silence self-condemned, they came to a conference[y] attended by a long train of partizans, making a great display of wealth and gorgeously arrayed; a countless number of people thronged to get a sight of the spectacle. The holy Bishops gave the heretics permission to speak first; and after these had delivered a long harangue, the Bishops replied to them with great eloquence, supporting their arguments with so clear quotations from Scripture that their opponents were struck dumb; the people could hardly forbear clapping their hands, and expressed their thoughts by their acclamations. Upon this[1] a certain person of the rank of tribune, came forward with his wife, presenting their daughter, a little blind girl ten years old, to the holy Bishops, who bid them carry her to the Pelagians, but the latter joined their entreaties to those of the parents, that the Bishops would restore her sight. The Bishops consented, and first of all offered up a short prayer; then St. Germain having invoked the Holy Trinity, took from his neck the relique-box which he carried with him, and, in the sight of the assembled multitude, laid it upon the eyes of the little girl; she immediately recovered her sight; the parents were transported with joy, the people were struck with terror; and from that day no one opposed the teaching of the holy Bishops.

[1] p. 213. C.

After this[z] they went to return thanks to GOD at the tomb of the Martyr St. Alban, the most famous of British Saints[3]. St. Germain opened the sepulchre and deposited in it reliques of all the Apostles, and of several Martyrs, which he had collected in various lands; then taking from the very scene of St. Alban's martyrdom some dust which was still crimson

[z] p. 213. D.

[3] Beda. I. Hist. c. 7. Act. SS. in 22 Junii.]

[y] Matthew of Westminster (ad ann. 446) makes this Council to have been held at Verulam, and so too Camden (Britannia, p. 298). Cf. Usher, de Primordiis, p. 328, and P. Bosch in Acta SS., tom. 32. p. 195.

[z] Usher (p. 148.) quotes the following from the Salisbury Breviary (in Offic. S. Alban).

Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum.

Anglorum is a prolepsis; i. e. not a rhetorical figure, but an unconscious expression of their feeling that they belonged to one and the same Church before and after the Angle conquest.

with his blood, he carried it away with him, and on his return built a church in the city of Auxerre to the honour of the Saint, and placed these reliques in its shrine[1]. A. D. 430. CH. XVIII.

[1] Hist. Episc. Antissiod. p. 536.

XVIII. They overcome the Saxons.

The Saxons and Picts[2] made war upon the Britons[a]. The Picts (so called because they painted their bodies with various colours[3]) were a barbarous people who inhabited the northern part of the island. The Saxons were a German nation whom the Britons had called in to assist them in repelling the Picts. But the allies soon cast a longing eye on the country of their employers, and making common cause with the Picts, found themselves, after a lapse of about twenty-five years, masters of Great Britain. The Britons in consternation at the approach of the enemy, fled to the holy Bishops. It was now Lent, and many under their instructions desired baptism, so that in fact a great part of the army received it at Easter[b], in a church constructed of boughs

[2] Const. p. 213. F. Beda. l. Hist. c. 14, 15.

[3] [or from a native word Pilt, or Peoht; see Camden's Brit. p. cx. sqq.]

[a] The common statement is that the Saxons did not come over until they were invited by Vortigern. Hence some (as Bede and Paulus Diaconus) refer the visit of St. Germain and the Hallelujah victory, as it was called, to the arrival of the Angles in the reign of Marcian, A.D. 449. (Beda. E. H. 1. 15; though in his book De Sex Ætat. (p. 27.) he places it in 459). As this would run counter to Prosper's Chronology, others place the first mission of St. Germain in 429, but refer the victory over the Saxons to his second visit. But Usher has well shewn (p. 335) that the Saxon incursions had been frequent from the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I. downward; so much so that it was found necessary to appoint an officer called 'Count of 'the Saxon coast in Britain;' (Notitia Imperii p. 161). When the Romans withdrew, the Northern pirates would of course increase the boldness and number of their attacks. The easy supposition that one of these attacks took place in 429, is all that is necessary to reconcile Constantius' narrative with the date assigned by Prosper.

Gibbon, speaking of Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons, says: "If "Britain had indeed been unknown "to the Saxons, the measure of its "calamities would have been less com- "plete. But the strength of the Roman "government could not always guard "the maritime province against the "pirates of Germany; the independent "and divided states were exposed to "their attacks; and the Saxons might "sometimes join the Scots and Picts "in a tacit or express confederacy of "rapine or destruction." c. 38, (iv. p. 501. ed. 1828).

For the history of the whole period of anarchic independence from 409 to 449, see Gibbon, c. 31. (iv. pp. 151—154). Turner's Anglo-Saxons, I. c. 8.

[b] Of the solemn times for Baptism "the most celebrated was Easter; and "next to that Pentecost, and Epi- "phany, or the day on which Christ "was supposed to be baptized. These "three are plainly referred to by Gre- "gory Naz. (Orat. 40. de Bapt. τὸ "πάσχα, ἡ πεντηκοστή, τὰ φῶτα). "[He is remonstrating with those "who put off Baptism under the plea "that they were only waiting for these "festivals. Cf. Chrysostom, tom. iv. "p. 615.] . . . But Easter and Pente- "cost were the chief. St. Jerome tells "us, some referred the prophecy in "Zech. xiv. 8. to baptism; 'Living "'waters shall go out from Jerusalem, "'in summer and in winter shall it "'be.' The LXX reads it 'in summer "'and in spring.' And this they ap- "plied to the two solemn times of "Baptism, Pentecost and Easter. . . . "The great Sabbath, or Saturday, when "our Saviour lay in the grave, was the "most famous for baptizing catechu- "mens, and infants also, as we learn

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of trees twisted together, and set up in the open plain. The feast being over, they made ready to march against the enemy, animated with fresh courage by the blessing just bestowed upon them; and with great confidence expecting the assistance of GOD. St. Germain put himself at their head, for he had not yet forgot the rules of that art to which so large a portion of his youth had been dedicated. He sent scouts to reconnoitre the country, and posted his men in a valley, so as not to be observed by the enemy who were pushing down in hopes to take him by surprise. St. Germain had ordered his people all to raise the same shout which he should give them as signal; he now cried out three times, Allelujah, and was followed by all the army. The sound being reverberated by the echo from the hills, made so dreadful a noise that the barbarians were dismayed; they threw down their arms and fled in disorder, leaving their baggage behind them, and many of them perished in attempting to cross a river[c]. The Bishops having thus freed Britain from both the Pelagians and the Saxons, passed back into Gaul, and returned to their homes. Pope St. Cælestine, to provide for the further security of religion in the island, sent thither the Deacon Palladius, having ordained him Bishop of the Scotch[1]; he was the first Bishop placed over this nation, which up to the present period had been very barbarous. St. Jerome[2 d] records that they had no regular marriages, and that they devoured human flesh, for which they had such a passion that they cut off the breasts of women, and the other fleshy parts of such as they found

[1] Prosper. Contra Collat. c. 41. [p. 904.]

[2] Hieron. Ep. ad Ocean. et 2. in Jovin. [t. 4. pt. 2. p. 648. et p. 201.]

"from Chrysostom (Ep. 1. ad Innocent. [t. 7. p. 156.]) and the author of the Constitutions (Const. Apost. 5. 19), yet the whole time of fifty days was set apart for this purpose and counted but as one solemn season for Baptism." Bingham, 11. 6. § 7.

[c] "This battle is said to have been fought in a place to this day called 'Mæs-Garmon,' or St. Germain's plain; the river Alen, in which the army had been baptized, runs past it. It is close by the town called by the English 'Mold,' by the Welsh 'Guidcruc.'" Usher de Primord., p. 333. Fuller says, in his quaintest mood: "Besides the concavity of the valleys improving the sound, GOD sent a hollowness into the hearts of the Pagans, so that their apprehensions added to their ears, and cowardice often resounded the same shout in their breasts, till beaten with the reverberation thereof, without striking a stroke, they confusedly ran away, and many were drowned for speed in the river Alen, *lately the Christians' font, now the Pagans' grave.*" (Church Hist., ann. 429).

[d] "By the pilgrims who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the Monk of Bethlehem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence." Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 153. note d. Compare Usher, pp. 202—204.

in unfrequented places. St. Palladius was sent as Bishop into Scotland in the Consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, that is, in the year 431[1]. A. D. 430. CH. XIX.

[1] Prosper. Chron. [p. 658.]

St. Cyril having received St. Cælestine's letters from Posidonius the Deacon, sent them as they were directed; and along with those written to John of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem, he sent letters from himself. He exhorts John[2] to adopt a resolute course, declaring that he for his part was determined to act in conformity with the opinion of the Pope and the Western Bishops, that he might keep to their communion. To Juvenal[3] he says that it will be necessary to write to the Emperor, to induce him to espouse the cause of religion, and free the Church from this false pastor. He reminds both of them that he has done all in his power to bring Nestorius to reason.

XIX. Letter from John of Antioch to Nestorius.

[2] Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 21.

[3] Ibid. c. 24.

John of Antioch was a friend of Nestorius, and had been one of his clergy; on receiving St. Cyril's letter, therefore, he wrote to his friend[4], enclosing him a copy both of that and of the one from Pope St. Cælestine. "I entreat you," he says, "to read them in such a temper that they may "not raise any disturbance in your mind, since from that "source often spring disputes and pernicious obstinacy; "but at the same time," he continues, "do not treat this "business with contempt, for the Devil knows how, by "means of pride, to drive evil matters to such an ex-"tremity that they become incurable. Read the letters "over carefully, and send for such of your friends as will "venture to give you sound, even though it be unpalatable "advice, to consider them with you. Although the period "of ten days appointed by the most holy Bishop St. Cæ-"lestine is none of the longest, you may do all that is "necessary in one day, or in a few hours. For it is easy "in speaking of the incarnation of our LORD to employ a "suitable term, used by many of the Fathers, and which "expresses truly His being born of the Virgin. Nor ought "you either to reject this term as dangerous, or to think "that its admission would involve you in inconsistency. If "your sentiments are the same as those of the Fathers and "Doctors of the Church, as we are assured by several of our "common friends they are, why should you scruple to de-

[4] Ibid. c. 25.

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"clare this your sound and orthodox belief, especially when "so great confusion and disorder has been raised on your "account? For know, that this question is debated both "far and near; all the Church is disturbed with it, and the "faithful in all parts daily contend about it, as you may "suppose from the following fact: the West, Egypt, and "perhaps Macedonia, have resolved to separate from that "union which GOD has granted to His Church by the "labours of so many Bishops, particularly those of the great "Acacius." He means Acacius of Berrhæa, and alludes to the union which terminated the schism at Antioch[1], in the time of Bishop Alexander and of Pope St. Innocent.

[1] Supr. 23. 27.

He proceeds earnestly to advise Nestorius to make use of the word Theotocos, 'Mother of GOD,' since none of the Doctors of the Church ever rejected it, and many used it without being blamed by those who did not. He shews that the meaning of the words cannot be rejected without falling into dangerous error, since it would thence follow, contrary to the plain authority of Scripture, that it is not GOD who became incarnate and of no reputation, by taking upon Him the form of a servant. He adds: "If, before these letters "appeared, many were so furiously set against us, what will "they not do now that these letters seem to justify them "in their suspicions? I am not writing this to you unad-"vised; many Bishops, who are friends to both of us, and "were present when these unhappy letters were delivered to "me, are now sitting by me; they are Archelaus, Apringius, "Theodoret, Helias, Meletius, and Macarius, who has been "lately ordained Bishop of Laodicea." He mentions the see of none but this last, because Nestorius knew the rest. John wrote at the same time to the Count Irenæus, their common friend, and to the Bishops Musæus and Helladius.

XX. Nestorius' answer.

Nestorius having perused all these letters, returned a civil answer[2] to John, but in the main still obstinately persisted in his error. "I should have expected," he says, "to have "suffered under any other calumny sooner than that of "holding an error in the faith. This charge ought not to "have been brought against one who up to the present day "has fought so many battles of the Church against all sorts "of heretics." And afterwards; "I found the Church of

[2] In Synodico adv. Tragœdiam Irenæi, c. 3. [Baluz. p. 688.]

"this place divided; some gave the Virgin no title but "that of 'Mother of GOD,' Theotocos, others only 'Mother "'of a man,' Anthropotocos; I to reunite them called her "'Mother of CHRIST,' Christotocos, a name which clearly "expresses both GOD and man. Do not disquiet yourself "therefore as to this matter, but be assured that my opi- "nions have never swerved from the true faith. If we meet "in the Council, which we hope soon to see convened, we "will settle every thing so as to remove all offence and dis- "cord. You ought to be less surprised than any one at the "presumption of the Egyptian, which is nothing more than "usual, or than what you have seen in so many instances: "In a short time, if it be GOD's will, our conduct will be "seen in a more favourable light." Such was the answer of Nestorius. A. D. 430. CH. XXI.

XXI. St. Cyril's last letter to Nestorius.

In the mean time St. Cyril, pursuant to the Pope's commission, assembled a Council at Alexandria: perhaps the one usually held in October, consisting of all the Bishops of the province[1] [e] of Egypt; and in the name of this Council wrote a synodical epistle[2] to Nestorius as his third and last admonition, declaring to him that if within the term prescribed by the Pope, that is within ten days after the receipt of this letter, he does not renounce his errors, they will have no further communion with him, and will not look upon him any more as Bishop, and that from that time forward they are in communion with all persons cleric or laic whom he has deprived or excommunicated. "It will not be sufficient," they continue[3], "to profess your belief in the Nicene Creed, "which you know very well how to evade by dint of forced "interpretations; you must declare in writing and on oath "that you anathematize your impious tenets, and that you "believe and will teach what we all of us believe; and when "I say *we*, I include all the Bishops of the East and West, "and all who guide the people. For the holy Council of "Rome, and we, are all agreed that the letters which have "been written to you by the Church of Alexandria are "orthodox, and free from error."

[1] διοικήσεως.] [2] Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 26.

[3] p. 398. B.]

[e] "The Canons (Con. Nic. c. 5. "[Labbe II. p. 56.] Antioch. c. 20. "[II. p. 569.] Can. Apost. c. 38. [I. "p. 51.]) appoin'ed two Synods to be "held ordinarily every year in each "province." Bingh. 2. 16. § 17.

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The synodal letter next enunciates its confession of faith. First, the Nicene Creed; then a full and precise exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation in accordance with the views propounded by St. Cyril in his former letters. The chief objections made by Nestorius are examined, and the following argument is drawn from the Eucharist[1]; "When "we solemnize in our churches the unbloody Sacrifice, we "declare the death of CHRIST, and confess His resurrection "and ascension; and so we approach the mystical bene- "dictions[2], and are sanctified, while we partake of the "sacred Flesh and precious Blood of our Saviour JESUS "CHRIST, which we do not receive as common flesh, GOD "forbid! nor as the flesh of a man sanctified and joined to "the WORD by a union of dignity, or of one in whom the "Deity resides, but as truly life-giving, and strictly one "with the WORD[3]. He who as GOD is in His own nature "life, became one with His flesh, and gave it a quickening "virtue; for else how could the flesh of a man be in its "own nature life-giving?" The letter concludes with Twelve Anathemas[4], which form a recapitulation of the whole. They are as follows:

[1 n. 7. 403. A.]

[2 μυστικαῖς εὐλογίαις]

[3 ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ.]

[4 p. 407. D.]

XXII. The XII Anathemas of St. Cyril.

I. If any man confess not that EMMANUEL is truly GOD, and consequently the Holy Virgin, Mother of GOD, (since by her, according to the flesh, was conceived the WORD of GOD who became flesh,) let him be anathema.

II. If any man confess not that the WORD which proceeds from GOD the FATHER is united to the flesh hypostatically, and that with His flesh He makes but one only CHRIST, who is both GOD and man, let him be anathema.

III. If any one, after confessing the union, divide the hypostases of the only CHRIST, joining them indeed together, but only by a connection of dignity, authority, or power, and not by a real union, let him be anathema.

IV. If any attribute to two persons, or to two hypostases, the things which the Apostles and the Evangelists relate, as spoken concerning CHRIST by the Saints or by Himself, and apply some to a man conceived of separately as external to the Divine WORD[5], and others (such as he deems worthy of GOD) solely to the WORD proceeding from the FATHER; let him be anathema.

[5 ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον ἰδικῶς νοουμένῳ]

V. If any dare to say that CHRIST is a man who bears GOD within him[1], instead of saying that he is GOD indeed, as only Son, and Son by nature,—inasmuch as the WORD was made flesh, and partook of flesh and blood, even as we; —let him be anathema. A. D. 430. CH. XXII. [1 θεοφόρον ἄνθρωπον]

VI. If any dare to say that the WORD proceeding from GOD the FATHER is the GOD or LORD of JESUS CHRIST, instead of confessing that the same is entirely both GOD and man,—since, according to the Scriptures, the WORD was made flesh;—let him be anathema.

VII. If any man say that JESUS as man was possessed by[2] GOD the WORD, and clothed with the glory of the only SON, as if He were not identical with Him; let him be anathema. [2 ἐνηργῆσθαι]

VIII. If any dare to say that the man assumed[3] by the WORD ought, along with the WORD, to be glorified and adored and called GOD, as if the one existed within the other, (for this is the notion suggested by the perpetual repetition of the phrase *along with*[4],) instead of honouring EMMANUEL with one entire adoration, and rendering to Him one entire glorification,—forasmuch as the WORD was made flesh;—let him be anathema. [3 ἀναλημφθέντα] [4 Supr. c. 8.]

IX. If any say that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was glorified by the HOLY GHOST, as having received from Him a power of acting against unclean spirits and working miracles upon men, which was foreign to Himself, instead of saying that the Spirit by which He worked them belonged to Him essentially[5]; let him be anathema. [5 ἴδιον αὐτοῦ]

X. Holy Scripture says[6] that JESUS CHRIST was made the High-Priest and Apostle of our faith, and that He offered Himself for us to GOD the FATHER as a sweet-smelling sacrifice[7]; if any man therefore say that since the time when our High-Priest and Apostle was made flesh and man like us, He is not the WORD of GOD but a man born of a woman, as if this man were a different person from the WORD; or if any say that CHRIST offered the sacrifice for Himself, instead of saying that it was solely for our sakes, (for He who knew no sin[8] stood in no need of any sacrifice;) let him be anathema. [6 Heb. 3. 1.] [7 Eph. 5. 2.] [8 2 Cor. 5. 21.]

XI. If any man confess not that the flesh of the LORD gives life, and belongs essentially[9] to the WORD Himself who [9 ἰδίαν.]

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proceeds from the FATHER, and attribute it to another who is only joined to Him in respect of dignity, or by virtue of a divine indwelling, instead of saying that it gives life because it belongs essentially to the WORD, who has the power of quickening[1] all things; let him be anathema.

[1 ζωογονεῖν]

XII. If any man confess not that the WORD of GOD suffered according to the flesh, was crucified according to the flesh, and was the first-born among the dead,—forasmuch as He is life, and giveth life, as GOD;—let him be anathema.

These are the Twelve famous Anathemas of St. Cyril against all the heretical propositions advanced by Nestorius[f]. The synodal letter in which they are inserted, is dated the thirtieth of November; but there is reason to think[2] that this was rather the day on which it arrived at Constantinople. It was accompanied by two other letters, one to the clergy and people of Constantinople[3], the other to the Abbots of the monasteries in that city[4]. In these he remarks that he has deferred having recourse to the grievous remedy of excommunication until the very last moment; and he exhorts them to continue steadfast in the faith, and to communicate freely with those whom Nestorius had excommunicated. Four Egyptian Bishops, Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Macarius[5], were deputed to convey these letters to Nestorius, along with Pope St. Cælestine's letter.

[2] v. not. Baluz. p. 422.

[3] C. Eph. Pt. I. c. 27.

[4] c. 28.

[5] Ibid. p. 504. A.

XXIII. The Council of Ephesus called.

Before the deputies arrived at Constantinople, the Em-

[f] Garner says of these anathemas (Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 339): "It is evident "that they are constructed with exquisite skill and in conformity to the "method of geometricians. They first "lay down the theorem to be proved,—"that IMMANUEL is GOD,—with the "principle on which the proof depends—'the WORD was made flesh' "(Anath. I.) After this come two "lemmas, stating, first, that the union "of the WORD to the flesh *was* hypostatic (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) (Anath. "II.); secondly, that it *was not* a "union of dignity or a moral union, "(ἐν σχέσει,) (Anath. III.) Then "follow nine corollaries (Anath. IV. "—XII.) which run up into the two "great points of the unity of CHRIST "and the redemption of man. And "whereas there are three kinds of "unity; in An. IV. and V. he main"tains the subjective or personal unity, "(unitas supposiți); in VI., VII., and "VIII., the unity of worth, worship, "and dignity; in IX., the unity of "operation and power. Again, there "are three parts also of redemption, "sanctification of the soul, vivification "of the body, and satisfaction for sin. "The first is treated of in An. X., the "second in An. XI., the third in "An. XII." He further remarks that they are drawn up in the very language made use of by the Church-Fathers, only compressed and concentrated (quasi in fulmina) until they seem to have acquired the force and vividness of lightning.

peror Theodosius had ordered a general Council to be called. This was a step which both parties urged him to adopt. That the Catholics wished for it, is evident from the petition of Basil and the Monks who had been maltreated by Nestorius[1]; and Nestorius himself desired it[2], thinking he should be able to influence it by the assistance of the secular power joined to the support of the Easterns, and so obtain from it a condemnation of St. Cyril on the charges brought against him by Chæremon and his other calumniators. The letter by which the Council was summoned is in the usual form, being written in the name of the two Emperors, and directed to the Metropolitans of each province[3]. The one which has been preserved[4] is that addressed to St. Cyril; it is in substance as follows: "The troubles which have arisen in the "Church have made us think it an indispensable duty to "call together the Bishops of the whole world, though we "would willingly have spared them the anxiety and fatigue. "Your piety therefore will do well, as soon as the approach-"ing feast of Easter shall be passed, to repair to Ephesus so "as to be ready by the day of Pentecost; you will bring "with you such Bishops as you shall think necessary, pro-"viding that a sufficient number remain to conduct the busi-"ness of the province, and that so many as shall be sufficient "may come to the Council. In the mean time no one shall "introduce privately any innovation[5] until the Council be "assembled. We doubt not but that all the Bishops will "be prompt in their attendance; which if any fail to be, he "shall not be excused before GOD or before us. Given at "Constantinople the thirteenth of the calends of December, "in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third "of Valentinian," (i. e. the nineteenth of November, A.D. 430.) The city of Ephesus was selected as having easy access both by sea and land, with an abundant supply of all the necessaries of life[6] [6].

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[1] Ibid. c. 30. [p. 430. C.] [2] v. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 80.]

[3] Evagr. l. Hist. c. 3. [p. 252. et Vales. in l.]

[4] C. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 32. [It is headed θείου γράμμα.]

[5] καινοτομίας]

[6] Sacra per Joan. C. Eph p. 721. C.

[6] Ephesus stood at the Eastern side of a beautiful vale, covered with groves of tamarisk and watered by the mazy Cayster (the far-famed Ἄσιος λειμών of Hom. Il. B. 461). It was a place of immense resort, as might be inferred from the single fact of its wondrous temple. At one period it is supposed to have had a population of six hundred thousand. Strabo calls it "the greatest "emporium of the whole of lower Asia;" and modern travellers testify that few cities in the world have so many sad reliques of departed grandeur. It was the seat of the metropolitan of the Asian diocese, but now only contains

A. D. 430. CH. XXIV. [1 p. 434.]

Besides the circular letter to St. Cyril, there was another[1] written to him privately by Theodosius, in which he charges him with being the author of all the Church troubles, and complains of his having written two different letters, one to himself and his wife Eudocia, the other to his sister Pulcheria, as if the imperial family had been divided; he adds, however, that St. Cyril has his forgiveness, and he entreats him to join with the rest of the Council in endeavouring to restore tranquillity to the Church. This letter shews what prejudices the Emperor had imbibed against St. Cyril[h].

XXIV. St. Augustine's last Works.

St. Augustine was called to the Council by name, out of deference to his great reputation; for there appears to be no other reason why he should have been distinguished from so many Bishops. An officer called Ebagnius[2] was sent with the Emperor's letter; but on his arrival at Carthage, which was not till near Easter in the following year, 431, he was told that St. Augustine had departed this life; he therefore returned to Constantinople with letters from the Bishop Capreolus, informing the Emperor of that event. St. Augustine's last work was the second answer to Julian, which he left imperfect. Julian had written four books against St. Augustine's first book On Marriage and Concupiscence; but when he had seen the second he composed eight books in answer to it, which he addressed to Florus, a Pelagian

[2] Liberat. Brev. c. 5. [p. 128.]

among its mud cottages a single Christian family. Its name still preserves the memory of its Holy Apostle, being called by the Turks Aja-salouk, a corruption of ἅγιος θεολόγος.

[h] It would seem from both letters of Theodosius that his main reason for calling a Council was the belief into which he had flattered himself that this step would put an end to what he considered the factious clamour against Nestorius. He was evidently disposed to look on St. Cyril as an unprincipled agitator, and there is a 'vis inertiæ' which always operates in favour of what is to us the established order of things. On the mind of a monarch or statesman this influence must be particularly strong; for he, as it were, represents, and is identified with, the existing state of things. Besides, he looks on men in a professional way as beings who are to be governed and kept quiet; the very fact therefore of a man's having been the active cause (though perhaps not the guilty cause) of dissension, is in his eyes a sufficient reason for condemning him. And if the subject of dissension be of a religious nature, appealing to men's consciences, which are beyond the jurisdiction even of an Emperor, what wonder if the originator of the commotion be viewed with anger and disgust? Who can take pleasure in being made to feel conscious of impotence?

The letter specially directed to St. Cyril is peevish throughout: on the subject of the separate letter sent to Pulcheria he exhibits particular soreness, indicating, perhaps, that the struggle against the ascendancy which the superior intellect of his sister had gained over him was not yet ended. The circular letter is in a far higher tone, and not unworthy of his position.

Bishop, and one of those who had accompanied him to Constantinople. Julian was ignorant of the fact that St. Augustine had composed six books in reply to his first four; indeed, if we are to believe him, he did not know that St. Augustine had ever seen these four books; and this may be the truth, for he was in Cilicia at the time. Pressed as he was by other business, St. Augustine could hardly be prevailed upon to answer these eight books, which contained nothing beyond invectives and vague declamation. At length he yielded to the urgent solicitations of St. Alypius, and undertook it for the sake of those ignorant men who might read Julian's reply without perceiving its weakness. St. Augustine was engaged on this work to the close of his life; he lived to finish six books of it, which were replies to the first six of Julian's eight. His plan is first to quote Julian's own words, and then to answer them article by article. As Julian had done little more than repeat what he had said in his former work, St. Augustine is frequently obliged, in this treatise, to quote himself. In spite of this it contains passages of great force and value, in which the same truths are better developed and more vividly illustrated than before.

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In the last years of his life, subsequently to his Retractations, he made a compendium of the moral precepts of Scripture, in a work which he entitled Speculum, that is, "the Mirror;" because by it the faithful might perceive the state of their souls, and learn what progress they were making in virtue. He sets down in it such precepts only as refer to the regulation of our manners, and of these only such as are delivered in simple, direct, unmetaphorical language; he does not use as formerly the version made from the Greek of the Septuagint, but the more perspicuous one made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew. He begins with the laws which follow the Decalogue in Exodus, and proceeds to draw out the moral precepts of every part of the Old Testament; not omitting the books which the Church receives as canonical, though not included in the Hebrew canon[1]. He commences

[1] See Bingham, 14. 3. § 16. "St. Austin seems to have followed the "canon of the third Council of Carthage" (supr. 20. 26. x. and 22. 4. d); for when "Hilary of Arles expressly told St. Austin that the

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his extract from the New Testament at the Sermon on the Mount, and continues it down to the Apocalypse. As among so many passages of Scripture, there were some which seemed contradictory, he intended to explain them in certain Queries which he would afterwards have proposed, but his design was never executed.

XXV. Desolation of Africa.

In the mean time the Vandals continued to ravage Africa with a devastating fury which very much embittered the latter part of St. Augustine's life. Such is the account given by Possidius Bishop of Calama, an eye-witness, who proceeds thus[1]: "He saw the cities reduced to ruins, the buildings "in the country levelled with the ground, the inhabitants "either slain or saved only by flight, the churches bereft "of Priests and ministers, the consecrated virgins and the "other religious persons dispersed in every direction. Some "had sunk under torture, some had perished by the sword; "others were in captivity, slaves to brutal and cruel enemies, "who had rent from them their purity both of body, mind, "and faith. Under his very eyes the hymns and praises of "GOD ceased in the churches, nay, the sacred buildings "themselves were in many places reduced to ashes. The "solemn sacrifices that are due to GOD were no longer "offered in their appointed places, (being performed in "private houses, or other unconsecrated buildings, from "want of churches.) No one asked for the administration "of the Sacraments, or if they did, it was hardly possible to "find any to minister them. Those who fled to the woods, "or the mountains, into rocks and caverns, or fortresses, "were either taken and slain, or died a worse death by "hunger; the Bishops and clergy whom GOD in His mercy "suffered not to fall into the hands of their enemies, or for "whom, if taken, He made a way of escape, were yet stripped "of every thing, and reduced to the lowest point of penury, "so that it was impossible to give them all such assistance "as they wanted; in a word, fruitful as Africa was in "Churches, not above three,—Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha, "—could now be pointed out as having escaped the de-

[1] Possid. c. 28. [ap. Opp. August. x. Append. p. 257.]

"Churches of France were offended "at him because he had used a proof "from the book of Wisdom, which "was not canonical," he only pleads "that it was so received by the Chris- "tians of Afric before him."

"vastation which levelled both churches and cities in one "common ruin." A. D. 430. CH. XXV.

Amidst these alarms[1], St. Augustine was consulted by Honoratus Bishop of Thiava, as to whether the Bishops and clergy ought to retire at the approach of the barbarians. St. Augustine at first sent him a letter[2] which he had written on the same subject to a Bishop called Quodvultdeus; but Honoratus was not satisfied with it, and urged certain objections grounded on our LORD's words, "When you shall "be persecuted in one city, flee to another[3]." To which some other Bishop added, "If the LORD commanded us to "flee from persecutions in which we gain the Martyr's "crown, how much more from the incursions of the bar- "barians, where there is nothing but fruitless sufferings?" St. Augustine sent a long letter[4] in reply, and set down the rules which should guide us on such occasions. To the argument drawn from our LORD's words, he opposes[5] what He elsewhere says, "that the hireling flees when he sees the "wolf coming[6]," and adds, "In order to reconcile these two "quotations we must say that when the danger extends to "all[7], the pastors and ministers of the Church ought in no "case to leave the flock; that ministry which is always "so necessary for them, is especially required in time of "affliction, for then the people stand in need of consolation "and support; besides which, the impending danger makes "all sorts of persons crowd to church[8], and demand baptism, "absolution, or at least penance. If ministers are then "wanting, what a misfortune to those who leave this world "without being regenerated or absolved! and what a re- "proach to the absent ministers! We ought to fear these "spiritual evils more than any temporal calamity[9], ay, more "than torments or death; for it is the first duty of the "pastor to give his flock food convenient for them; by "deserting them he incurs a certain evil through dread of "suffering a contingent one[1], which is surely not the part of "a Christian.

"But if[2] the persecutors mark out a particular pastor for "their prey, while a sufficient number of ministers remain to "supply the wants of the flock, in that case he should fly, "as did St. Paul from Damascus, and as St. Athanasius did[3].

[1] c. 30.

[2] no longer extant.

[3] Matt. 10. 23.

[4] Epist. 228. [opp. II. p. 830.]

[5] n. 6.

[6] John 10. 12.

[7] n. 2.

[8] n. 8. [Supr. 19. 2.]

[9] n. 7.

[1] n. 5.

[2] n. 2. n. 6.

[3] So too St. Cyprian.]

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"If the whole flock betake themselves to flight, then the "pastor ought to follow them, since it is only for the sake "of the flock that he stays. He may also retire when he [1 n. 5.] "has no flock left, as happened to some Bishops of Spain[1], "whose people had been slain, destroyed in besieged towns, [2 n. 10.] "dispersed, or made captives. Some ministers too[2] may re- "serve themselves for the service of the Church, when there "are others to supply their absence; but they ought not "lightly to allow themselves either to shun that self-sacrifice [3 n. 11.] "which they require from the laity[3], or to think themselves "more necessary to the Church than their brother eccle- "siastics; the first would savour of cowardice, the last of [4 n. 12.] "presumption. If all resolve to stay[4], though it is thought "proper that some should retire, the matter must be de- [5 n. 13.] "cided by lot. Should it be feared[5] that if all the ministers "stay the laity will resume too much confidence, they should "be admonished that their pastors stay only for their sakes." Thus did St. Augustine encourage his brethren.

XXVI. Death of St. Augustine.

It was not long before Hippo was besieged by the Vandals; Count Boniface, who was then at war with them, having shut himself up there, with the Goths who were in the Roman alliance. The siege lasted nearly fourteen months, and the Vandals cut off from the besieged all communication with the sea. Possidius and many other neighbouring [6 Possid. c. 28. 7 c. 29.] Bishops had fled thither for refuge[6]. One day, as they were at table[7], St. Augustine said to them, "Know, that while this "calamity lasts, I beseech GOD either to deliver this city "from the enemies who encompass it, or if He has otherwise "disposed of it, to endue His servants with resignation to "His will; or at least to withdraw me from this world." From that time they all united with him to make the same prayer to GOD, and he continued to preach in the church with all his characteristic vigour of thought and holy boldness, until his last sickness.

This was a fever, which seized on him in the third month of the siege. He now practised what he had often told his [8 c. 31.] friends[8], that no one after having received Baptism ought to leave this life without repentance, not even the most virtuous Christians, or even the Bishops. He therefore caused the penitential Psalms, ("which are few in number," says

Possidius,—probably the seven we still call by that name,) to be written out and fixed to the wall near his bed; he then read them, with tears streaming down incessantly[1]. And lest he should be diverted from this pious exercise, he, ten days before his death, desired those about him not to suffer any one to come into his chamber[k] except at the hours when his physicians came to visit him, or when his food was brought in. His desire was complied with, and he thus spent the whole time in prayer. He was perfectly sensible at his death, neither his sight nor his hearing being impaired. His friends were at his bedside praying with him when he died. He lived seventy-six years[2], forty of which were spent in the ministry. His death occurred[3] on the fifth of the calends of September, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Valentinian, i. e. on the twenty-eighth of August, A.D. 430; and on that day he is still commemorated by the Church. At his funeral the Sacrifice was offered to GOD in the presence of the Bishops. He made no will, being so poor that he had nothing to dispose of; but it was always his earnest wish that his library, and all the books belonging to his church, should be carefully preserved. These particulars we learn from Possidius, who had lived in the closest intimacy with him nearly forty years, and who has left us the following relation of his miracles. "I know," he says, "that both when he was "Priest, and after he was Bishop, being earnestly desired to "entreat GOD for some possessed persons, he prayed with "tears, and the devils went out of them. I know that when "he was sick, and in bed, a diseased person was brought to "him that he might lay his hands on him and heal him; his "reply was, 'If I had power over distempers I should heal

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[1 jugiter ac ubertim flebat.]

[2 Supr. 18. 48.]

[3 Prosp. Chron. [p. 655.]

[k "The Sunday following he [Dr. "Donne] appointed his servants that "if there were any business yet un-"done, that concerned him or them-"selves, it should be prepared against "Saturday next; for after that day he "would not mix his thoughts with any "thing that concerned this world; nor "ever did; but, as Job, so he waited for "the appointed day of his dissolution. ". . . . He lay fifteen days earnestly "expecting his hourly change." Life by I. Walton. An exemplification of St. Augustine's rule occurs in an incident of Dr. Johnson's Life which, when taken in connection with the character of the man and his life-long fear of death, is very affecting. "He told me "that on the preceding day he had "given himself up to fasting, humilia-"tion, and devotion: he had ordered "Frank not to admit any one, 'for,' "said he, 'your master is preparing to "'die.'" (Vol. v. p. 153. ed. Croker, 1831).

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"'myself first.' The other answered, 'A voice in a dream "'said to me, Repair to the Bishop Augustine, let him lay "'hands on the sick man, and he shall be healed.' On "hearing this he did as he was requested, and the sick "person immediately retired in full health." Possidius also left a catalogue of St. Augustine's works[1], comprising his books, sermons, and letters; he makes them amount to a thousand and thirty, but states that he had not been able to collect the whole of his works. His list contains some which are no longer extant.

[1] Vita c. 18. et Indiculus [in calce Tomi x. App. p. 282.]

XXVII. St. Alexander founder of the Acemetes.

About the same time, St. Alexander, founder of the famous institute of the Acemetes, died near Constantinople. He was born in Asia Minor[2], of a noble family, and after studying at Constantinople, had held office in the Emperor's palace. But he soon felt the vanity of the world, and the disrelish he conceived for it was still further increased when he came to peruse the Scriptures. He gave up his employment, distributed his wealth to the poor, and went into Syria, where he embraced a monastic life, under the government of an Abbot called Elias, to whom he was attracted by his great reputation. He continued here four years, and then, after the example of the Prophet Elias, retired into the desert, where he remained seven years. He converted Rabbūla the governor of a neighbouring city, and many other Pagans. These wished to make him their Bishop, and as the gates of the city were kept guarded, Alexander got himself let down from the wall by night in a basket[1]. Rabbula on his conversion emancipated his slaves, distributed his wealth to the poor, and retiring into the wilderness, led the life of an anchorite. He was afterwards taken thence and made Bishop of Edessa[m], the metropolis of Meso-

[2] Acta SS. Bolland. Janu. 15. [T. i. p. 1021.]

[1] Cf. Josh. 2. 15; 1 Sam. 19. 12; Acts 9. 24, 25; 2 Cor. 11. 33; and see Bloomfield's Rec. Synopt. on Acts 9. 24.

[m] This took place in 412, and he continued to hold the see until his death in 435; see the Chronicle of Edessa in Assemanni, Bibl. Or. I. p. 401, 403. (cf. p. 197). Theodorus L. (H. E. 2. 40. Vales. p. 580) mentions him as having accused Andrew of Samosata for writing against the XII Anathemas of St. Cyril. At first he had espoused the cause of John of Antioch (Baluz. Nov. Coll. p. 705), but he afterwards became so ardently attached to St. Cyril that he assembled a Council at Edessa, in which he renounced communion with John and the other Orientals, and consigned the writings of Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata to the flames (p. 748). St. Cyril in a letter which he wrote to him (Labbe, V. p. 468) calls him "the "pillar and ground of the faith to all "the Oriental Churches." He joined

potamia[n]. His wife also dedicated herself to GOD, and built a monastery, where she shut herself up with her daughters and maids, and continued in sanctity to the end of her days. A. D. 430. CH. XXVII.

Alexander having escaped from the city where they wished to make him Bishop, walked a two days' journey into the desert, and came upon a place which served as a retreat to thirty robbers. He entreated GOD for their souls; the captain was the first convert, and died eight days after his baptism. The rest having been also baptized, turned their cave into a monastery, putting themselves under the government of a Superior appointed by Alexander.

Leaving them, he built a monastery on the banks of the Euphrates[o], and for three whole years prayed to GOD that he might be able to establish there a choir who should chaunt the psalms incessantly night and day. His society increased so much that it soon numbered no less than four hundred Monks of different nations; native Syrians, Greeks, Latins, and Egyptians. They were divided into several bands which relieved each other, and so performed divine service without ceasing; they form the earliest instance of the practice that we meet with. These Monks of St. Alexander observed a most rigid poverty, none of them had above one tunic, and

Acacius in opposing the Crypto-Nestorians, who thought to neutralize the effect of the statute against reading Nestorius' Works by circulating those of Theodorus of Mopsuesta and Diodorus of Tarsus. (Baluz. p. 942).

[n] Edessa (called in Syriac Orrhoa and Arach, in Arabic Orfa and Rhoa) is on the great caravan route from Aleppo viâ Bira to Mosul. As the road from Diarbekir also passes through Edessa, it has long possessed that importance which formerly attached to its neighbour Harran, as the entrepôt between Syria and Mesopotamia. (See Mannert, Geographie der R. und Gr. v. p. 202 sqq., and Pococke, Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 158). St. Ephraem (who lived at Edessa) and St. Jerome make it to be the Erech of Gen. 10. 10. built by Nimrod. The ruins of Nimrod's palace are still shewn to the traveller. There are now only two thousand Christians in it, out of a population of fifty thousand; though Abulfeda mentions that in old times it had three hundred monasteries. St. Helena the mother of Constantine is said to have been a native of the place, and founded the large church which was afterwards reckoned a world-wonder. (Ersch and Gruber. s. v). The account of the conversion of the Edessenes in Euseb. H. E. 1. 13. is well known.

[o] The Euphrates had always the greatest attractions to the meditative piety of the eremite, being in this respect second (if second) only to the Nile. The more tranquil and subdued would find a congenial retreat in the level plains which stretch from it on both sides in the lower part of its course. The sterner and bolder class of minds would seek the mountain ridges which skirt it in its earlier course. It was in this last district, or the country on the right bank of its western elbow, between Someisât (Samosata) and Bâlis, that the earlier Syrian Monks chiefly resided. (Cf. Fleury, xvii. 7).

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no one laid in more provisions than sufficed for one day, and if any thing remained after their scanty meal it was given to the poor, that nothing might be left till the morrow.

Having continued twenty years in this monastery on the Euphrates, he appointed seventy of his disciples to go and preach the faith to the Gentiles; he chose out a hundred and fifty more to follow him into the desert, and the rest he left in the monastery under the government of Trophimus. He had been formerly at Antioch, and had shewn himself very zealous there in opposing the intrusion of the Bishop Porphyrius[1], A.D. 404; he now, after a lapse of twenty years, returned thither surrounded by his disciples. But Theodosius who was then Bishop being prejudiced against him, banished him from the city, probably mistaking him for one of the Euchites, or Messalians[2]; indeed his continual devotions, his erratic habits, and the country he then came from[p], would readily favour such a supposition. An ecclesiastic named Malchus, attended by some laymen, went by the Bishop's order to expel Alexander, and gave him a blow on the ear. Alexander, without shewing any emotion, merely repeated these words from the Gospel[3]: "Now the servant's name was "Malchus." The people, who looked upon him as a Prophet, took his part, and Malchus was obliged to retire. However, the Governor compelled Alexander to leave Antioch, and banished him with his disciples to Chalcis. He disguised himself like a beggar and went to a monastery called Crithenium, where he was somewhat surprised to find his institution of perpetual singing of psalms. He rightly concluded that the convent had been founded by one of his disciples, for this had been in fact the case.

[1] Supr. 21. 47.

[2] Supr. 19. 25.

[3] John 18. 10.

At length he quitted Syria, and went with twenty-four of his Monks to Constantinople, where he founded a monastery near the church of St. Menas; and in a short time there were gathered round him three hundred Monks, speaking different languages, Greeks, Latins, and Syrians, all Catholics; many of whom had previously resided in other monasteries. He divided them into six companies, who chaunted

[p] For Mesopotamia was the country from which the Messalians first issued. Epiphanius, de Hær. 80. § 3. (ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ὁρμώμενοι). Theodoret has himself been quoted for a description of their errors, supr. 19. 25.

the service in succession; so that in this monastery GOD was praised throughout the whole four and twenty hours. Hence their name Acemetes[1], which, in Greek, signifies men that watch, or abstain from sleep; because there was always one part of the society thus watching. As they did not engage in any labour, and had no property except their books, people wondered how they were able to subsist, and many suspected them of belonging to the sect of the Messalians[2]. Alexander was twice arrested, and an attempt was made to interrupt his perpetual singing. His disciples were sent to their former monasteries, and he was then set at liberty under the idea that he would be left companionless; but the very day on which he went out of prison, he was rejoined by his Monks, and they renewed their psalmody. He departed with them towards the mouth of the Euxine sea, where after founding a monastery, he died about the year 430[q].

A. D. 430. CH. XXVIII.

[1] ἀκοίμητοι

[2] Cf. Nilus ap. Vales. ad Theodoret. H. E. 4. 11.]

At the close of November, A.D. 430, at which time the Council of Ephesus had been called, Nestorius wrote to Pope St. Cælestine, in these terms[3]: "I am informed that "the venerable Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, alarmed at the "complaints which have been preferred to us against him, is "seeking to avoid the holy Council which is to be held to "consider the charges brought against him, and is amusing "himself with words, namely Theotocos and Christotocos, "one of which he admits, and the other he formally rejects, "though sometimes employed even by himself. For my "part, I will not oppose any one who has a mind to use "Theotocos, provided only he does not understand it in the "sense attached to it by Arius and Apollinarius, with a view "to confound the two natures; but I have no hesitation in "preferring the word Christotocos, as being that which "was used by the Angels and Evangelists;" he here refers to those passages in the Gospel, in which, when the temporal nativity of the Son of GOD is spoken of, He is called JESUS or

XXVIII. Another letter from Nestorius to the Pope.

[3] Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 80.

[q] His followers, the Accœmetæ, are accused by Nicephorus (15. 23) of favouring the Nestorian heresy. In the Eutychian controversies about A. D. 482. the Accœmetæ rejected the Henoticon and remained in communion with the Church of Rome. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 319. Cf. S. Basnage, Annales, t. iii. p. 701. 713. They were afterwards condemned by the consentient Eastern and Western Churches, A. D. 533. See Fleury, xxxii. 35 and 39.

A. D. 430. CH. XXIX.

CHRIST. He proceeds, "If we consider the two opposite sects, "that of Arius or Apollinarius on the one hand, and that of "Paul of Samosata on the other; the former of which uses "exclusively the word Theotocos, and the latter exclusively "Anthropotocos, because the first acknowledges Mary to "be simply mother of GOD, and the second acknowledges "her simply as mother of a man, ought we not to endeavour "to reclaim both of them, by a word which subincludes both "natures, which is the case with Christotocos? I have written "to this effect to the Bishop of Alexandria, as you will see "by the letters which I sent you. As to the rest, it has "been the pleasure of the most pious Emperor to appoint "a general Council to consider of certain other Church "matters; for this dispute about words, will, I believe, be "easily discussed." It seems probable that Nestorius sent this letter along with the Emperor's mandate for the calling of a general Council.

XXIX. His last sermons.

In the mean time[1] the four Bishops who represented the Alexandrian Council, having arrived at Constantinople, went to the Cathedral on Sunday the thirtieth of November, A. D. 430, during the performance of divine service, and in the presence of all the clergy, and of nearly all those who bore the title of Illustres, delivered to Nestorius the letters of St. Cyril and St. Cælestine. Nestorius received them, and appointed a time for a private interview on the next day; but when the Bishops came, he closed his doors against them, and gave them no answer. Six days after, that is, on Saturday the sixth of December[2], he preached in the church a sermon[3], which is a sort of epitome of his doctrinal views. He inveighs against St. Cyril, not indeed by name, but under the sufficiently obvious designation of *the Egyptian;* he challenges him to combat, and accuses him of having commenced his assault with arrows of gold; that is, by distribution of largesses, which was one of the charges brought against Nestorius himself[4][r]. He remarks that the

[1] C. Eph. Actio I. p. 503. B.

[2] v. not. Baluzii p. 422.

[3] Ap. Mercat. [Pt. 2. p. 84.] Serm. 12.

[4] Libell. Basil. n. 4. [θαῤῥῶν τοῖς χρήμασι p. 430. E.]

[r] The personal feelings which were mingled in the controversy are visible in but too many documents on both sides, but especially on the side of Nestorius. The language of Theodosius to St. Cyril (supr. c. 23) is so obviously unbecoming, that the sneering sceptic who hated or despised both parties alike, after selecting some phrases as exhibiting the 'baleful prejudice,' which 'the Byzantine Pontiff 'had instilled into the royal ear,' says, 'I should be curious to know how 'much Nestorius *paid* for these ex-

Bishops of Alexandria always opposed those of Antioch, as Meletius and Flavian, and St. Chrysostom, who had been elected from the Church of Antioch; and hence he wished it to be inferred that the pending dispute resulted only from the old jealousy between these two sees. He complains that they prosecute him only for the word Theotocos, which he pretends to allow, but with dishonest glosses and constructions. He disclaims the errors of Paul of Samosata and Photinus, of which he gives a careful and discriminating exposition, and proposes the word Christotocos as a remedy for all the prevailing errors[s]. A. D. 430. CH. XXIX.

On the next day, being Sunday, the seventh of December,

'pressions so mortifying to his rival.' Gibbon, c. 47.

[s] Garner says of this sermon, "there "is none of his discourses from which "we can learn so much of the nature "of Nestorius' views as from this." It may be worth while therefore to give a fuller account of it than is found in the text. "The LORD of all," he says, "took our nature upon Him as a "garment never thenceforward to be "put off, as the inseparable robe of the "Divine substance. He has placed it "at the right hand of His own Divinity; "without it He gives nothing to us on "earth; without it He will not judge "the dead; it partakes in the regal "power of His divinity. Away then "with Paul of Samosata, who denies "divinity to that which is always "joined and knit unto divinity, and to "which GOD has given a name which "is above every name. Nor let any "one incredulously think that this ex-"ceeding honour given to the visible "depreciates the glory of the invisible "divine substance; the visible and in-"visible are one SON and one CHRIST; "the natures are two, the SON one." The people here cried out, 'He says '*ONE* CHRIST, what more do you 'want?' but Mercator (Pt. 2. p. 117) shews that he meant only a oneness like that subsisting between GOD and the Church (as in John 17. 21). Nestorius then turns to St. Cyril: "Why "dost thou seek to terrify me? I will "not fear, but while I breathe will "stand up for the sound doctrine. All "that they can object to me is, that "I will not use the word Θεοτόκος. "Search and you will find that Apol-"linaris, Arius, and Eunomius all used "the word; why then should it be "preached up as if it were the very "touchstone of true theology? Only "do you condemn those who use the "word in the Apollinarian sense, and "I will join you in using it, I will do "as St. Paul did, when 'he became a "'Jew that he might gain the Jews.' "The heretic may use the word Θεο-"τόκος, the Catholic uses both Θεοτό-"κος and ἀνθρωποτόκος. Use both, "and you will escape the toils of "Arius on the one hand, and of Paul "and Photinus on the other. Paul "and Photinus are both ignorant of "the divinity of the Son, and of the "two natures. Paul makes our LORD "to have been a mere man; Photinus "confesses that He was the WORD, "[i. e. an act of the operative WORD,] "but he does not give an eternal pre-"existence to the WORD [for an *act* "cannot have pre-existence]; he says "'The WORD was made flesh;' but "not 'In the beginning was the "'WORD.' The SON was 'made of a "'woman, made under the law.' Who "was made under the law? Not the "Deity. You must admit the word "'Ανθρωποτόκος or you overthrow the "whole economy which is essential to "our redemption. For my part, I "prefer the word Χριστοτόκος, as ex-"pressing the other two. Thus then, "my brethren," he concluded, "let us "study peace, and not set the mem-"bers of CHRIST at war with each "other; if a word cause my brother "to offend, I will not use the word so "long as the world endureth." The concessions here made are attributable to the remonstrance of John of Antioch.

A. D. 430. CH. XXX.

he preached another sermon[1], in which he affirmed plainly that the Virgin is mother of GOD, and mother of the man; but still with the reservation that he thinks the word Theotocos dangerous. By these sermons he pretended to answer the letters of the two Councils of Rome and Alexandria, which the deputies of Egypt had doubtless published; but as the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril were what bore hardest upon him, he endeavoured to combat them by twelve anathemas which he proposed on his side.

[1] Ap. Mercat. [Pt. 2. p. 93.] Serm. 13.

John of Antioch, on receiving a copy of St. Cyril's last letter to Nestorius, was also offended at his twelve anathemas, and believed[2] that in his eagerness to oppose Nestorius, he had himself overstepped the limits of orthodoxy, and fallen into the error of Apollinarius. He therefore ordered two of the most learned Bishops of his province, Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret of Cyrus[3], to answer it in writing, which they did. Andrew composed his treatise in the name of the Eastern Churches, who approved of it in Council. Theodoret prefixed his name to his writing, which was in a keener style than that of Andrew. He circulated it in Phœnicia and the neighbouring countries, and sent it to Constantinople, whence Evoptius, Bishop of Ptolemais in the Pentapolis, furnished copies of it to St. Cyril. Andrew and Theodoret both wrote prior to the Council of Ephesus.

[2] Liberat. Brev. c. 4. [p. 127. C.]

[3] Opp. t. 4. p. 766.

XXX. The origin of Theodoret.

Theodoret, who made himself so famous in this dispute, was born at Antioch about the year 387. His parents were noble, rich, and pious, especially his mother, who had obtained this son after thirteen years' barrenness[4], in answer to the prayers of the famous Hermit Macedonius, surnamed the Barley-eater[5]. This was the reason of his being called Theodoret, or God's-gift. In his infancy he often received the benediction of St. Peter[6] of Galatia, and of St. Aphraates[7], and was dedicated to GOD in the cradle, according to the promise of his parents[8]. He was educated in a monastery three miles distant from Apamea, and seventy-five from Antioch[9], to which city he occasionally resorted, and in which he was ordained Reader while very young[1]. Here he contracted an intimacy both with Nestorius, and with John afterwards Bishop of Antioch, and distinguished himself for his doctrine and eloquence. At length he was raised to the

[4] Theod. Philoth. c. 13. [p. 839. D. 840.]

[5] [κριθοφάγος] Fleury, 17. 7.

[6] Philoth. c. 9. [p. 826. c.]

[7] c. 8. p. 819. C.

[8] Epist. 81. p. 954. A.

[9] Epist. 119. p. 993. A.

[1] Philoth. c. 12. p. 832. C.

Episcopate, much against his inclination, about the year 423, A. D. 430. having passed the whole of his life up to that time in the CH. XXX. monastery, the simple manners of which he ever after retained[1].

[1] Philoth. c. 17. fin.

The city of Cyrus, of which he was Bishop, was in the part of Syria named Euphratensis. It is said[2] that the Jews founded it in honour of Cyrus, at their return from the captivity. Though in itself inconsiderable, it numbered eight hundred parishes among its dependencies[3]. Theodoret distributed his patrimony immediately after the death of his parents, and made no purchase either of house or land, or even of a sepulchre[4]; neither did he or his ever receive aught from any person, not even a garment or a loaf[5]. He was possessed of nothing but the tattered clothes[6] which he wore. However, out of the revenues of the Church, he built public galleries, and two great bridges, and repaired the baths. He made an aqueduct to ensure a large supply of water to the city, which had previously possessed nothing but the river. He solicited the Empress Pulcheria to relieve the country, which was so loaded with imposts, that several lands were thrown entirely out of cultivation[7].

[2] Procop. de æd. Just. II. c. 11. [t. 2. p. 49.]

[3] Theod. t. 3. p. 987. A.]

[4] Ep. 113. [p. 987. D.]

[5] Ep. 81. [p. 954. οὐκ ὀβολὸν, οὐχ ἱμάτιον· ἕνα ἄρτον ἢ ὦον. . . .]

[6] τῶν βακίων ὧν περιβέβλημαι.]

[7] Ep. 45. [p. 930. A.]

As to his spiritual functions[8] he converted and baptized above ten thousand Marcionites[1] in eight towns; he converted another town of Eunomians, and one of Arians; in a word, his diocese, which on his accession had been one mass of heresy, was now altogether free from that evil leaven. Such a change, however, was not effected without difficulty. More than once his blood was spilt; he was frequently stoned and in peril of his life. He acknowledged that he had received much assistance in these conversions from the prayers both of James the Hermit[9], whose life he wrote, and of the Saints whose reliques he possessed. By his discourses and writings he assailed in succession all the enemies of religion; the Pagans, Jews, Marcionites, Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians[1]. He often preached at Antioch, where, according to his own account[2], he taught six years under the Bishop

[8] Ep. 81. [p. 954. C.] Epist. 145. p. 1026. C. Ep. 113. p. 986. D.

[9] Philoth. c. 21. p. 861.

[1] Ep. 145. p. 1022.

[2] Ep. 83. p. 957.

[1] St. Chrysostom had made an effort to bring them back to the Church (v. supr. 20. 41), but, it seems, without success. With regard to the number of the Marcionites converted, there appears to be some discrepancy; in Ep. 113, he says, "a thousand souls" (χιλίας); in Ep. 145 'ten thousand' (μυρίους).

A. D. 430. CH. XXXI.

Theodotus, thirteen under John, who was often so excited with joy while listening to him as to stand up and clap his hands, and lastly under Domnus, but at all times drawing great applause from his audience[1 u]. Such was Theodoret, who, prepossessed by his high regard for Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, thought he found in the anathemas of St. Cyril some expressions which favoured the error of Apollinarius, against which he was extremely zealous[x].

[1] Ep. ad Joann. Germ. t. 4. p. 703.

XXXI. Writings against Nestorius.

On the other side, Marius Mercator, who was at Constantinople, published an answer to the twelve anathemas of Nestorius, which serves as a vindication of those of St. Cyril. He entitled his answer[2], "The Twelve Blasphemous Articles "of Nestorius, in which he contradicts the letters sent to "him by St. Cælestine Bishop of Rome, and St. Cyril of "Alexandria, and endeavours, by very short answers, to "refute the twelve articles of faith which had been sent to "him. We have given the first place to those of the Bishop

[2] Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 116.

[u] His words are, "The brethren, and "Readers, and Deacons, and Priests, "and Bishops, all united in praising "my discourses at Antioch. After "sermon they embraced and kissed "me, and called me the light, not of "the East only, but of the world." Applauding preachers in church was very common in Africa and elsewhere, but most of all in the Eastern churches. It was done either by acclamation or by clapping of hands, both of them being included in the word κρότος. "The custom seems to us altogether "alien to the character of a reverend "assembly, but it had been gradually "introduced first into the senate, and "thence into the Church; and we "must remember the force of habit, "by which τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται." Suicer in v. Κρότος. St. Augustine seems not to have discouraged it; see De Doctr. Christ. iv. 26, where he recommends the preacher not to shun those rhetorical decorations which win the good will and favour of the hearers. (Cf. Chrys. de Sacerd. p. 35. ed. Tauchnitz). St. Chrysostom, however, probably saw the system in its more outré forms, (see the account given by Eusebius, E. H. 7. 30, of Paul of Samosata,) and very frequently and strongly spoke against it. Thus in Hom. 31. on the Acts, "I have often thought of having a law "enacted forbidding you to applaud, "and admonishing you to listen in "silence and with becoming reverence" (see the note to Hom. 4. on 1 Cor. in the Oxford Translation); and in Hom. 17. on St. Matthew, "Did you praise "what I said? Nay, I want no ap- "plause, no clamour, no noise. One "thing I wish, that listening to me "quietly and intelligently, you would "then do what I say." See also the Homily on 'I saw the LORD' (Opp., t. 5. p. 129). A very striking passage occurs in Hom. 30. on the Acts (quoted by Suicer. u. s.); "I tell you the truth; "when I am applauded, I feel my "natural pride gratified for the time; "but when I go home, and think, "'Perhaps thy vanity to-day has lost "'some men their souls,' I am in "anguish, I groan, I weep, I feel as "if I had spent myself for nought." Bingham has collected several passages bearing upon the subject in 14. 4. § 27.

[x] "We may say of Theodoret, as "well as of Andrew, that if St. Cyril "differed from him in his modes of "expression, they yet held both the "same faith and the same doctrine." Ceillier, Hist. des Auteurs Eccl. T. 13. p. 342.

"Cyril, which the Roman Church has ratified by a true decree, and after them those of Nestorius, each translated from the Greek into Latin." This version by Mercator preserves the Anathemas of Nestorius, the original of which is lost. Mercator in this answer conceals himself under the general name of Catholic, and quotes several passages from the sermons of Nestorius, of which he had made a collection, containing the five most important. A. D. 431. CH. XXXII.

St. Cyril wrote three works in defence of his doctrine, which was that of the Church Catholic. The first was an Apology for his Twelve Articles[1], in answer to the treatise which Andrew of Samosata had composed in the name of the Eastern Churches. As Andrew had not named him, St. Cyril names none of his opponents; he takes each article separately, placing first his own enunciation of doctrine, next the objection of the Easterns, then his defence. The second was his Apology against Theodoret[2]. Prefixed to it is the letter to Bishop Evoptius, who had sent him the objections. As Theodoret was the avowed author, St. Cyril attacks him openly, and with far less leniency than he had shewn to Andrew of Samosata; besides, Theodoret's objections contained some heretical statements, which were afterwards condemned by the fifth general Council[3]. St. Cyril follows the same method in this work as in the former; first giving his own article, next Theodoret's refutation, then his own defence. Both these works were translated into Latin by Marius Mercator[4]. The third was his Answer to the blasphemies of Nestorius, that is, to his sermons against Proclus. In this work[5], which comprises five books, St. Cyril quotes the words of Nestorius, and immediately subjoins his refutation of them; the points which he labours most to establish are, the necessity of the word Theotocos, the unity of the SON of GOD, His sufferings, and His Priesthood. These three works were composed previously to the Council of Ephesus.

[1] Cyril. t. 6. p. 157. [Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. p. 828.]

[2] Cyril. t. 6. p. 200. [Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. p. 888.]

[3] Collat. 6. Conc. t. 5. p. 504. 508.

[4] Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 132. and p. 178.

[5] Tom. 6. init.

In the mean time a tragical event took place at Constantinople[6]. Some barbarian slaves of a man of rank, being cruelly treated by their master, took refuge in the church, and forced their way into the chancel[7] sword in hand. They were entreated to withdraw, but refused with a dogged con-

XXXII. The law of sanctuary.

[6] Socrat. 7. 33.

[7] [τὸ θυσιαστήριον]

A. D. 431. CH. XXXII.

stancy. They prevented divine service from being celebrated, and for several days held their naked swords in their hands, ready to defend themselves against any who should approach them. They killed one of the clergy, wounded another, and at last cut their own throats. This profanation of the church was regarded as ominous. To guard against any similar accident in future, the Emperor Theodosius made a law, addressed to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, and dated the tenth of the calends of April, in the Consulate of the same Antiochus, that is, the twenty-third of March, 431.

It enacts that the temples of GOD should be open to all who are in peril, and that they shall be in safety, not only near the Altar[1] [y], and in the place of prayers[2], that is, in the body of the church, but in the entrance, and in all places within the enclosure of the sacred place; the chambers, houses, baths, gardens, courts, galleries. And having all this space to be secure in, they shall not be permitted to eat, or to lie down, or to take up their abode in the sanctuary, or in the temple, and they shall obey the clergy who attempt to hinder them. Those who take refuge in churches are also forbidden to carry any sort of arms with them, and that not only into the sacred place, but into any of its precincts. Those who refuse to obey are to be driven from the asylum, and compelled to leave it, if need so require, even by force of arms. And this is the only case in which it is permitted to enter a church with arms. The Emperor declares that he himself, who is every where else surrounded by guards, leaves the arms outside when he enters church; that he lays aside even his diadem, and never enters the chancel but to present his gifts[z]. We see from this law,

[1 θυσιαστήρια] [2 εὐκτήριον]

[y] To which the privilege of asylum was then and previously restricted; see the Homily of St. Chrysostom, headed, 'When Eutropius was seized outside 'the Church,' (tom. 5. p. 100,) "Didst "thou wish to be safe? Thou oughtest "to have remained in the sanctuary." Θυσιαστήριον is thus used in a wide sense as equivalent to the middle age Sacrarium, Presbyterium, βῆμα, ἄδυτον, and our modern chancel or choir; though it is elsewhere restricted to the part within the Altar-rails.

[z] Cf. Chrysostom, tom. 5. p. 979. "Our King (Arcadius) who is here "present, young in years, in wisdom "hoary-headed, lays aside his diadem "to take up the cross, forgetting his "royalty while in church; spears and "shields are left outside, that he may "be admitted to the mysteries inside." The custom of the Emperor, in retiring from the chancel, as soon as he had given his oblations, was brought to

among other things, how large a number of buildings were joined to the churches[1], and the great compass of the enclosure about them. An abstract of this law is inserted in the Theodosian code[2], but it is found entire in the Councils[3], with the date of its publication in Egypt (which was in the fourteenth indiction, the twelfth of Pharmouthi, i. e. the seventh of April, 431); for it was a general law for the whole empire.

A. D. 431. CH. XXXIII.

[1] Supr. 18. 42.

[2] IX. Cod. Theod. Tit. 45.

[3] Tom. 3. [t.3.p.363.] p. 1233.

It was in this year, A.D. 431, that the Western Church lost St. Paulinus of Nola[a]. He had been Bishop about twenty years, and in the discharge of his duties had always sought to sway men's minds rather by the sceptre of love than by the yoke of fear[4]. In judicial proceedings he examined with rigour, and decided with mildness. Though he had formerly distributed his own revenues with so liberal a hand[b], he took great care to see that those of the Church were faithfully disposed of[5]. He gave to all men of his money, his forgiveness, his consolation; he edified some by his discourses and letters, others by his example: his reputation was spread not only through the whole empire, but among barbarous nations. He was, probably, seventy-eight years of age when he was seized with a pain in his side, and his life being despaired of, two Bishops, Symmachus and Acindynus, came to visit him. In the joy caused by their arrival he seemed to forget his illness, and, as if he were now ready to ascend to GOD, he commanded the holy vessels to be placed by his bed-side, in order to offer the Sacrifice in company with the Bishops, and so to commend his own soul to GOD, and reconcile those whom he had separated from the holy ministry in furtherance of the wholesome discipline of the Church. Having finished all with joy, he suddenly cried aloud, "Where are "my brothers?" One of the standers by, thinking that he

XXXIII. The end of St. Paulinus of Nola.

[4] Uranius de obitu Paulin. § 9.

[5] Pomer. de Vit. Contempl. II. c. 9.

Constantinople from Milan by Theodosius the Great. See Theodoret, H. E. 5. 17.

[a] For the prievous notices of St. Paulinus, see xix. 55—57; xxi. 31, &c. A full account is given in 'Primitive 'Holiness set forth in the life of 'blessed Paulinus,' at p. 57. vol. ii. of the 'Flores Solitudinis,' by H. Vaughan (London, 1654), and the elaborate life by Muratori prefixed to his Works.

[b] "The goods I carried about me," he says (Ep. 24 ad Sever. p. 151), "by the slipping of my skirt from my "hands, fell easily from me." "Grace, says Vaughan, "is an elixir of a con- "trary nature to the philosopher's "stone; it turned all the gold and "silver vessels of this great senator "into earthen dishes and wooden "spoons." (u. s. p. 120).

A. D. 431. CH. XXXIII. spoke of the Bishops who were present, said, "Here they "are." St. Paulinus replied, "I speak of my brothers "Januarius and Martin[c], who have just been conversing "with me, and told me they would presently return." He meant St. Januarius, Bishop of Capua and Martyr, whose reliques were then at Naples, and St. Martin of Tours, who had appeared to him. He then stretched out his hands to heaven, and chaunted the Psalm[1], "I have lifted up mine "eyes to the hills," &c. and concluded with a prayer. Then the Priest Posthumian informed him that he was forty sols [[2] solidis] of gold[2] in debt for some clothes which had been given to the poor. St. Paulinus answered with a sweet smile, "My son, "give yourself no pain about that, some one will be found "to discharge the debt of the poor." A short time after, a Priest from Lucania was seen entering; he had been sent by the Bishop Exuperantius and his brother Ursatius, (who was of the rank of the Clarissimi,) to bring St. Paulinus fifty sols of gold, simply as a present. St. Paulinus having received them, said, "I thank Thee, O LORD, because Thou "hast not forsaken him who trusteth in Thee." He gave two sols of gold with his own hand to the Priest who brought them, and ordered the rest to be employed in paying the tradesmen who had furnished the clothes to the poor.

[1] Ps. 121.

At the close of the day he enjoyed a little quiet rest, which lasted till midnight, when the pain in his side redoubled the violence of its attacks. In addition to this, and to the torture of having fire frequently (though ineffectually) applied to the part, he suffered a great deal from oppression at the stomach[d] until the fifth hour of the night, that is, an

[c] Severus had erected a font with pictures of St. Martin and St. Paulinus upon it. Paulinus wrote to him in consequence; "You did well to have "a picture of Martin on the place of "man's regeneration; for he bore the "marks of true likeness to his hea-"venly Master; and when men come "to the laver to put off the old man, "it were good for them to have the "lineaments of His holy soul recalled "to their mind. But what have I to "do there, neither in innocency a "child, nor in wisdom a man? The "wolf and the lamb, the serpent and "the dove, milk and gall, might as "well be joined as I and Martin. "However, let us stand, my darkness "shall add to his brightness, my lack-"lustre virtue be as a foil to the bril-"liancy of his." This was in him no affectation, for his whole life was an impress of humility. Vaughan says beautifully, "He was one of the Saints "of GOD, who, while they labour to "conceal and obscure themselves, shine "the more, like those trees in the poet,

"'Which silently and by none seen
"'Grow great and green.'"

[d] This, as well as the inability to speak, which seems to be alluded to afterwards, is a usual concomitant of

hour before day. At break of day, following his usual practice, he roused all his family, and said Matins, or rather Laudes[e], as formerly; as the day advanced, he spoke to the Priests, Deacons, and all the clergy, exhorting them to peace; he then continued silent till evening. Afterwards, making an effort as if to rouse himself from slumber, he perceived it was the time of the office of lamps, that is, of vespers, and stretching out his hands, he sung, with a low gentle voice, "I have prepared a lamp for my CHRIST[1]." Then an interval of silence succeeded, but about the fourth hour of the night, or ten o'clock, all who were present being broad awake, his cell was shaken by so great an earthquake, that they fell down to prayers in no small alarm, though the people outside the chamber felt nothing of the shock. It was the moment of his departure. After death, his face and his whole body appeared as white as snow. This event took place on the tenth of the calends of July, in the consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, i. e. the twenty-second of June, A.D. 431, and on that day the Church still honours his memory[2]. The circumstances of his death were written by a Priest named Uranius, who witnessed it. There remain of the writings of St. Paulinus fifty-two letters, and twenty-six entire poems, (ten of them in praise of St. Felix[f],) with a few fragments of others.

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[1] Ps. 132. 17.

[2] Martyr. R. 22. Jun.

pleurisy. Thus we read of one, who in meekness, purity, devotion, and resignation to GOD's will, bore a strong resemblance to St. Paulinus. "The "next day he was attacked with *oppression on the chest*, and with cold "and stitches, which proved to be the "commencement of a pleurisy. On "the following day both speech and "sense left him; . . . indeed, the "disease that carried him off was such "by its nature and rapid progress, as "to *preclude much speaking*." Pearson's Life of Abp. Leighton. The circumstances of their death coincided in another point; "His income dropped "in slowly from time to time, and the "last remittance that he had to expect "was made about six weeks before his "death; so that (as Bp. Burnet says), "*his provision and journey failed both* "*at once*."

[e] The Lauds were "the last part of "the night service, being, according to "the Benedictine rule, Psalms 148, "149, and 150, which were also re-"cited at the same time in Cassian's "day." Du Cange in v.

We may say of the hours of prayer, as compared with the rest of the day, what St. Paulinus said of the festival days, as compared with the rest of the year. (The version is Vaughan's).

"—Our good GOD (who would all men bring
"Under the shadow of His saving wing),
"Appointed at set times His solemn feasts,
"That by mean services, men might at least
"Take hold of Christ as by the hem, and steal
"Help from His lowest skirts their souls to heal.
"(Ut saltem officiis mediocribus ultima Christi
"Vestimenta legant, et eos sacra fimbria sanet)."

[f] These were called Natalitia Carmina, being written on the anniversary of the Saint's death, the day of decease from this world being called 'birth-'day.' It was in a cottage near the tomb of St. Felix that St. Paulinus passed the last thirty years of his life.

A. D. 431. CH. XXXIV.

XXXIV.

The arrival of the Bishops at Ephesus.

Immediately after the feast of Easter, (which this year was on the nineteenth of April,) St. Cyril and Nestorius set out each from his place of residence, to repair with all speed to Ephesus[1]. Nestorius was accompanied by a great number of troops, and by the two Counts Candidian and Irenæus. Candidian was Count of the Domestics, or Captain of the Emperor's Guards, and was to assist the Council with soldiers; Irenæus went thither in no official capacity, but merely out of friendship to Nestorius[2], who was also accompanied by ten Bishops, and found many more already assembled at Ephesus. St. Cyril set out from Alexandria, followed by fifty Bishops[3], or about half of those in his dependance; the others stayed behind to take care of the Churches. The weather was favourable as far as Rhodes, from which island he wrote to his clergy and people a letter full of paternal affection[4]; the rest of his journey was less tranquil, as he had some storms to encounter[5]. He at length arrived at Ephesus four or five days before Pentecost, which fell this year on the seventh of June. On his arrival he wrote another letter to his clergy and people, in which he says, "The wicked one, the beast that never sleeps, is continually "going to and fro, watching his opportunity to attack the "glory of JESUS CHRIST; but the wretch wounds himself, "and shall perish with his children." Some understand him to mean Nestorius, but it is rather the devil, the author of all heresies, who is intended, though he might perhaps wish thus enigmatically to designate the cabals of the opposite party. Juvenal of Jerusalem arrived, five days after Pentecost[6], with the Bishops of Palestine, among whom was Peter, formerly named Aspebetus, whom, at the request of St. Euthymius, Juvenal had appointed first Bishop of the Saracens, as before narrated. St. Euthymius charged him at parting to attach himself to St. Cyril and Acacius of Melitene, and always to follow their sentiments[7]. St. Euthymius had himself, when young, been a pupil of Acacius[8]. Flavian of Thessalonica also arrived at Ephesus in company with the Macedonian Bishops by the time appointed.

[1] Socrat. 7. 34.

[2] Ep. Theod. C. Eph. p. 443. D.

[3] Ep. Schism. p. 605. E.

[4] p. 439.

[5] Apol. ad Theod. p. 1052. D.

[6] Socr. 7. 34.

[7] Vita S. Euth. [p. 246. t. 2. Coteler.] p. 41. t. 1. Analecta Græca.

[8] p. 206. Coteler.

He had always borne a strong affection to him, and "it was there," says Vaughan, "that he had taken in his "*first love*, and had made a private vow "in his seven and twentieth year," or eleven years before his baptism, "to "become a servant of JESUS CHRIST." (p. 98.)

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But John of Antioch, and the Syrians, obliged the Council to wait a long time for them. They pretended[1] that it was impossible for them to be at Ephesus by Pentecost, the time appointed. The Bishops, they urged, could not leave their churches before the 'New Sunday,' or 'Sunday of Renewing.' This is the name still given by the Easterns to the day of the octave of Easter[s]; on which the newly baptized lay aside the white habit, and receive the benediction of the Bishop. In the year we are speaking of, this Sunday was the twenty-sixth of April. The Bishops were first to assemble at Antioch[2], from which some of them were distant twelve days' journey; these therefore could not arrive before the eighth of May. From Antioch to Ephesus was thirty days' journey; so that supposing them to have stayed only one day at Antioch, they could not possibly reach Ephesus before the eighth of June, the day after Pentecost. This was the excuse afterwards made by the Eastern Bishops.

[1] Evagr. l. 3.

[2] [then called Theopolis v. Evagr.]

In the mean time, while the Council was thus kept waiting, the Bishops already assembled at Ephesus began to discuss the subject of controversy—the Incarnation—both in their sermons, and in private conversation[3]. We have a sermon preached by St. Cyril at this time, in which, after bestowing great praise on the Bishops assembled[4], he proceeds to eulogize the city of Ephesus, the Apostle St. John[5], whose reliques reposed there, and the holy Virgin Mary, whose greatness and dignity he extols, repeating with each article the title of Mother of God[6]. He then turns to Nestorius, and says that it is in vain for him to rely on the Counts and other magistrates whom he has gained over by his presents to undertake his defence. He reproaches him with his blasphemies, which were worse, he said, than those of the Jews, heathens, and all the other heretics put together, and uses the strongest language against him, as against a declared enemy of the Church, who had rejected the wholesome advice given to him. For the truth of this he appeals to Pope St. Cœlestine, whom he styles Father, Patriarch, and Archbishop of the whole earth[7], and concludes by saying that

[3] Liberat. Brev. c. 5.

[4] Cyril. t. 5. pt. 2. p. 379.

[5] p. 380. B.

[6] pp. 380, 1.

[7] p. 384. E.

[s] "The Sunday with us called Dominica in Albis is in the Greek Church called Κυριακὴ διακαινήσιμος, and νέα or καίνη Κυριακή." T. Smith, de Statu Eccl. Gr.

A. D. 431. CH. XXXV. Nestorius ought to be deposed from the Priesthood. In this sermon mention is made[1] of another that had been preached on the preceding day, in which he had spoken of the partridge mentioned parabolically by the Prophet Jeremiah.

[1] p. 382. B.

[2] Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. c. 7. [p. 983.] Acacius of Melitene also delivered a sermon[2], in which, after complimenting the Bishops assembled, he expounds the faith of the Church, insisting upon the unity and Divinity of CHRIST, and as a necessary consequence from these, the duty of giving to Mary the title of Mother of GOD. He says by the way, that the cross is honoured along with the Altars of [3 p. 987. A.] CHRIST[h], and that it shines on the front of the churches[3]. There were also read on this occasion two sermons by The-

[4] Ibid. c. 9, 10. odotus of Ancyra on the Nativity of our LORD[4], in which the error of Nestorius is amply refuted. These two Bishops, Acacius and Theodotus, though Catholics, were friends of Nestorius, and during their stay at Ephesus had several conversations with him, from which it was evident to them

[5] Act. 1. p. 497. B. that he still persisted in his heresy[5]. St. Cyril occupied himself with making some extracts from the books of Nestorius, which extracts are still preserved in Mercator's trans-

[6] Ed. Garn. Pt. 2. p. 103. lation[6].

XXXV. The delay of John of Antioch. [7 μαγιστριανοί] John of Antioch, being now not more than five or six days' journey from Ephesus, sent information of his approach by some officers of the Master of Offices[7], and wrote a letter to St. Cyril[8], filled with professions of friendship and of his impatience to be with him: "By the prayers of your holiness," he says, "I am now in a manner at the very entrance into "Ephesus, after having suffered a great deal in this journey. "I have been travelling thirty days without intermission; "some of the Bishops have fallen sick on the road, and we "have lost a great many horses. Pray then that we may "be able to finish the remainder of our journey without "difficulty; we hope to accomplish it in five or six days,

[8] C. Eph. Pt. 1. c. ult. [p. 443.]

[h] It seems evident from the silence of all the writers of the three first centuries that crosses were not then erected in churches. Eusebius, who frequently describes the churches of Constantine, and others, never once alludes to it, though he often mentions crosses set up in other public places. From the fourth century downward, it became more common; partly, no doubt, in consequence of Constantine's victory over Maxentius, and the invention of the cross by Helena (A.D. 326). Sozomen speaks of the cross as laid on the Altar in his day, and Evagrius (6. 21) speaks of silver crosses given by Chosroes to one of the churches in Constantinople to be fixed upon the Altar. Bingham, 8. 6. § 20. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 288.

"and then we shall embrace your dear and holy person[1]. A. D. 431.
"The holy Bishops, John, Paul, Macarius, greet your holi- CH. XXXVI.
"ness; we greet all the brethren who are with you." In the mean time two Bishops of his train were announced, both of them Metropolitans,—Alexander of Apamea, and Alexander of Hierapolis[2]. As St. Cyril and the other Bishops complained to them of John's delay, they answered several times; "He charged us to tell you that if his arrival should "be delayed, the Council need not be deferred on that ac- "count[3], but should proceed with the necessary business."

[1] ἱερὰν ἡμῖν καὶ ὁσίαν κεφαλήν.]

[2] Relat. ad Cœlest. act. 5. p. 660, 661.

[3] μὴ ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν σύνοδον]

Above two hundred Bishops had already assembled at Ephesus from different provinces. The Emperor's letter for the assembling of the Council, fixed the precise day when those who were absent should be held inexcusable. Fifteen[4] days had elapsed beyond that time. Many of the Bishops and clergy were incommoded by the expense of so long a stay, many were sick, some had died. The whole Council cried out that John of Antioch was unwilling to appear there lest he should see Nestorius deposed; for as Nestorius had been taken from his Church, a sentence of condemnation could hardly be passed without some disgrace being reflected back upon his instructors. Bishops from more distant places had arrived some time before. If John of Antioch was sincere and in earnest, he had no reason to complain, since he had sent express word by the two Alexanders, that they might begin without him. All these things considered, St. Cyril, and the majority of the Bishops, resolved to hold the Council on June the twenty-second, in the great church dedicated to the Holy Virgin.

[4] Fleury, *quinze.* Conc. E. ἐφ' ὅλαις δέκα καὶ ξξ ἡμέραις]

XXXVI. The protest of Nestorius and Candidian.

The day before, (June the twenty-first,) Nestorius had been apprized of this intention by four Bishops, Hermogenes of Rhinocorura in Egypt, Athanasius of Paralos, or the sea-coast, Peter of the Camps, viz. of the Saracens, and Paul Bishop of Lampe[5]. These four Bishops went in quest of Nestorius, to inform him that his attendance in the Council would be required on the next day. His answer was, that he would see, and would be there if it was his duty. They gave the same notice to six or seven Bishops whom they found with him, but received only the same answer. Nestorius requested Memnon Bishop of Ephesus to throw open

[5] Act. 1. p. 453. C.

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to him the church of St. John, that he might hold his assembly there apart, but Memnon refused, and the people of Ephesus, who were very zealous for the Catholic doctrine, opposed it with all their might. The same day, (June the twenty-first,) the Bishops of Nestorius's party made a protestation[1], addressed to St. Cyril and Juvenal of Jerusalem, in which they declared that it was incumbent upon them to wait for John of Antioch, and not to admit those who had been deposed and excommunicated by their Bishops. This protest was subscribed by sixty-eight Bishops, of Syria, Asia, and Thrace; the principal of whom were Tranquillinus of Antioch in Pisidia, Alexander of Apamea, Helladius of Tarsus, Fritilas of Heraclea, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Hierapolis, Eutherius of Tyana, and Theodoret of Cyrus. Nestorius's name did not appear in it. They also procured a declaration from the Bishops, that they would assemble as soon as the Count Candidian should summon them together[2].

[1] Synodic. c. 7. [p. 695.]

[2] Rel. Nestor. Act. 1. p. 566. B.

Candidian, on his part, strained every nerve to prevent the Council from being opened before the arrival of John of Antioch[3]. As he knew that St. Cyril and the others were assembled that morning in the church of the Holy Virgin, he hastened thither, and represented to them that it was the Emperor's will that no set of persons should assemble apart from the rest, but that all should be done by common consent. The Bishops asked permission to see the Emperor's letter. He at first refused, saying that some who ought to assist at the Council were not there present. They said they were ignorant of the Emperor's injunctions, and pressed him until at last he shewed them the letter which he had hitherto kept secret. The letter was directed to the Council[4], but was properly the commission of Candidian; it thus addressed the Bishops: "He is appointed to be present at your holy "Council, without interfering in questions of doctrine; that "is not permitted to him, since he is not of the number of "Bishops. But he is entirely to remove from the city of "Ephesus all the seculars and Monks[5], lest these persons,

[3] Contest. Candid. Synodic. c. 9.

[4] C.E.p.442.

[5 τοὺς κοσμικοὺς καὶ μονάζοντας]

[5] Of course the word 'secular' is here not used in the modern sense in which we speak of secular clergy; it would seem to mean laymen bound by a vow, or otherwise, to a life of peculiar sanctity; who, while they remained in pos-

" whose presence is unnecessary, should raise a tumult, and A. D. 431.
" hinder the peaceable deliberations of your holiness. He is CH. XXXVII.
" likewise to take care that the disputes produce no divisions,
" but that every thing be done without bitterness. Above
" all, we have enjoined him absolutely to prevent any of you
" from withdrawing himself, either under the plea of return-
" ing home, of coming to our Court, or of going elsewhere;
" and that no one propose any other question until the one
" under immediate consideration has been decided. Further,
" it is our pleasure that no action, civil or criminal[1], be insti-
" tuted against any person either in your Council or in the
" public Court of Ephesus, but that every thing be referred[2]
" to our city of Constantinople. For the rest, know that the
" magnificent Irenæus accompanies the most pious Bishop
" Nestorius, simply as a friend, without any power to inter-
" fere either with the questions to be laid before the Council,
" or with the commission of the most glorious Candidian."

[1 χρηματικὴ ἢ ἐγκληματικὴ.]
[2 συγκροτηθῆναι, for συγκρατηθῆναι. See Suicer. s. v.]

The Bishops having heard this letter read, persisted in their resolution of beginning the Council. Candidian continued his opposition to it, entreating them to stay only four days. He several times renewed his proposal, but with so little success that, thinking himself slighted, he indignantly quitted the assembly; and drawing up a protest against their proceedings, he published it at Ephesus on the same day, and sent off a copy of it to the Emperor.

XXXVII. The opening of the Council.

After he had withdrawn, the Bishops opened the Council in St. Mary's church on the same day, which was the twenty-eighth of the Egyptian month, Paüni[3], or, in the Roman calculation, the tenth of the calends of July, after the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and third of Valentinian, i. e. Monday the twenty-second of June, 431. Upon the holy throne, (the Bishop's seat) which stood in the centre, was placed the New Testament, to denote CHRIST's presence among them[4]; the Bishops were ranged down each side. At this first sitting there were a hundred and fifty-eight present, not including Bessŭla, Deacon of Carthage, who represented all Africa. St. Cyril presided, as holding the place of Pope St. Cælestine,

[3 Epist. Cyr. p. 573. C.]
[4 Cyr. ad Theod. p. 1043. D.]

session of their worldly property, and lived in the married state, or even followed an active profession, were accustomed to exercise themselves in acts of austerity and religion like the primitive Ascetics. Bingham, 7. 2. § 6.

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(evidence of which appears in the records,) though he might also have presided in virtue of the dignity of his see[k]. Next to him were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, and Flavian of Philippi, the last as deputy of Rufus of Thessalonica, the Metropolitan of Macedonia. Then came Theodotus of Ancyra, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Acacius of Melitene in Armenia, Iconius of Gortyna in Crete, and Perigenes of Corinth, all Metropolitans, with others, to the number already mentioned[l], most of them of Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt.

[l] p. 445, sqq.

When they were all seated, Peter, Priest of Alexandria and chief Notary[2 1], said[3], "Not many days after the most "reverend Nestorius had been appointed Bishop of the holy "church of Constantinople, some of his sermons were brought, "which disturbed the minds of his readers so much, that a "great tumult was raised in the church in consequence. "The most pious Bishop of Alexandria, Cyril, being in- "formed of it, wrote to him a first and second letter, full "of advice and counsel, all which he rejected, and sent "back only a polemical reply. Cyril, being further ap- "prized that Nestorius had sent letters accompanied by

[2 Πριμικήριος Νοταρίων]

[3] p. 451.

[k] As the Patriarch of Rome was unable to come, as the Patriarch of Constantinople was the person arraigned, and the Patriarch of Antioch not yet arrived, there was no one in any way capable of rivalling the claims of St. Cyril to the presidency of the Council. Juvenal does indeed afterwards speak (c. 51) of the right possessed by the Bishops of Jerusalem, according to apostolical tradition, to correct those of Antioch; but the revival of an obsolete claim could have been of little weight when opposed to the dignity of the Patriarch of Alexandria, even had the Patriarch not been a man of the energy, talent, and assiduity of a Cyril. It is evident throughout that his was the impelling mind which both first set the Council in motion, and afterwards sustained and directed its movements. Even St. Cælestine appears to have rather shrunk before his *caractére*. The calling of the old Roman intellect was not to analyze questions in higher dogmatic theology, but *regere imperio populos*; as that of the Greeks was *regere animas hominum philosophiâ*.

According to Balsamon (Meditat., Lib. vii. p. 461, Juris Græco-Rom.), St. Cyril "the Pope of Alexandria," while presiding in the Council, wore the golden diadem which had been appointed by Constantine to be the badge of the Roman Bishop; and in memory of this, the Alexandrian Patriarchs wore the same mark of honour down to his day. Smith (de Eccl. Gr. p. 151) supposes the title of 'Judge of the Earth' (κρίτης τῆς οἰκουμένης), assumed by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, to date from this Council.

[l] That is, head of the episcopal notaries, who must not be confounded with the civil notaries mentioned supr. bk. 22. ch. 26. note z. A Patriarch generally had a large corps of these clerks or secretaries attached to him; thus the Patriarch of Constantinople had twelve (δωδεκὰς πατριαρχικῶν νοταρίων, Balsamon de Chartophil. p. 459. Juris Græco-Rom.). Besides acting as copyists and reporters, they were employed as attendants on the Bishop's person, carrying his staff, &c. (see an instance of this last in Du Cange, s. v.) The Primicerius of the notaries was the Bishop's Registrar.

"collections of his sermons to Rome, wrote on his part A. D. 431.
"to the most pious Bishop of Rome, Cælestine, charg- CH. XXXVIII.
"ing the Deacon Posidonius, who conveyed the letter,
"thus: 'If you find that he has received the sermons and
"'letters of Nestorius, deliver mine too; if not, bring them
"'back undelivered.' The Deacon, finding that the sermons
"and letters had been delivered, was obliged to deliver his
"also, and the most holy Bishop of Rome returned such
"answer as was required, embodying a precise statement of
"his views. Since, then, the holy Council is assembled here
"by order of the Emperor, we are bound to declare that
"we have in our possession the papers which relate to this
"business, and are ready to make such use of them as shall
"seem best to your Piety." Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, proposed that the letter of the most pious Emperors, directed to each of the Metropolitans, should be read, and placed at the head of the Acts there and then to be drawn up. The Priest Peter produced it, and it was read. Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea, said, "Let the most holy Memnon, Bishop of "Ephesus, testify how many days have passed since our "arrival." Memnon said, "Sixteen days have passed since "the expiration of the time defined by the Imperial letter." St. Cyril said[1], "The holy Council has exercised sufficient [1 p. 454. B.]
"endurance in waiting thus long for the arrival of the holy
"Bishops who were to be here. But now, since many of
"those already assembled have fallen sick (some of them
"even to death), what remains but that, in pursuance of the
"Emperors' orders, we should begin to treat of the matters
"relating to the Faith, and seek to maintain the unity of the
"whole Church[2]? Let the papers therefore which relate to [2 εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν.]
"this subject be read in succession, and let us adopt that
"course which seems more especially binding upon us, since
"the most magnificent Candidian, Count of the Domestics,
"has read to the Council the second order of the Emperors,
"bidding us to examine and settle without delay the matters
"relating to the Faith."

Theodotus of Ancyra said, "The papers will be read in XXXVIII. Citations sent to Nestorius.
"their proper place; but order first requires that the most
"pious Bishop Nestorius be present, that whatever regards
"religion may be determined by common consent." Her-

A. D. 431. CH. XXXVIII. mogenes of Rhinocorura said[1], "We were yesterday sent by "your holiness to the most pious Nestorius with an ad- "monition that he should be present at this holy Council. "He answered, 'I will see, and if duty calls me, I will be "'there.'" The three other Bishops who had been deputed along with him[2],—Athanasius of Paralus, Peter of the Camps, and Paul of Lampe,—testified the same. Flavian, Bishop of Philippi, proposed that some of the Bishops should again admonish him to come and take his seat in the Council. The three selected were Theodulus of Elusa in Palestine, Anderius of Chersonesus in Crete, and Theopemptus of Cabassus in Egypt, to whom was added Epaphroditus, Reader and Notary of Hellanicus, Bishop of Rhodes. They were charged to deliver a monition in writing, in which mention was made of the one delivered on the preceding day. On their return the Priest Peter said[3], "Since the pious "Bishops who were deputed from the holy Council are "again present, we desire them to declare what answer "they have received." The Bishop Theopemptus said, "We went to the house of the most pious Nestorius, and "seeing a number of soldiers with clubs, we desired that "our presence might be announced, but they prevented it, "saying, 'He is alone, he is taking repose, and we have "'orders to admit no one to speak with him.' We replied, "'It is impossible for us to return without an answer, for "'the holy Council sends a monition[4] to him, inviting him "'to be present there.' Some of his clergy coming out, an- "swered us as the soldiers had done. When we persisted in "demanding an answer, the Tribune Florentius, who accom- "panies the Count Candidian, came out and prevailed on "us to wait, intimating that he would get an answer for us. "So we waited until Florentius came out with the clergy of "Nestorius, and said, 'I have not been able to see him, but "'he sent me word to tell you, that as soon as all the "'Bishops are assembled, he will be amongst them.' We "desired him, the soldiers, and the Clerks, to bear witness "to what had occurred, and then departed." The two other Bishops who were of the deputation confirmed this report. The soldiers had been given to Nestorius by the Count Candidian, as a body guard[5].

[1] p. 454. C.

[2] Supr. c. 36.

[3] p. 455. D.

[4] παρανα- γνωστικόν]

[5] Cyril. ad Dalm. p. 561. E.

Flavian of Philippi said[1], "Since we would in all things conform to the rules of ecclesiastical procedure; and as it is plain that the most pious Nestorius being cited yesterday and to-day has not appeared, he shall be summoned a third time by Anysius, Bishop of Thebes, Domnus of Opuns, John of Hephæstus, and Daniel of Darnis." These accordingly went to him, attended by Anysius, Notary and Reader to Firmus of Cappadocia, who carried the following monition in writing: "The most holy Council in obedience to the canon, summons your Piety by this third citation, bearing with patience the delay to which you have subjected them. Be pleased therefore even now, late as it is, to attend and clear yourself of those heretical doctrines which you are charged with having publicly propounded in the church, knowing that if you do not appear, the holy Council will be obliged to pass judgment upon you according to the canons."* A. D. 431. CH. XXXVIII. [1] p. 457. B.

On their return, they were desired by the Priest Peter to make their report. John, Bishop of Hephæstus in the Augustamnica[m] in Egypt, said, "Following the orders of the pious Council, we went to the hotel of the most pious Nestorius, but we found a number of soldiers stationed in front of the porch with clubs. We desired permission to enter the hall, or, if that were denied, we asked that at least they would announce us as having been sent by the holy Council with a third monition, inviting him with all gentleness and mildness to be present at their sitting. Long we waited under the burning sun, for the soldiers would not permit us to stand under shelter, but rudely pushed us back, and refused us a civil answer. We said, 'We are four Bishops, we are not sent to treat him with 'contumely, but simply, in pursuance of legal order[2], to 'invite him to come to the church and take his seat in the 'Council.' At last the soldiers repulsed us, saying that we should have no further answer if we stayed at the gate till night, and adding that they were placed there to prevent any member of the Council from entering, Nestorius him-

[2] μετὰ πάσης ἀκολουθίας]

[m] The part of Lower Egypt between the right (or Pelusiac) branch of the Nile and the Red sea. Hephæstus is the Hellenized form of Phthas, the god worshipped in Lower Egypt as Ammon was in Upper.

A. D. 431. CH. XXXIX. "self having given order to that effect." This report was confirmed by the three other Bishops.

XXXIX. The examination of the doctrine.

Juvenal of Jerusalem said[1], "Although the requirements of "the Church are satisfied by three monitions, we were not "unwilling to send a fourth to the most reverend Nestorius. "But as he has surrounded his house with a troop of soldiers, "who suffer no one to come near him, it is plainly soreness "of conscience which makes him decline attendance on the "Council. We must therefore proceed according to the "order of the canons, to take such steps as may tend to "uphold the integrity of the Faith. Let the Nicene Creed "be first read, so that comparing with it the doctrines that "have been put forward concerning the Faith, we may ap- "prove of those which shall be found conformable to it, and "reject those which are not." After the Nicene Creed had been recited, the Priest Peter said, "We have in our hands "a letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril, written to the "most reverend Nestorius, full of counsel and advice: this, "if the holy Council order me, I will read aloud." Acacius of Melitene demanded it might be read[2]. It was the second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius, which begins thus: "I under- "stand that some persons slander me[3]." When it had been read out, St. Cyril said, "You have heard my letter; I believe "that in it I have in no respect departed from the Catholic "Faith and the Nicene Creed; I desire you to give your "opinion respecting it."

[1] p. 459. C. [On the *trina monitio*, v. Can. Apost. 73. Concilia. p. 41. (74. Bevereg. Van Espen. 76. Coteler.) Cf. Constant. Ep. Pont. Rom. t. 1. p. 1121. not. a.]

[2] p. 462. A.

[3] Supr. c. 8.

Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "The Nicene Creed, and the letter "of the most holy Archbishop Cyril, having been severally "read, they both appear agreeable to each other; I consent "to, and approve of, this holy doctrine." Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, addressing himself to St. Cyril, said, "What "the holy Council of Nice had delivered compendiously "your holiness has explained in detail[4], making it more clear "and intelligible to us; wherefore I find nothing ambiguous "in it; every thing is perfectly consistent, and free from "innovation[5]. I accordingly assent to it as the very doc- "trine which I received from the holy Bishops my fathers." Memnon of Ephesus, Theodotus of Ancyra, Flavian of Philippi, spoke in substance the same thing; this last not only in his own name, but in the name of Rufus of Thessalonica, and of

[4 λεπτῶς καὶ παρὰ πόδας]

[5 νεωτερισμόν]

all the Bishops of Illyria, whom he certified to be in the same Faith. Acacius of Melitene, Iconius of [Gortyna in] Crete, Hellanicus of Rhodes, Palladius of Amasea, and most of the other Bishops, were of the same opinion, which they delivered singly, to the number of a hundred and twenty-six; saying, in different words, the same thing, namely, that they found the letter of St. Cyril agreeable to the Nicene Creed, and approved of its doctrine[n]. The other Bishops, who did not give their opinions singly, declared all together that they agreed in the sentiments expressed[l]. Then Palladius of Amasea, said, "Order now requires that we also have read "to us the letter of the most reverend Nestorius, of which "the very reverend Priest Peter spoke at the beginning, "that we may see if it agrees with the faith of the Nicene "Creed." They read the second letter, which begins, "I will "not dwell upon the wanton injustice done me in your ex- "traordinary letter[2]." After it had been read, St. Cyril demanded of the Council what they thought of it. Juvenal of Jerusalem said[3], "It is not at all consistent with the "Nicene Creed. I anathematize all persons of this belief, "for this doctrine is remote from the Catholic Faith." Flavian of Philippi said, "The whole contents of the letter "which has been read, entirely contradict the Nicene "Creed; and we judge those who are of this persuasion to "be strangers to the true Faith." Firmus of Cappadocia said, "He has disguised himself at the beginning under an "appearance of piety, but as he proceeds, unable to conceal "his thoughts, he drops the veil and plainly discovers that "he agrees neither with the Nicene Faith, nor with the "letter of Archbishop Cyril."

A. D. 431. CH. XXXIX.

[l] p. 492. E.

[2] Supr. c. 10.

[3] p. 494.

Acacius of Melitene enlarged somewhat more than the

[n] The following may be added.—Protthymius of Comana said, "As St. Cyril's "exposition differs from that of the three "hundred and eighteen holy Fathers "in expression only; I avouch that in "this faith I was baptized, in this I "grew up, in this I was ordained and "made Priest; in this I pray that I "may die, and in this see my LORD "and SAVIOUR at the resurrection." Valerian of Iconium; "Each form is "dictated by the same Spirit: St. "Cyril's letter is the precious Nicene "faith re-opened, whereby it again "diffuses its fragrance like ointment "poured forth." Silvanus of Ceratapa; "Although I was late in ob- "taining the grace of baptism, yet "this is the faith, as set forth by the "Nicene Creed and expounded by St. "Cyril, into which I was myself bap- "tized, and into which I have baptized "many others. This may I preserve "to the day of the resurrection, and "present it to CHRIST spotless."

A. D. 431. CH. XXXIX.

others, and said, "The letter of Nestorius shews that it is "not without reason that he is afraid of coming to the "Council. He knows, in his conscience, that he has cor- "rupted[1] the Divine writings, and removed the landmarks[2] "of the holy Fathers; and hence the fear which obliges him "to guard his house with soldiers. For his letter clearly "shews that he has put out the words which the Nicene "Creed and the holy Bishops made use of in speaking of "the only SON of GOD, with a view to attribute the Incarna- "tion only to the flesh; saying that the birth and death "belong simply and merely to the Temple of GOD[3]. And in "this he has misrepresented the Scriptures, as if they at- "tributed the birth and sufferings to the humanity only, "and not to the Divinity." Acacius means that Nestorius seems to deny the eternal generation of the WORD. He continued, "He has also slandered the letters of Cyril, as "if they affirmed that GOD is capable of suffering, which "neither he, nor any other pious man ever thought of "asserting. And it is evident throughout, that he confesses "the unity of GOD with the flesh in name only, while in "effect he entirely denies it. He himself shews that he is "conscious of having introduced a strange doctrine, where "he says that he has succeeded in at length rescuing these "doctrines from the darkness in which they had been in- "volved. All this being of a character so alien to truth, "and so full of impiety, I do renounce, and I separate "myself from the communion of those who hold such "language."

[1] παραχυράξαντα]

[2] παρασαλέυσαντα ὅρια]

[3] p. 496. A. [ψιλὸν τὸν ναὸν]

The other Bishops expressed their opinions to the same purpose, condemning the letter of Nestorius as contrary to the Nicene Creed; and after thirty-four had spoken, all cried out together[4], "Whosoever does not anathematize Nestorius, "let him be anathema. The orthodox Faith anathematizes "him, the holy Council anathematizes him. Whoso com- "municates with Nestorius, let him be anathema. We all "anathematize the letter and doctrines of Nestorius. We "all anathematize the heretic Nestorius. Those who "communicate with Nestorius we all anathematize. We "anathematize the impious faith of Nestorius. All the "earth anathematizes his impious religion. Whosoever

[4] p. 502. B.

"does not anathematize him, let him be anathema." Then they added, "Let the letter of the most holy Bishop of Rome "be read:" Juvenal thus put the motion; "That the letter "which the most holy Cælestine, Archbishop of Rome, has "written concerning the Faith, be likewise read." The Priest Peter read Pope St. Cælestine's letter to Nestorius[1] translated into Greek; then he added, "Our most pious Bishop Cyril "wrote a letter in unison with the sentiments of the one just "recited: if it be your pleasure, we will read a copy of it "which we have now in our hands." Flavian of Philippi ordered that it should be read, and inserted in the Acts.

A. D. 431. CH. XL.

[1] Supr. c. 14.

XL. The depositions against Nestorius.

The Priest Peter therefore read St. Cyril's third letter to Nestorius[2], which is the Synodical letter containing the twelve anathemas. He then added, "These letters of Cyril "and Cælestine have been sent and delivered to Nestorius by "the Bishops Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Macarius. "I suggest that Theopemptus and Daniel, who are here "present, may be examined as to this point[3]." Flavian of Philippi asked them to state whether they had delivered the letters. Theopemptus, Bishop of Cabasa, said, "We went to "the cathedral one Sunday during service-time, and de- "livered these letters to Nestorius in the presence of all the "clergy, and almost all the Illustres[4]." Daniel, Bishop of Darnis, testified the same. Flavian of Philippi said, "Did he "comply with the demands of the letters?" "He told us," replied Daniel, "to come on the following day, and we "should have a private interview; but on going to his house, "he shut the doors against us without vouchsafing any "answer." Theopemptus added, "He was so far from com- "plying with the terms of the letters, that ever since the "receipt of them, his public discourses in the church have "declined more and more from the line of orthodoxy, and "still continue to do so."

[2] Supr. c. 21.

[3] p. 503.

[4] Supr. c. 29.

Fidus, Bishop of Joppa, said, "The Bishops Acacius and "Theodotus, who are present, can tell you whether he still "holds the same doctrine. They have discoursed with him "often[5]; one of them indeed at considerable risk. We "entreat and conjure them by the holy Gospels which lie "here before us, to enter their deposition in these Acts, as to "what they have heard Nestorius say within the last three

[5] Supr. c. 34.

A. D. 431. CH. XL.

" days." St. Cyril said, " Since the subject we are discussing " is not one of light moment, but of the very deepest and " gravest interest, being no other than the true Faith of " JESUS CHRIST, it is but reasonable that Theodotus and " Acacius, sincere and pious as they are, should say what " they have heard from him here at Ephesus." Theodotus of Ancyra said, " I am sorely grieved for my friend, but the " claims of religion are paramount to those of any friendship[1], " so that however loath I may be to do it, I feel bound to " give a simple statement of the truth, in reference to the " questions put to me. I do not however think our testi- " mony necessary, for it is sufficiently clear from his letters " what his opinions are. As in them, when speaking of the " Divine Word, he said that the weaknesses of man's nature " cannot be attributed to Him; so too he has said here: as " in them he contended that we ought not to say GOD was " born of a virgin, or nourished with her milk; so he has " here several times said that one ought not to talk of a " GOD two or three months old. Many other persons besides " ourselves heard him talk thus at Ephesus, not many days " ago."

[1 πάσης φιλίας προτιμῶ τὴν εὐσεβείαν.]

Acacius of Melitene said, " Where the Faith is concerned, " private affection must be content to lie idle. No one could " have loved Nestorius more than I have done, no one have " more heartily desired by all means to save him, yet I will " speak the truth, lest I bring my own soul into condemna- " tion. As soon as I came to Ephesus, I had a conversation " with him, and finding his opinions erroneous, did my utmost " to reclaim him. I was so far successful as to obtain an " oral promise that he would not persist in these opinions. " Ten or twelve days afterwards, the discussion being resumed, " I again maintained the cause of truth. I saw that he " opposed it, and by an absurd question[2] placed his answerers " under the necessity of either denying altogether that the " Godhead of the only SON was incarnate, or of confessing " with no less impiety, that the Godhead of the FATHER, " SON, and HOLY GHOST is incarnate along with the Divine " WORD. Thus maliciously was the question constructed, in " order to overthrow the Faith. Again, in another conver- " sation, a Bishop who was with him took up the discourse,

[2 ἐπερωτήσεως ἀτόπου οὔσης]

"and said that the SON who suffered was different from A. D. 431.
"GOD the WORD. Unable to bear this blasphemy, I CH. XLI.
"took leave of the company, and withdrew[1]. Another of [1 συντα-ξάμενος
"those who were with him, pleaded on behalf of the Jews πᾶσιν
"that their crime had not been against GOD, but against a ἀπῆλθον.]
"man."

Flavian next requested that the authorities of the Fathers upon the subject might be read, and inserted in the Acts. The Priest Peter said, "We have here before us the books of "the Fathers, Bishops, and Martyrs, out of which I have "selected some few chapters which with your permission I "will read;" so when Flavian had again put the motion, he read a passage from the book of St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria and Martyr[o], "on the Deity[2];" another from St. Athanasius against the Arians, and a third from his letter to Epictetus[3]; one from a letter of Pope St. Julius to Docimus, one from the letter of Pope St. Felix to Maximus and the Alexandrian clergy, and two from the (fifth and sixth) paschal letters of Theophilus of Alexandria[4]. Of all these works, none but those of St. Athanasius are now extant. The Priest Peter read likewise a passage from St. Cyprian's treatise on alms-giving; two out of St. Ambrose, in his book 'On the Faith;' another from the letter of St. Gregory of Nazianzus to Cledonius[5], containing anathemas; another out of St. Basil, and another from St. Gregory of Nyssa[6]; two from Atticus of Constantinople, and two out of St. Amphilochius, whose works have perished[7]. In all, there are twelve Fathers whose authority was referred to, but some copyists retrench the two last, and Vincentius of Lerins reckons only ten[8].

XLI. Authorities of the Fathers.

[2 p. 507.]
[3 p. 509.]
[4 p. 511.]
[5 p. 514.]
[6 p. 515.]
[7 p. 518.]

[8 Comm. c. 42. [sacrato Decalogi numero]

The Priest Peter said, "We have likewise[9] at hand the "blasphemous books of the most reverend Nestorius, from "one of which we have selected some articles; if it is agree-"able to the holy Council, we will read them[9]." The Bishop Flavian said, "Let them be read and inserted in the "Acts;" and all the Bishops gave their consent. They read twenty articles taken from Nestorius's book, which was a collection of sermons in twenty-seven loose sheets[1]. After

[9 p. 519. A.

[1 τετράδια Quaterniones]

[o] See Euseb. H. E. vii. 32; viii. 13; ix. 6. Athanas. Vita S. Ant. c. 47. Epiphan. de Hær. c. 68. (t. I. p. 716.) Ruinart, Acta Mart. p. 315, and Fleury ix. 37.

A. D. 431. CH. XLII. the reading, Flavian said[1], "Since these discourses of Nes-
[1] p. 529. C. "torius are horrible blasphemies, [let not our ears be
"polluted by listening to them any further, but] let them
"be entered among the Acts, to the condemnation of him
"who uttered them."

The Priest Peter said, "The most reverend Metropolitan
"and Bishop of Carthage, Capreolus, has written a letter to
"the holy Council by Bessula the Deacon. If it be your
"wish, I will read it along with the translation." Its import
was, that St. Augustine, who had been called by name to the
Council, was dead when the letter of the Emperor arrived,
and that the letter was addressed singly and solely to St.
Augustine; that when Capreolus had received it, he wrote
to all the provinces of Africa to assemble the national
[2 Cf. supr. 21. 26.] Council[2] in order to choose deputies for the general Council;
but the desolation of the country, and the ravages of the
Vandals, made such assemblies impracticable; besides, the
period of time allotted was too brief; the Emperor's letters
did not arrive at Carthage till Easter, when there remained
only two months to elapse before the meeting of the general
Council, and that time was insufficient even for convening
the African Council in full peace; that being thus unable to
send a solemn deputation, Capreolus wished at least to mark
his observance of ecclesiastical discipline, and his respect for
the general Council, by sending a Deacon to carry his ex-
cuses. He therefore entreats the Bishops courageously to
oppose those who would introduce new doctrines into the
Church, and not to suffer that which had been already de-
termined to be again called in question, or to allow the
decisions of the Fathers to be disputed. St. Cyril desired
that this letter of Capreolus might be inserted in the Acts,
as it clearly imported that the ancient opinions concerning
the Faith ought to be maintained, and the new rejected.
All the Bishops cried out, "We are of the same opinion, we
"all desire the same to be done."

XLII. Sentence against Nestorius. (June 22.) [3 p. 533.] Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against Nestorius in these terms[3]; "Nestorius having, among other
"things, refused to obey our citation, and to receive the
"Bishops who were sent on our part, we have been obliged
"to proceed to an examination of his impieties; and having

"convicted him, as well by his letters as by his other writ- A. D. 431.
"ings, and by discourses which he lately held in this city, CH. XLII.
"(duly attested,) of holding and teaching impious doctrines;
"being reduced to this necessity by the canons, and by the
"letter of our most holy Father and colleague[1] Cælestine, [1 συλλειτουργοῦ]
"Bishop of the Roman Church; after having shed many
"tears, we are agreed upon this unhappy sentence. Our LORD
"JESUS CHRIST, whom he hath blasphemed, has declared by
"this holy Council that he is deprived of the episcopal dig-
"nity, and excluded from all ecclesiastical assemblies. Cyril,
"Bishop of Alexandria; I have subscribed to the judgment
"of the Council. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, I have sub-
"scribed to the judgment of the Council." All the other Bishops present subscribed in the same way, to the number of one hundred and ninety-eight. Some called themselves Bishops by the grace and mercy of GOD; others, Bishops of the Catholic[2] Church of such and such a place. Some sub- [2 ἁγίας]
scribed by the hand of a Priest, one having his hand disabled, others being sick. Some Bishops also subscribed who were not present till after the first session[3]; so that Nestorius [3] p. 548. E.
was deposed by more than two hundred Bishops, for some of them had a delegated authority[4] as well as their own, since [4 ἐτοποτηρησαν]
they represented others who were unable to get to Ephesus. This was the first session of the Council, and it lasted from morning till night, although the days were then at the longest, for it was the twenty-second of June, and at Ephesus the sun does not set on that day till eleven minutes after seven o'clock. The people of the city waited from morning till night in expectation of their decision[5]; and when they heard that Nes- [5] Ep. Cyr. p. 573.
torius was deposed, they began with one voice to bless and applaud the Council, and to praise GOD that the enemy of the Faith was fallen. The Bishops, on coming out of the church, were conducted to their hotels with torches, the women carried perfumes before them, the city was illuminated with lamps, and every thing expressed universal exultation.

On the next day, (June the twenty-third,) they acquainted Nestorius with his sentence of deposition, in these terms[6]; [6] p. 549. A.
"The holy Council assembled at Ephesus by the grace of
"GOD, and in pursuance of the decree of our most pious

A. D. 431. CH. XLIII. "Emperors, to Nestorius the new Judas: know, that for thy "impious doctrines, and disobedience to the canons, thou "wast deposed by the holy Council agreeably to the laws of "the Church, and declared to be excluded from all eccle- "siastical dignities, on the twenty-second day of this present "month of June." This sentence was fixed up in the public places, and published by criers. The Council wrote on the same day to Eucharius, defender of the Church of Constantinople, to the Priests, the Stewards, and the rest of the clergy, acquainting them that Nestorius had been deposed on the previous day, and desiring them to take care of the goods of the Church, as they would give an account of them to the future Bishop of Constantinople, "who will be or- "dained," says the letter, "according to the will of GOD, "and the permission of our most pious Emperors."

XLIII. Letter to the Abbot Dalmatius, &c.

St. Cyril wrote at the same time a letter[1] addressed to the Abbot Dalmatius, and to such of his partizans as resided at Constantinople; these were, first, the Bishops Macarius and Potamon, (two of those who had been deputed to Nestorius by the Council of Egypt, in the preceding year; the other two, Theopemptus and Daniel, were at Ephesus;) and secondly, two of St. Cyril's Priests at Constantinople, Timotheus and Eulogus. The Abbot Dalmatius[2] was, of all the Monks of Constantinople, the most eminent for his piety. He had borne arms under Theodosius the Great, and served in the second company of his guards, living even then a life of piety. The better to serve GOD, he left his wife and children, taking with him only his son Faustus. Thus accompanied, he went to seek the Abbot Isaac, under whose guidance he placed himself, and embraced the monastic life. Isaac had dwelt in the deserts from his infancy, living in the practice of every virtue. It was he who predicted to the Emperor Valens his approaching death[3]. Under his teaching Dalmatius advanced to so high a degree of perfection, that Isaac on his death-bed appointed him Hegumen, or superior of the monastery, under the Patriarch Atticus. It is said that he passed forty days without eating, being enwrapt during the whole time in a trance. The Emperor paid him visits[4], and he was looked up to by the Senate with great veneration. They granted to him and to his successors the

[1] p. 549. E.

[2] Bolland, t. 33. p. 213.]

[3] Fleury, 17. 37.

[4] Conc. Eph. p. 752. D.

Abbots of the monastery for ever, the title of Archimandrite, that is, Head of all the monasteries of Constantinople[p]; and this is the title by which St. Cyril addresses him in his letter. The Greek Church honours the memory of all three, Isaac, Dalmatius, and Faustus, on the same day, the third of August[1]. A. D. 431. CH. XLIII.

[1] *Menolog.* Aug. 3.

In this letter St. Cyril informed Dalmatius and the others of all that had passed in the Council; of the affected delay of John of Antioch, the contemptuous behaviour of Nestorius, and his deposition. He concludes thus[2]; "As I am told that "the Count Candidian has sent in some reports[3], be on the "look out, and let it be known that the acts relating to the "deposition of Nestorius are not yet copied out fairly; this is "the reason why the report, which is to be sent in to the "Emperor, has not yet been despatched; but if it be GOD's "will, both it and the Acts shall be sent presently, provided "any one is allowed to carry them. Should the Acts and "report be delayed, you may be certain it is only because we "are not permitted to send them[q]: adieu." The Acts would seem to have been conveyed soon after, by the Bishops

[2] Act. 1. p. 563. [ἀναφο-ραὶ]

[p] Μάνδρα is explained in the old glosses by σπέος, σπήλαιον, spelunca (see Dufresne). But as the hollows of rocks are used in eastern countries for folds and stalls (see Grotius on Luke ii. 7. and cf. *Caula* in Facciolati), it came afterwards to mean, as Hesychius explains it, σηκὸς βοῶν καὶ ἵππων, whence finally it is used for a 'herd of cattle,' as in the 'stantis convicia mandræ' of Juvenal (iii. 237). Thus, then, a mandrite would at first be a person who lived in a solitary cave, but as people became attracted around him by his wisdom or piety, his cave would gradually enclose a *fold* of monks, so to speak, who on rearing a monastery would still retain their old title. The head of any such monastic establishment was called Archimandrite (supr. 20. 6. p.) The word was, in course of time, limited to the signification mentioned in the text, denoting a General-Abbot, or head of an aggregation of monasteries; and so the word is still used in Mt. Athos, and (according to Ersch and Gruber) in the St. Salvator's convent at Messina.

In the Russian Church, *Archimandrites* are the heads of superior monasteries (or Lavras, see Mouravieff, p. 38. Oxf. ed.), the *Hegumens* of inferior; corresponding respectively to the Abbots and Priors of the Western Church, though possessing far less power, since they are subject to minute episcopal surveillance. In the Coptic Church, the Archimandrite is second in dignity only to the Patriarch, being Grand-Prior of all the convents of the country.

In the letter from the Bishops of Constantinople to the Council of Ephesus (Conc. p. 752), Dalmatius is only called "one of the Archimandrites," and "all the Archimandrites" are said to have gone to the palace. Hence it would seem that the explanation given by Fleury is somewhat premature. The Abbey over which Dalmatius presided was raised to the dignity of Chief Abbey, but this precedency was not (as yet) indicated by the word Archimandrite. On the 'Abbots of St. Dalma-'tius' see Dufresne De Constantinop. Christ. lib. iv. p. 155.

[q] Probably the Nestorian party pursued the same tactics at Ephesus as at Constantinople. V. infr. xxvi. 4, at the end.

A. D. 431. CH. XLIV. Theopemptus and Daniel[1], whom we next meet with at Constantinople[2]: they had got there before the arrival of Count Irenæus[3].

[1] p. 700. D.
[2] [p. 771. B.]
[3] p. 717. B.

XLIV. Nestorius's Report.

On the day after the session of the Council, i. e. Tuesday, June the twenty-third, the Count Candidian published an edict[4] at Ephesus, in which he protested against what had been done on the preceding day, and again admonished all the Bishops to wait for the arrival of John of Antioch, and of the other Bishops who were on the road. He sent to the Court at the same time either Nestorius's own report or another like it. We have that of Nestorius, addressed to the Emperor, in these words[5]:

[4] Baluz. Synod. c. 11. [p. 703.]

[5] C. Eph. p. 563 E.

"Being summoned by your Piety to Ephesus, we repaired "thither without delay. In accordance with your injunc- "tions, we were desirous to wait for the Bishops who were "assembling from all parts, but when we found that the "Egyptians were growing impatient, and imputed the delay "to some preconcerted scheme on our part, we promised to "assemble whenever the Count Candidian should think fit. "He, knowing that Bishop John of Antioch and his attend- "ants were near, and that others were on their way from the "west, signified his wish that all should wait for their arrival. "We therefore, in obedience to your orders, remained quiet, "but the Egyptians and Asiatics, in contempt of the "laws both ecclesiastical and imperial, assembled themselves "apart, and have done what every body will inform your "Majesty of. They placed soldiers of their party in the "market-place, they filled the city with confusion, they sur- "rounded our houses, and used terrible menaces against us. "The Bishop Memnon was the leader in this sedition; he "had shut up the churches, that, when pursued, we might "not have any place of refuge; but for the others he opened "the great church, and prepared whatever was necessary for "holding a Council. We therefore beg and conjure you, "that since we came to Ephesus by your order, without fore- "seeing this so barbarous an insult, you would provide for "our safety, and issue orders that the Council may be "held in the usual form, and that none of the clergy or "Monks, whether belonging to us or to the Egyptians, nor "any of the Bishops who were not called, may come in to

" disturb it, and that there should be admitted to sit with A. D. 431.
" the Metropolitan only two Bishops of each province, being CH. XLIV.
" men who have some knowledge in questions of this sort:
" or if this be not granted, that we may at least have orders
" to return to our homes in safety, for they threaten us
" even with loss of life."

The petition for two Bishops of each province with their Metropolitan, had an artifice in it;—the Patriarch of Alexandria had very few Metropolitans under him[r]. This letter was subscribed by Nestorius, Fritilas of Heraclea, Helladius of Tarsus, Dexian of Seleucia, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Apamia, Eutherius of Tyana, Basil of Thessaly, Maximus of Anazarbus, Alexander of Hierapolis, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, eleven in all. In the mean time[1], Count Candidian annoyed the Bishops of the Council with his soldiers, preventing even the necessaries of life from being brought to them, and permitting the people whom Nestorius entertained, particularly a large body of the peasants belonging to the Church lands[2], to load them with insult.

[1] Ep. Memn. p. 761. D.

[2] [χωρικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κτημάτων]

When a fair copy had been made of the Acts of Nestorius's deposition, they were sent to the Emperor together with a synodical letter, giving a history of all that had passed, their reasons for not waiting for the eastern Bishops, the contumacy of Nestorius, and so forth. The Pope is spoken of in these terms[3]: "We approved of what the most holy Bishop of Rome, [3] p. 572. C.
" Cælestine, had done in having already condemned the here-
" tical dogmas of Nestorius, and in anticipating us in pass-
" ing sentence against him." It concluded thus: "We beg,
" therefore, of your Majesty to command that Nestorius's doc-
" trine be banished from all our holy Churches; that his books,
" wherever they are found, be burnt; and if any one fail in
" due observance of these commands, that he incur your impe-

[r] Indeed it is doubted whether he had any Metropolitans under him, strictly speaking. In this respect the Primate of Alexandria had more power than any of the other Primates. While his diocese contained six provinces, with one hundred suffragan Bishops, (or thirty-one more than the Primate of Rome had under him,) he possessed a metropolitical power over the whole, i. e. he had the power of ordaining all the suffragan Bishops. Bingham, 2. 16. § 23 and 17. § 11. Indeed, if each of the six provinces had had a Metropolitan, St. Cyril's diocese would still have been inadequately represented, if Nestorius's project had succeeded; for Vincentius of Lerins, speaking of this Council, says, p. 142. ed. Cantab., that "the ma-
" jority of the Priests assembled were
" Metropolitans," (pœne ex majori parte Metropolitani).

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" rial displeasure." The Council likewise wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, to acquaint them with the fact of Nestorius's deposition, as a piece of agreeable news[s]. It is in this letter[1] that the Council joins together the Holy Virgin and St. John, as equally honouring the city of Ephesus. It is certain from another letter[2], that the sepulchre of St. John was there, in a Church bearing his name[t]. St. Cyril also sent an account of the proceedings against Nestorius, to his clergy and people of Alexandria[3], and the Monks of Egypt[4]. Meanwhile, he preached some sermons; one at the church of St. Mary[5] on the occasion of seven Bishops, who had been attached to Nestorius's party, coming over to re-unite themselves with the Council: another at the synaxis or liturgy[6], which would seem to have been celebrated on Friday the twenty-sixth of June; Reginus Bishop of Cyprus, and some others, having spoken before him. In these discourses St. Cyril declaims with great vehemence against Nestorius.

[1] p. 573. A.
[2] p. 605. A.
[3] p. 576. A.
[4] p. 576. D.
[5] p. 584.
[6] συνάξεων ἐπιτελουμένων p. 580.

XLV. Arrival of John of Antioch.

On the fifth day after the sentence of deposition, i. e. on Saturday, June the twenty-seventh, John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus. The Council, on hearing of his approach, deputed some Bishops and clergy to meet him, hoping thus at once to shew him a proper mark of respect, and to caution him against having any intercourse with Nestorius, who had been deposed by the Council[7]. The soldiers who accompanied John of Antioch prevented the deputies from speaking with him on the road; however, they followed him to his hotel, and waited there several hours, vainly seeking to obtain an interview with him, and subjected to much insult from the soldiers. At last, [when it suited his humour,] some of the guards were sent to introduce them. As soon as they had declared the message with which they were charged on the part of the Council, he abandoned them to Count Irenæus, and to the Bishops and clergy of his train, who beat them so that their lives were in peril. The deputies returned to the Council, detailed the way in which they had been treated, and shewed the marks of the blows they had received; Acts were drawn up to record the transaction in presence of the Gospel, that

[7] Ep. Memn. p. 761. E.

[s] For a graphic description of the joy with which the news was received, see C. Eph. p. 753. A. and infr. xxvi. 6.

[t] At p. 605 A. "the coffin of the Apostle" (τὴν λάρνακα) is mentioned. The church is called τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστόλιον. p. 565, E. p. 595, A. p. 715, D. Cf. Bingham, 8. 1. § 8.

is, in full Council; but it would seem that some of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus are lost, for those just alluded to are not to be found in the extant copies. A. D. 431. CH. XLV.

The interval during which the deputies were kept waiting had been employed by John in holding a Council of his own with the partizans of Nestorius. The moment he alighted from his chariot, and got into his room, covered with dust, and not waiting even to pull off his cloak, he commenced proceedings against St. Cyril, Memnon of Ephesus, and the whole Council[1]. The Count Candidian, who had gone to meet him, was the first to give evidence, and, according to the Acts of this pretended Council[2], he spoke thus: "It was "my wish to have presented the Emperors' letters, according "to their injunctions, in the presence of your Piety and the "whole Council; but five days ago the most reverend Bishop "Cyril, Memnon Bishop of this city, and the other Bishops "who accompanied them, assembled in the church. I at- "tempted to hinder them, and advised them to wait till you "were all come. They demanded that I should read to them "the Emperors' letter[3], which I was constrained to do, that "they might not have [their ignorance of the Imperial mes- "sage to plead as] a pretext for irregular conduct. Before "I left the place, however, I conjured them not to do any "thing precipitately, as many of the Bishops who were then "present can testify; but so little regard had they for what "was said, that they contemptuously drove out the Bishops "who had been sent by the most holy Nestorius, and all "who attended them; they even expelled me, and would "not suffer the protest[4] which the Bishops had drawn up "to be read. I sent information of all this to the mighty "Sovereigns, representing to them that I awaited the arrival "of your holiness, and the attendant Bishops."

[1] Ep. ad Cœlest. p. 664. A.
[2] Apol. Cyr. p. 1046. A.
[3] p. 590. C.
[3] τὴν σάκραν]
[4] παρανα- γνωστικὸν]

Bishop John desired that the Emperors' letter[5] should be read. The Bishops all stood up, and Candidian read it. The Bishop John next desired him to state if any thing else had happened. Candidian said, "On the following day, knowing "nothing of what they had been doing, I suddenly heard that "they had deposed the most holy Bishop Nestorius. Meeting "with the sentence of deposition fixed up in public, I tore "it down, read it, and sent it to the Emperors. A little

[5] τὰ εὐ- σεβῆ γράμ- ματα]
p. 592. C.

A. D. 431. CH. XLV. "after I heard the public criers proclaim it formally in the "market-place; on this I sent to inhibit them from doing "any thing beyond the Emperors' orders; and I induced "those Bishops who were not assembled with them to wait "for your arrival." Bishop John said[1], "Did they proceed "agreeably to the canons, and to the Emperors' mandate, "to take full cognizance of the affair, or did they condemn "Nestorius by default[2]?" Candidian said, "All the Bishops "who were present with me know that they neither sifted "evidence, nor made any examination." John of Antioch said, "Certainly their treatment of us corresponds to the "account you give: for instead of giving a brotherly wel- "come to men fatigued with a long journey, and of testi- "fying to them their affection, they immediately come to "trouble and harass us with their usual petulance; but the "holy Council, which is with me, refused even to hear them, "and will consider what steps should be taken against those "who act thus tyrannically and illegally."

[1] p. 594.

[2 ἐρήμην]

After this the Count Candidian withdrew, and John of Antioch put it to the Bishops to say how this contempt of the Imperial letter should be dealt with. The Council said, "It is plain that its provisions have been infringed by the "most reverend Cyril, and the most reverend Memnon, who "has seconded him throughout, as we very well know, who "were here before your Piety, and saw all his proceedings; "for Memnon shut up the churches, especially those of the "Martyrs, and of the holy Apostle, not suffering the Bishops "to solemnize even Pentecost in them; he collected a body of "peasants, with whom he disturbed the peace of the city, and "lastly, he sent his clergy to the Bishops' hotels, menacing "them with the most terrible consequences, unless they "attended his disorderly assembly. Their evil consciences "drove them to involve every thing in confusion, in hopes "that inquiry would thus be diverted from the heretical doc- "trine contained in the articles which have been lately sent "by Cyril to Constantinople, and of which the greater part "sanction the impiety of Arius, Apollinarius, and Eunomius. "We must therefore strive courageously in defence of our "religion; and those who are at the head of this heretical "and seditious movement must receive a condign sentence,

" while those who have suffered themselves to be seduced " should also be subjected to an ecclesiastical censure." A. D. 431. CH. XLVI.

John of Antioch said, " Cyril and Memnon, being the " authors of the disorder, having despised both the laws of " the Church and the Emperors' mandate, and having put " forth the heretical articles before mentioned, ought to be " deposed; those whom they have seduced ought to be ex- " communicated; to the end that, acknowledging their fault, " they may anathematize the heretical articles of Cyril, and " assemble with us to examine the subject of controversy like " brethren, and so confirm our holy Faith." The Council approved of his proposal, and sentence was accordingly pronounced and subscribed by three-and-forty Bishops[1 u]. The chief of these were John of Antioch, Alexander of Apamea, John of Damascus, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, Alexander of Hierapolis, Dexian of Seleucia, Fritilas of Heraclia, Himerius of Nicomedia, Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherius of Tyana, and Theodoret of Cyrus. Such are the Acts of the false Council of the Easterns; in which the vaguest accusations were received, while no particular witness was called upon to give evidence, no examination made of any document, no hearing allowed the accused, nor even any citation sent him.

[1] p. 598.

The sentence was never published at Ephesus, and the Bishops of the Council knew nothing of their proceedings[2]; but they sent it to Constantinople, with letters severally addressed to the Emperor, the princesses, the clergy, the senate, and the people[3]; in which the same calumnies against Cyril and Memnon were repeated in different forms. They are charged with having effected their deeds of violence by means of Egyptian seamen and Asiatic peasants[4], and with having affixed placards to make the houses of those whom they intended to assault the more conspicuous[5]. John of Antioch avers that St. Cyril had written to him only two days before the holding of the session, saying that the whole Council waited for his arrival[6].

[2] p. 664. C.

[3] pp. 601, 3, sqq.

[4] p. 604. D.

[5] p. 608. B.]

[6] p. 602. C.]

XLVI. The Emperor's letter by Palladius.

In the mean time, Candidian's report had arrived at Constantinople, and the Emperor, prepossessed by his plausible

[u] Of the sixty-eight who signed the protest (supr. c. 36) only twenty-six signed the sentence of deposition against St. Cyril. The complemental seventeen would seem, judging by the names of their sees, to have all belonged to the diocese of Antioch.

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statements, had sent a rescript by a magistrian named Palladius. (These magistrians, or officers of the Master of the Offices, are elsewhere called Emperor's agents[x].) The rescript declared that the sentence which a part of the Bishops at Ephesus had passed in cabal and passion, (meaning Nestorius's deposition,) should be null and void. "It is for this reason," says the Emperor[1], "that until the doctrines of religion be "examined by the whole Council, and until we send some "one as associate to Candidian, to ascertain the true cha- "racter of what has been done and to annul whatever is "illegal, we ordain that none of the Bishops assembled "leave Ephesus; and lest these letters should be thought "insufficient, we have given orders to the governors of the "provinces, not to suffer any one to enter their territories, ἄν [without a passport from us.]" This letter was dated the third of the calends of July, in the consulate of Antiochus; that is, June the twenty-ninth, A.D. 431, seven days after the session of the Council.

[1] C. Eph. p. 706. A.

The Council returned an answer by Palladius[2], complaining that the Count Candidian had pre-occupied the Emperor's mind, before he could be informed, by the Acts, of what was the real truth: that Candidian still prevented him from having this information, and that John of Antioch only arrived twenty-one days after the time fixed for the Council. "We beg "your Majesty," they add, "to send for Count Candidian, "with five Bishops of the Council, who will place before you "a defence of what has been done; for the apostates from "the Faith are so skilful in concealing[3] their error, that they "even seduced, for a time, some Bishops who have since "returned and joined us in condemning Nestorius. Those "who still remain with him and John of Antioch, number "only seven and thirty, or thereabouts; the greater part of "whom are attached to Nestorius, because they share in his "guilt and fear the judgment of the Council. We have "sent you their names: some are Pelagian heretics, others "were deposed some years back. We may add that the "Council has the consent of all the Bishops of the world,

[2] C. Eph. p. 745. D.

[3 συσκιάζειν]

[x] They are also frequently called Ἀγγελιάφοροι, or Royal Messengers. Their duties are detailed in full by Gothofr. ad C. Theod. tom. ii. p. 163; see also supr. xviii. 23. l. xix. 33. p, and xxii. 32. c.

" since the Bishop of Rome and those of Africa have assisted A. D. 431.
" at it, in the person of the most holy Archbishop Cyril. If CH. XLVI.
" we had not been so pressed for time, we might have written at
" length the hardships we have suffered from Count Irenæus;
" but if you grant our petition, the five who shall repair to
" you will inform you of every thing. More than two
" hundred of us [from every part of the world] pronounced
" the sentence of Nestorius's deposition, having with us the
" consent of the whole west; the reason why so few of us
" subscribe this letter, though we are all present, is that
" the magistrian Palladius hastens us, and cannot wait all
" the time that such subscriptions require." Then follows a list of the names of the schismatics, amounting only to thirty-four.

The schismatics also sent an answer to the Emperor by the same Palladius[1]; their letter is full of adulation to the Emperor, and calumny against St. Cyril and the Council. They mention the sentence they had passed in their would-be-council[2]; they repeat Nestorius's request, that each Metropolitan should be accompanied by only two Bishops of his province, saying that for their part they had brought no more; that the Egyptians numbered fifty, that the Asiatics at the beck of Memnon were forty, that there were twelve Messalian heretics of Pamphilia, besides others who accompanied Memnon, and some who had been deposed and excommunicated; "making up altogether," they say, "a troop " of ignoramuses, fit for nothing but to breed confusion." At any rate, on their own shewing, there were no less than a hundred and fifty opposed to them. They proceed: " We imagined that your letter would have restored them to " reason; so when we had read it, we went to the church of " St. John the Apostle, to thank GOD and pray for your " Majesty; but as soon as they saw us, they closed the doors. " After we had prayed outside the church, we were return- " ing in silence, when a company of servants rushed out, " who seized some of us, took away the horses of others, " wounded some, and pursued us with clubs and stones a " great distance. Memnon had contrived the whole long " before, not suffering any of us to pray in the churches, or " to treat in quiet of ecclesiastical affairs. Wherefore, we pray

[1] C. Eph. p. 705.

[2] [? conciliabulum]

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"you more particularly to expel from the city this tyrant, "whom we have already deposed, and who is now throwing "every thing into confusion only because he fears the result "of an examination into his conduct."

A letter written by Memnon to the clergy of Constantinople about this time, reveals to us the occasion of this tumult, and of the pretended outrages of the Catholics. The Bishops, whom the Council had sent to meet John of Antioch, and who had been so ill treated[1], after complaining of it to the Council, declared him to be excommunicated, and sent him a notification of the same. [Some such measure was now indeed absolutely requisite,] for the Council had heard that a writing, without name or subscription, was fixed up in a certain part of the city, containing the sentence of John against Cyril, Memnon, and the whole Council. John went every day to solicit the common council of the city of Ephesus and the magistrates, to grant an order for the installation of another Bishop in the room of Memnon; but the inhabitants of the city, being all orthodox, took possession of the churches, and remained there to prevent John from putting his design into execution. He went so far as to give out that he would hold the ordination[2] in St. John's church, and actually went up to the church for the purpose, but the people resisted him, and as he had brought several armed men with him, a riot ensued, in which some of the poor belonging to the church were left half dead on the spot. Memnon's letter, after furnishing us with this account of the transaction, concludes by requesting the clergy of Constantinople to publish the violent proceedings of John and his party, and to procure the removal of Counts Candidian and Irenæus, who only fomented discord, from Ephesus. In the case of Irenæus, this was unnecessary, as he was sent by the schismatics to Constantinople, more effectually to solicit the Court in their favour. He was furnished by them with a letter, and a second "report," which contained the same calumnies against Cyril and Memnon, and expressed a desire that the Council should be transferred to some other place[3]. The letter supplied him with credentials.

[1] Supr. C. 45. Ep. Memn. p. 764. C.

[2] χειροτονῆσαι.

[3] C. Eph. p. 713. E.

XLVII. Arrival of the Pope's legates.

Meanwhile, the legates of the Holy See arrived at Ephesus, and a second session of Council was immediately held in

the episcopal house of Memnon; on the sixth of the ides of July, in the Roman style, or in the Egyptian, on the sixteenth of Epiphi; i. e. July the tenth, in the same year, 431[1]. St. Cyril always presided, having the Pope's authority also committed to him[2] [y]. Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, Flavian of Philippi, (representing also Rufus of Thessalonica,) Theodotus of Ancyra, Firmus of Cappadocia, and all the other Bishops, with Bessula the Deacon of Carthage, assisted. The Deputies of the West, who were three in number, Arcadius and Projectus Bishops, and Philip who was Priest, were introduced to sit with them. Philip spoke first, and said[3], "We render thanks to the adorable Trinity, "for having brought us to your holy assembly. Our Father "Cælestine long ago declared his judgment on this subject "in the letters to the holy Bishop Cyril, which have been "shewn you: he has now sent others to you, which we here "present; let them be read and inserted in the ecclesiastical "Acts." The two episcopal deputies, Arcadius and Projectus, seconded the proposal. As they all three spoke in Latin, what they said was interpreted in Greek, the language of the Council. St. Cyril ordered St. Cælestine's letter to be read, and Siricius, 'Notary of the Holy Catholic Church, 'of the City of Rome,' read it in Latin. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, moved "that it be inserted in the Acts." All the Bishops asked that it might be translated into Greek, and read. The Priest Philip said, "We have satisfied "custom[z], which requires us to read the letters of the Apo- "stolical See[a] first in Latin; but we have taken care to have

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[1] C. Eph. p. 610. [διέποντος καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελεστίνου.]

[3] p. 611.

[y] More literally, "acting also as "proxy for Cælestine," i. e. concurrently with his own right of presidency, he held the authority of the Bishop of Rome. See Baluz. in l. (p. 488.) supr. c. 36. Palmer 'on the Church of 'Christ,' vol. ii. p. 522.

[z] Such was also the custom of the old Roman magistrates. Baluz. quotes Valer. M. ii. 1; "Among other ex- "pressions of the dignity they wished "to maintain, was one which they "always scrupulously observed, — "never to give an answer to Greeks "except in Latin." He also refers to Sueton. in Tib. c. 71; and in Claud. c. 16; and Ritterhus. iii. Sacr. Lect. c. 1. The Greeks on their part were singularly firm in resisting the encroachments of the Latin language. Centuries after Britain, Gaul, Spain, North Africa, Switzerland and Hungary had (more or less fully) adopted it, the population of South Italy still spoke Greek. "The Greek language in Cala- "bria did not begin to give way until "the fourteenth century." Niebuhr, Rom. H., vol. i. p. 61.

[a] In the western part of the Church this title was given pre-eminently to Rome, as being the only western see founded by an Apostle. In the Eastern Church there were several sees to which the designation was applied. Thus Sozomen (H. E. i. 17.) calls Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, "apostolic

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"it translated into Greek:" "and that," as the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus added, "because many of the Bishops "do not understand Latin." Priest Peter of Alexandria then read Pope St. Cælestine's letter in the translation[1].

[1] p. 614.

[2 ἱερέων. Fleury *evêques.*] [3 ἐμφανίζει τὴν παρουσίαν] [4] Matt. 18. 20.

It began thus: "The assembly of Priests[2] is the visible "display of the presence[3] of the HOLY GHOST; [He who "cannot lie has said, 'Where two or three are gathered "together in My Name, I am in the midst of them[4];' much "more will He be present in so large a crowd of holy "men;] for the Council is indeed holy in a peculiar sense,— "it claims veneration as the representative of that most [5 τῆς μεγίστης Fleury, *la nombreuse*] "noble[5] Synod of Apostles [which we read of[6].] Their "Master, whom they were commanded to preach, never "forsakes them; it was He who taught them, it was He "who instructed them what they should teach others; and "He has assured the world, that in the person of His Apo- [7] Luke 10. 16. "stles, they hear Him[7]. This charge of teaching has de- "scended equally upon all Bishops. We are all engaged to "it by an hereditary right; all we who, having come in their "stead, preach the name of our LORD to all the countries of "the world, according to what was said to them, 'Go ye and [8] Matt. 28. 19. "teach all nations[8].' You are to observe, my brethren, that

[6] Acts 15.

"sees" (ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι). So Eusebius H. E. vii. 32, (ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον) of Jerusalem; and Gregory the Great, Ep. iv. 37, of Antioch (which is also called πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴ, Theodoret. v. 9). It would seem from Tertullian, de Proscr. Hær. c. 36. (p. 215. ed. Rigalt.) that the very chair (cathedra) of the first Bishops was preserved in most of the apostolical Churches. St. Augustine frequently refers to the apostolical sees as the great bond of orthodoxy; See Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. n. 5. To the instances there given add, De Doctr. Chr. ii. c. 8. (T. iii. p. 23). "Among "the Catholic Churches surely must be "placed those which had the honour to "have the apostolic chairs (sedes), and "to receive letters from the Apostles." And even Isidore of Seville, (died 636,) De Off. ii. 5. (p. 597. ed. Prieul.) "The "rest of the Apostles, receiving equal "honour with Peter, preached the Gos- "pel throughout the world, and were "succeeded by the Bishops who are "placed throughout the world on the "sees of the Apostles." In a secondary sense, all Catholic Churches are called apostolical (Tertull. Præscr. Hær. 32.) (p. 213): first, as deriving their succession of Bishops ultimately from the Apostles (apostolici seminis traduces); secondly, as holding the Apostles' doctrine (pro consanguinitate doctrinæ). "In this sense," says Tertullian (c. 20. p. 209), "all are first, all are apo- "stolical, so long as all seek to main- "tain the same unity. (Omnes primæ, "et omnes apostolicæ, dum unam om- "nes probant imitatem.)" Thus Sidonius (vi. Ep. 1. Galland. x. p. 513) says to St. Lupus of Troyes, "You "who have now sat on the apostolic "see forty-five years;" and in Synod. Chalc. Act. x. p. 644. A, the see of Constantinople is called apostolical; though this may have been intended in the first sense, according to the tradition that it was founded by St. Andrew. See also Bingham, 2. 2. § 3. and 11. § 24. Baluz. not. ad Agobard., p. 162. (ed. 1666.) Neander's Church History, vol. i. p. 210. ed. 1842.

"the order we have received is a general order[1], and that "He intended that we should all execute it, when He charged "them with it as a duty, devolving equally upon all. We "ought all to enter into the labours of those whom we have "all succeeded in dignity[b]." A. D. 431. CH. XLVII. [1 γενικὴν ἐντολήν.]

Thus Pope St. Cælestine acknowledged that it was CHRIST Himself who established Bishops, in the persons of the Apostles, as the teachers of His Church: he places himself in their rank, and declares that they ought all to concur for the preservation of the sacred deposit of apostolical doctrine. This is, in fact, the tendency of all the remainder of the letter; in which, among other considerations, he refers to the place in which they were assembled,—the city of Ephesus, where St. Paul and St. John had preached the Gospel: "St. John," says the letter[2], "whose present reliques you honour." It contains credentials for the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the Priest Philip, "who will be present," says the letter, "at "your Acts, and will execute that which we have long ago "determined upon." The date is the eighth of the ides of May, which coincides with the eighth day of that month. [2] C. Eph. p. 615. D.

When the letter was ended, all the Bishops cried out[3], [3] p. 618. "This is a just judgment. To Cælestine the new Paul, to "Cyril the new Paul; to Cælestine the guardian of the "Faith, to Cælestine who has but one soul with the Council; "the whole Council gives thanks to Cælestine. One Cæles- "tine, one Cyril, one Faith of the Council, one Faith of the "whole earth." The Bishop Projectus said, "Remark the

[b] The views of the episcopal office maintained in this truly apostolical letter are often dwelt upon by St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome. Thus St. Cyprian, de Unitate Eccl. p. 108. ed. Oxon., "The Episcopate is one, "and each individual Bishop has an "equal share in it as *joint-tenant*" (in solidum, v. Fell. ad l.), and Ep. 55. p. 112. "The one Episcopate diffused "through the harmonizing numerosity "of the Bishops," and Ep. 68. p. 178. (to Stephanus, Bp. of Rome). "Hence, "my dearest brother, it is that the "body of Priests is united by the "bonds of concord and unity; that if "any of our colleagues should attempt "to introduce heresy, and so tear and "waste the flock of Christ, the rest "should all come to its aid, and, like "good and kind shepherds, re-collect "the LORD'S sheep into the fold." And August. ad Bonifac. c. duas. Ep. Pel. i. 1. (t. x. p. 411), "To sit on our "watch-towers and guard the flock, be- "longs in common to all of us who "have episcopal functions, although "the hill on which you stand is more "conspicuous than the rest." And St. Jerome, Ep. 101 (al. 85) ad Evang. (iv. p. 803.) "Whersoever a Bishop is, "at Rome, at Eugubium, at Constan- "tinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria "or at Thanis, he is of the same worth "and of the same priesthood; power of "wealth or lowness of poverty do not "make a Bishop higher or lower, but "all are successors of the Apostles."

A. D. 431. CH. XLVII.

"form of the Pope's letter; he does not pretend to instruct "you as if you were ignorant, but aims at putting you in "remembrance of what you know already: wishing you to "execute that on which he has long ago adjudicated." Firmus of Cappadocia said, "The holy see of Cælestine decided "this affair and pronounced sentence on it before, in the "letters addressed to Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jeru- "salem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and to the Churches of "Constantinople and Antioch. In accordance with which "sentence and in furtherance thereof, we have pronounced a "canonical judgment against Nestorius, the term which was "granted him for recantation being overpast, and we having "waited at Ephesus long beyond the day fixed by the "Emperor."

Bishop Arcadius, one of the legates, said, "The length of "our voyage, arising from bad weather, prevented our arriv- "ing here so soon as we wished. We therefore beg to be "informed what you have decreed." The Priest Philip, after having thanked the Council for their acclamations in honour of the Pope, and having extolled the primacy of St. Peter, made the same request. Theodotus of Ancyra said, "GOD has shewn how just the sentence of the Council "is, by the coming of the most pious Bishop Cælestine's "letters, and by your presence. But as you ask what has "passed, you shall receive full information from the Acts of "Nestorius's deposition. You will there see the zeal of the "Council, and the conformity of its faith with that which "Cælestine so loudly publishes." Thus ended the second session of the Council.

The Pope's legates had written instructions, bearing the same date as the letter to the Council, (May 8,) and to this effect[1]: "Injunctions of Pope St. Cælestine to the Bishops "and Priests going to the East. When by the grace of "GOD, as we hope, you shall have reached your destination, "bend all your thoughts upon our brother Cyril, and do "whatever he shall think advisable. We also recommend "to you to watch over the authority of the Apostolic See; "since the instructions which have been given you import "that you are to attend at the Council, but in case of dis- "agreement you are to judge of their opinion without enter-

[1] Baluz. Nova Coll. p. 382.

"ing into discussion. If you find that the Council is over, "and that the Bishops are returned, you are to inquire how "matters were concluded. If it be in favour of the ancient "Catholic Faith, and if you find that my brother Cyril has "gone to Constantinople, you are to follow him and present "our letters to the Prince. If it happen otherwise, and "dissension prevail, you will judge by the state of affairs, "with the advice of our aforesaid brother, how you are to "act." The instructions here mentioned are not in existence; but we have a letter from the Pope to the Emperor Theodosius[1], dated May 15, which contains credentials for the three legates, and another to St. Cyril[2], dated May 17, advising that he who retracts his errors should always be admitted to penitence.

[1] C. Eph. p. 619.
[2] p. 621.

XLVIII. The legates confirm Nestorius's deposition. (July 11.)

On the next day, the fifth of the ides of July, or the seventeenth of Epiphi, i. e. July 11, the Council again assembled in the episcopal house of Memnon. Juvenal of Jerusalem asked the Pope's legates, if the Acts of Nestorius's deposition had been communicated to them pursuant to the order of the Council. The Priest Philip said that they had found, by a perusal of the Acts, that the Council had proceeded throughout in accordance with the canons. He desired, however, that the documents might be again read in full Council[3]; and the Bishop Arcadius joined in the request. Memnon of Ephesus ordered that their wish should be complied with, and Priest Peter of Alexandria read the Acts of the first session, the beginning of which, along with the sentence of deposition against Nestorius, was inserted in this third. When the reading was ended, the Priest Philip said[4], "No one doubts but that St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, "pillar of the Faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church, "received from our LORD JESUS CHRIST the keys of His "kingdom, and power to bind and loose sins, and that even "to the present time he lives, and exercises this judicial "power in his successors[c]. Our holy Pope, Bishop Cæles-

[3] p. 623.
[4] p. 626.

[c] The other Apostles, it is true, shared in this commission: as St. Cyprian says, De Unit. Eccl. (p. 107. ed. Oxon.) "Of course the rest of the Apostles were what Peter was, being endowed with an equal joint-possession (pari consortio) both of honour and power;" and St. Ambrose (in Ps. 38. t. 1. p. 858), "Hear Him saying, 'I will give thee the keys;' . . . . . That which is said to Peter is said to all the Apostles." But though thus equal, it could not be in the nature of things but that one should have a *præ-*

A. D. 431. CH. XLVIII. ["διάδοχος καὶ τοποτηρητής]

"tine, who at this time holds his place[1], has sent us to repre-
"sent him in this holy Council, which our most Christian
"Emperors have convened in order to preserve intact the
"Catholic Faith, which has descended to them from their
"ancestors." He then briefly sums up the proceedings against Nestorius, and adds, "The sentence pronounced "against him remains firm, agreeably to the judgment of "all the Churches, since the Eastern and Western Bishops "have either in person, or by deputy, assisted at the Council; "let Nestorius, therefore, know that he is cut off from the "communion of the priesthood of the Catholic Church."

The Bishop Arcadius spoke next, concluding thus: "Ac-
"cording to the tradition of the Apostles and the Catholic

[1] *Προκαθίζειν*, or precedency in order, though not a superiority in rank, and this precedency is unanimously assigned to St. Peter. Hence it was that he was chosen to represent the whole Church; for the ancient Fathers "teach with one con-
"sent that the keys were given to the
"whole Church in the person of Peter" (Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Disc. p. 308. ed. 1686), and this as St. Cyprian (u. s.) in particular urges, "with a view to
"exhibit the oneness of the Church."

Whatever may be thought of the dogma that this precedency remained *de jure divino* with the Bishops of Rome as his successors, the *fact* is certain, that from an early period the Bishops of that city were looked up to by all the Christian Churches. The number of its martyrs, its apostolic origin, (unique in the West,) its active charity, and more than all, its singularly unswerving orthodoxy, all tended in this direction; and the resultant of these forces was increased in intensity by the respect and influence which naturally attached to the centre of political government. (Such interdependence of ecclesiastical and temporal power is evidently recognised by the canon which forbids Bishops to be ordained to villages). The history of its gradual increase up to the period we are now considering is of too wide a range for a note; but it may be as well to point out the principal steps to be observed. First, the maintenance of the time of celebrating Easter, by Anicetus against Polycarp, and by Victor against the Churches of Asia Minor; an opposition, however, not grounded on any alleged superiority in power, but on the possession of primitive tradition. Secondly, the distinct assertion of a derived primacy in the Bishops of Rome by Irenæus; (this interpretation of the passage is vindicated by Neander, vol. i. p. 216). Thirdly, St. Cyprian's recognition of Rome as the centre of the Christian Theocraty (De Unit. Ecc. p. 108), though in practice he did any thing rather than countenance the supposition of an inherent superiority in the see of Rome. (Ep. 73, &c.) Fourthly, the decision of Aurelian; Euseb. vii. 30. (Fleury, viii. 8.) Fifthly, the flight of the orthodox Bishops to Rome, under Pope Julius, A.D. 341. Socrat. ii. 15; Sozomen, iii. 8; Fleury, xii. 20. In his letter to the Easterns, Julius only claims a share in the decision of a Council of Bishops. (Mansi, ii. p. 1219, C.) Sixthly, the letter of the Council of Sardica. Concilia, t. ii. p. 660, and Canons, 3, 4, 5. pp. 628, 9. Seventhly, the rescript of Gratian and Valentinian (Mansi, iii. p. 627), and the laws of Theodosius I. (Codex xvi. tit. 1. p. 4). Eighthly, the decision of Can. 3. of the Council of Constantinople, though this Council (virtually) repealed the Canon of Sardica. Ninthly, St. Chrysostom's appeal to the Pope, *supr.* xxi. 49 (though to him in common with the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia), and St. Innocent's decretal letter, *supr.* xxiii. 26. Tenthly, the affair of Apiarius, *supr.* xxiv. 6, 11, 35, and Bingham, 9. 1. § 11. Cf. Casaubon De Rebus Eccl. Exercit. p. 424.

"Church; pursuant also to the decision of the most holy "Pope Cælestine, who sent us to execute his share in this "business; and pursuant to the decrees of the holy Council, "we declare to Nestorius that he is deprived of the epi- "scopal dignity, excluded from the whole Church, and from "the communion of all Bishops." The Bishop Projectus concluded thus[1]: "I too, by my authority as legate of the "apostolical see, being joined with my brethren to execute "this sentence, declare that Nestorius, enemy of the truth "and corrupter of the Faith, is deprived of the episcopal "dignity, and of the communion of all orthodox Bishops." St. Cyril said, "The Council sees what has been declared in "the name of the apostolical see and the whole Council of "the holy Bishops of the West. Since, then, they have "executed the sentence of the most holy Bishop Cælestine, "and have approved of the judgment passed by the holy "Council against the heretic Nestorius; let the Acts of "what passed yesterday and to-day be joined to the pre- "ceding, that they may signify their consent by subscrip- "tion." The legates offered to subscribe, the Council ordered the Acts to be presented to them, and they all three subscribed to Nestorius's deposition. Thus ended the third session of the Council.

A. D. 431. CH. XLIX.

[1] p. 627. C.

They sent the Emperor an account of what they had done in a synodal letter, which ran thus[2]: "GOD, favouring your "zeal, has stirred up that of the Bishops of the West to "avenge the injury done to JESUS CHRIST; for although the "length of the journey is such that they could not all come "to us, yet they assembled in a synod of their own, Cæles- "tine the holy Bishop of Rome himself presiding; they ap- "proved our opinions concerning the Faith, and cut off "from the priesthood[3] those who differ from us. Cælestine "had already declared the same before the meeting of the "Council, by his letters to the most holy Bishop Cyril, "whom he also appointed to act in his stead; he has now "again confirmed it by letters sent to the Council of Ephesus "by the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the Priest "Philip, his Vicars. On their arrival they made known to "us the opinion of the whole Council of the West, and have "also witnessed, in writing, that they perfectly agree with

XLIX. Synodal letters.

[2] C. Eph. p. 630.

[3] παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ κλήρου καὶ βαθμοῦ]

A. D. 431. CH. L.

"us in regard to the Faith. We therefore inform your "Majesty of this, that you may be assured that the sen- "tence we have now pronounced is the common judgment "of the whole world. Thus, since the business for which we "assembled is happily concluded, we beg your permission to "depart; for some among us are oppressed with poverty, "others with diseases, and others sunk under the weight of "years, so that we are unable to endure the inconvenience "of staying longer in a foreign country, to which some of "the Bishops and clergy have already fallen victims. The "whole world is unanimous, except the interested few who "prefer Nestorius's friendship to religion. It is but just, "therefore, that some one should be appointed to fill up "his place, and that we should be left in peace, to enjoy "the confirmation of the Faith, and offer up our sincere "prayers on behalf of your Majesty." This letter was subscribed by St. Cyril and all the other Bishops.

A letter was also sent by the Council to the clergy and people of Constantinople, in which[1], after acquainting them with the sad necessity they had been under of deposing Nestorius, they exhort them to pray to GOD that a successor may be appointed who shall be worthy of ruling over so great a city. This letter is subscribed first by St. Cyril, then by the Priest Philip, the Pope's legate, (who styles himself Priest of the Apostles' Church;) by Juvenal of Jerusalem; by the two legates, Bishops Arcadius and Projectus; by Firmus of Cæsarea, Flavian of Philippi, Memnon of Ephesus, Theodotus of Ancyra, and Berinian of Perga. A note is appended, saying, "Although more than two "hundred united in deposing Nestorius, we think these "subscriptions sufficient."

[1] p. 634.

L. The complaint of St. Cyril and Memnon. (July 16.) [[2] διέποντος καὶ τὸν τόπον]

Five days after the third session the Council held a fourth in St. Mary's church, on the seventeenth of the calends of August, i. e. July 16. St. Cyril is named in it first, holding the place[2] of Pope St. Cælestine; afterwards the three legates; first the two Bishops, Arcadius and Projectus, then the Priest Philip; Juvenal, Memnon, and the rest, follow. This variation in the order of their sittings and subscriptions is a pretty fair proof that they were no sticklers for precedency; nor do we meet with any incident at all bearing

upon this subject. Since the proceedings in this case related to the interests of St. Cyril, the Priest Peter of Alexandria resigned his office of Proctor[1] into the hands of Hesychius, Deacon of Jerusalem; who said, "The most holy Archbishop of Alexandria, Cyril, and the most holy Bishop of Ephesus, Memnon, have presented a petition to the most holy Council. It is in our hands; under your order, we will read it." Juvenal of Jerusalem gave an order to that effect, and the Deacon Hesychius read it. A. D. 431. CH. L.

[1 Fleury, *promoteur*.]

It complained[2] that John of Antioch, vexed at Nestorius's deposition, had assembled about thirty Bishops who were his partizans, some of them long ago deposed, others only titular Bishops without a see[d]; "With these," says the petition, "he pretends to have deposed us, as appears from an insulting and illegal document which he has put forth; although neither by the laws of the Church, nor by the Emperor's order, has he power to judge any one of us, or to attempt any thing of the kind, much less against a superior see. And if he had possessed the power, he ought to have observed the canons, by sending us an information, and summoning us, with the rest of the Council, to make our defence. But from the hour that he arrived in Ephesus, he has done every thing clandestinely, and has left us in ignorance of what he has been doing up to this day. He would not have treated in this way the meanest of the clergy under his authority. Since, then, he is here with his accomplices[3], we conjure you by the holy Trinity to summon them to give an account of their proceedings, for we are ready to make it appear that they are both impious and illegal."

[2] p. 635.

[3 συνδραματουργήσαντας]

Acacius of Melitene said[4], "The charge here brought against the accused, however true it may prove, yet need not have been inquired into, and so the request of the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon is unnecessary; it is altogether unlawful for men who have separated from the holy Council and joined Nestorius, while they themselves are charged with so heinous a crime, to undertake to pass sentence against the presidents of the general Council; but since

[4 περιττὴ μὲν ἡ περὶ τῶν αἰτιαθέντων ὑπόνοια, εἴ γε καὶ αὕτη ἀληθὴς εἴη, καὶ περιττή.] p. 638. E.

[d] The law with regard to titles (supr. xix. 57, note r) applied to Bishops as well as to the inferior clergy. "The "Nullatenenses of later ages, as Panormitanus calls Titular and Utopian "Bishops, were rarely known in the "Primitive Church." Bingham, 4. 6. § 2.

A. D. 431. CH. LI. "you have thought it advisable to prosecute them, John of "Antioch, the leader of the schismatics, shall be summoned "by the pious Bishops Archelaus, Paul, and Peter, to give "an account of his deed." The three Bishops immediately "set out, namely, Archelaus of Myndus in Caria, Paul of Lampe in Crete, and Peter of the Camps in Palestine; and on their return, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia desired them to state how they had succeeded on their mission.

LI. The citations of John of Antioch.

The Bishop Paul said[1], "Drawing near to the hotel of "the reverend John of Antioch, we saw several soldiers and "other persons carrying arms, who guarded the door; after "much ado we got near them, and said, 'We are but three "'in number, the Council has sent us to the most reverend "'Bishop John, with words of peace, concerning an eccle-"'siastical affair.' A large crowd gathered around us, and "among other discourses, they spoke disrespectfully of the "Council and the orthodox Faith; the noise and confusion, "however, was such that we cannot repeat exactly the blas-"phemies they uttered." The Bishop Archelaus said, "The "people about us were in an uproar, and we were exposed to "some danger; the soldiers threatened us, with their swords "drawn and clubs in their hands." Bishop Peter added, "Some of John's clergy, who were present, were informed by "us that we were sent from the Council, but no one would "give us admittance."

[1] p. 639.

St. Cyril said, "The Council sees that Memnon and I are "here present, relying on the purity of our consciences; but "the heretic Nestorius, and John his abettor, suffer no one "to have access to them, and are afraid to attend the Council. "Order, then, that the sentence pronounced against us be "declared null, and set forth such a decree against John as "may seem to you called for by the occasion." Juvenal of Jerusalem said[2], "The Bishop John ought to respect the apo-"stolic see of Rome, which is here present, and [the apostolic "see] of Jerusalem, whose custom it is, agreeably to apostolic "tradition, to judge and correct that of Antioch[a]. However,

[2] p. 641. B.

[a] Respecting this claim, see c. 58. infr. St. Jerome in his letter against John of Jerusalem (Ep. 38. t. 4. pt. 2. p. 330), says, "But why go to the Patriarch of "Alexandria from Palestine? Did not "the Nicene Council decree that Cæ-"sarea should be the metropolis of "Palestine, and Antioch the metro-"polis of the whole East? Your ap-"peal, therefore, should be either im-

"that we may observe the canons, let us send Bishops to "cite them a second time." They accordingly sent three, Timotheus of Thermesus and Eudocias, Eustathius of Docimium, and Eudoxus of Choma in Lycia. A. D. 431. CH. LI.

When they returned, Eudoxus said, "On arriving at the "house of Bishop John, we found soldiers standing around "it with drawn swords, and with them some ecclesiastics; "we desired these to announce that we were present: they "went in, and at their return told us that Bishop John "said he had no answer to make to folks who were deposed "and excommunicated; we asked them, by whom we had "been deposed and excommunicated; they said, by Bishop "John of Antioch; and on our pressing them for a more "definite account, they told us that they were willing to "give an explanation to us in presence of a Notary[1]." St. Cyril again desired that John's procedures might be declared null, and that he should be cited once more. Memnon seconded his request, and the Council accordingly declared all the proceedings of John, since he had not dared to appear and defend them, to be absolutely null; it also ordered that a report should be sent to the Emperor of that day's transactions, and that John should be cited a third time[2]. This closed the fourth session of the Council.

[1] p. 643.

[2] p. 646.

The fifth was held on the next day, the sixteenth of the calends of August, or July the seventeenth, in the Church of St. Mary. St. Cyril animadverted on what had passed the day before, and added, that John, and his party, had done a scandalous thing, worthy only of the lowest rabble[3]: "For," said he, "instead of presenting himself before the "Council, to declare his reasons with a Christian modesty, "(no one hinders him, and the Council is not surrounded "with soldiers, as they are,) they have composed a placard "filled with statements which nothing but the most frantic "ignorance could have dictated, and have fixed it up publicly "in the theatre[4], to excite the whole city to sedition. If "they have done this to give us pain by making us witness

[3] C. Eph. p. 647. A. [ἀγυρτῶδες.]

[4] p. 664. C.

"mediately to Cæsarea or else to An- "tioch." The canons referred to are the well-known sixth (τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, κ.τ.λ.) and the seventh; which last provides that the Bishop of Ælia should have that respect paid to him which custom and ancient tradition assigned him, but without encroaching on the dignity exclusively possessed by the metropolis.

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A. D. 431. CH. LI.

"our brethren's dishonour, and the ridicule which will be "heaped upon them on all sides, they have gained their "point; but if it is, as the writing sets forth, to shew that "we maintain the heresy of Apollinarius, let them appear "even now, and, if they can, convict us of it, instead of "spending their strength in idle abuse. For our parts, we "have never held the opinions of Apollinarius, Arius, or "Eunomius, but have been instructed in sound learning, and "educated under orthodox Fathers from infancy. We "anathematize Apollinarius, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, "Sabellius, Photinus, Paul, the Manichees, and all other "heretics: ay, and Nestorius too, the inventor of new "blasphemies, with all who adhere to his communion and "sentiments, and those who hold the opinions of Cælestius "and Pelagius. We desire the Council canonically to "summon John of Antioch, and those who, with him, were "the authors of this calumny against us, to come and make "it appear that we are heretics, under pain of having the "censure retorted upon themselves; and this more espe-"cially, because, as the writing implies, they have now "carried these stale calumnies to the Emperor's ears."

[1] p. 650.

The Council deputed three Bishops[1], Daniel of Colonia, Commodus of Tripolis in Lydia, Timotheus of Germa in the Hellespont, with a Notary named Musonius, and a written citation against John of Antioch, suspending him, for the time, from the exercise of episcopal functions; and informing him, that if he should refuse obedience to this third citation, they would pronounce against him such sentence as the canons prescribed. When they returned, Bishop Daniel said, "On our way to Bishop John's house we alighted at "some distance, and in the most conciliating manner possible "informed his clergy that we were sent from the holy Council. "We found the Priest Asphalius standing there, who belongs "to the Church of Antioch, and resides at Constantinople "to represent and watch over the interests of that Church[f].

[f] It was customary for each Patriarch to have one of his clergy stationed at Constantinople, to represent the interests of his Church, thus anticipating the modern institution of resident ambassadors. We have seen that Martyrius was placed there to defend the cause of the Egyptian Church, supr. c. 8. This practice was continued down to modern times. Thus in 1584, the new Russian Patriarch was advised to select some Greek Metropolitan to represent him, and "cause him to reside constantly near

"He accompanied us, and procured us a nearer approach to A. D. 431.
"the house, stopping those who came out to oppose us. CH. LII.
"We must also acknowledge our obligation to the soldiers;
"for on recognising the Bishop Commodus, in whose city
"they had been quartered, they kept off the clergy who
"would have insulted us. Asphalius and the other clergy
"having informed Nestorius of our presence, his Archdeacon
"came down to us. We do not know his name, but he is a
"little pale man, with a light beard[1]. He brought a paper, [1 σπανὸς, ὑπωχρος, μικροφυὴς.]
"which he presented to us, saying, 'The holy Council sends
"'you this, for your acceptance.' We told him that we
"were sent to speak on the part of the holy Council, and not
"to receive writings. 'The Council invites the Lord John to
"come and take his seat in it.' The Archdeacon replied,
"'Wait till I go and speak to the Bishop.' He went, and
"coming back, presented us again with the same paper,
"saying, 'Send us nothing, and we will send you nothing
"'further; we wait for the Emperor's decision.' We said,
"'Hear, then, what the Council enjoins.' But he immedi-
"ately withdrew, saying, 'You have not received my paper,
"'I will hear nothing that the Council has to say.'" The
two other Bishops confirmed this statement.

LII. The sentence against John of Antioch, (July 17.) [2 p. 651.]

The Council said[2], "This citation is sufficient to preclude
"Bishop John from hereafter making use of the plea of
"ignorance." St. Cyril said, "I and the Bishop Memnon
"are again present to hear what defence Bishop John can
"set up; but as he continues to absent himself, it now re-
"mains for the Council to issue its decree." The Council
pronounced sentence in these words; "The injuries which
"the Bishop John of Antioch, and his accomplices, have
"offered to the Bishops Cyril and Memnon, ought (after
"their disobedience to this third citation) to move the holy
"Council to pronounce against them a sentence worthy of
"their arrogance, but considering that it beseems the meek-
"ness of Bishops to be long-suffering, we only exclude them
"for the present from ecclesiastical communion, namely,
"John of Antioch, and his accomplices, John of Damascus,

"the Œcumenical Patriarch, for that
"it was usual for the other patriarchs
"also to have commissioners to act in
"their stead, residing with the Œcu-
"menical Patriarch at Constantinople."
Mouravieff, Hist. of Russ. Ch., p. 337.

A. D. 431. CH. LIII. "Alexander of Apamea, Dexian of Seleucia, Alexander of "Hierapolis, and the rest," who are named to the number of thirty-three, Theodoret being one of them. The Council adds: "They shall not be permitted to use the sacerdotal ["βλάπτειν "authority, to do good or ill to any one[1] till such time as ἢ ὠφελεῖν] "they recollect themselves, and confess their error: and they "are to know, that unless they do this speedily, they draw "upon themselves the extreme sentence [of the canons:] let "them understand too, that their uncanonical proceedings "against Cyril and Memnon are (as was yesterday declared) "of no force whatever, and that all that has passed shall be "reported to our most pious Emperors." Juvenal of Jerusalem, the three Deputies of Rome, and all the other Bishops, subscribed to this sentence: and thus the fifth session ended.

LIII. Synodical letters. [2] p. 656. The Council wrote a letter to the Emperors, giving an account of their acts[2]. It says, that thirty Bishops of Nestorius's party, fearing the punishment due to their crimes, had had the audacity to assemble apart, and assume the title of Council, being presided over by John of Antioch, who was himself afraid of being called to account for his delay. "They "have pronounced," says the letter, "a sentence of de-"position against Cyril the president of the Council, and "against Memnon; no canonical order being observed, no "accusation, citation, or examination of evidence being made. "Such temerity would have only met with our contempt, "had they not gone so far as to report it to your Majesty. "We have now proceeded, in accordance with the canons, to "receive the complaints of Cyril and Memnon. We have "summoned John of Antioch three several times, but as his "house was surrounded with soldiers and other people in "arms, he would neither admit those who were sent by "the Council, nor deign to give them an answer. We "have therefore annulled all the proceedings against Cyril "and Memnon, and excommunicated these rebels, till such "time as they appear before the Council to defend their "acts.

"We have thought it our duty to write thus much, that "you might not misconceive what is in reality only a party "of criminals to be a Council. At the great Council of Nice, "some Bishops separated themselves in a similar way from

"fear of being punished, but the great and holy Emperor "Constantine, so far from taking them to be the Council, "punished them for their schism[g]. In fact, what can be more "absurd than for thirty Bishops to oppose themselves to a "Council of two hundred and ten, with whom all the Bishops "of the West, and through them the Bishops of the whole "world, are consentient? Besides, of these thirty some have "been long ago deposed, some have embraced the errors of "Cælestius, and others are anathematized for maintaining "those of Nestorius. Ordain, therefore, that the decree "which the Œcumenical Council has passed against Nes- "torius's impiety remain in full force, receiving from your "approval still further sanction." A. D. 431. CH. LIII.

The Council wrote also to Pope St. Cælestine[1], giving him an account of all that had passed since the commencement of the proceedings against Nestorius; of the sentence of deposition, of the measures concerted by John of Antioch, and of his condemnation in presence of the legates of the holy see. They add[2], "As to our brethren, Cyril and Mem- "non, we have all remained in communion with them ever "since this piece of childish wantonness was perpetrated, "celebrating the liturgy and synaxes all in common. For if "men are to be allowed to trample upon the superior sees "and those who are beyond their jurisdiction, the Church "must be involved in the utmost confusion." And after- wards: "After the Acts relating to the deposition of the "impious Pelagians and Cælestians, of Cælestius, Pelagius, "Julian, Perses, Florus, Marcellinus, Orontius, and their "adherents, had been read in the Council, we ordered, that "the sentence which your holiness pronounced against them "should remain firm, and we are all unanimous in looking "upon them as deposed. For your fuller information we "send you the Acts and subscriptions of the Council." It is thus that the Council of Ephesus condemned the Pelagians by confirming the Pope's sentence against them.

[1] C. Eph. p. 660.

[2] p. 665. C.

[g] Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais, Bishops, were banished along with Arius (Socr. i. c. 9) into Illyria. (Philostorg. Suppl., p. 552). Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and Maris of Chalcedon at first signed the creed (Sozom. 1. 21) but afterwards changed their minds and were banished to the Western Gauls (i. e. Gaul as contrasted with Galatia). Philostorg. Suppl., p. 553.

A. D. 431. CH. LIV.

St. Cyril preached a sermon[1] at this time, in which he speaks with great warmth against John of Antioch, complaining, that instead of joining the orthodox in the war against heresy, he had taken up arms in its favour, even to the length of attacking those who were opposing it.

[1] C. Eph. p. 668.

LIV. Letters of the schismatics.

The schismatics, on their side, wrote a letter to the Emperor, in which they say[2], "Cyril and Memnon, when we "deposed them for holding the heresy of Apollinarius, pre- "sented petitions to those of their own party, and sum- "moned us to trial. We answered that we waited your "orders; but in contempt of the dictates of piety, they "have re-established in the Priesthood (as they pretend) "those who were placed under excommunication and in- "terdict. We pray you, therefore, to defend the Faith and "the canons with all possible speed, and to give orders that "we may be removed hence to Constantinople, or at least "to Nicomedia, that under the shelter of your Piety we "may unravel the whole tissue of their wickedness; and we "also beg an ordinance to be made that each Metropolitan "shall be attended with two Bishops only, for numbers do "not aid the investigation of truth, tending only to occasion "tumult. This is the reason why so many assembled, wishing "to impose on the people by the number of their subscrip- "tions; for our parts, we have brought only three out of "each province, and up to the present time, in obedience to "your orders, we have refrained from sending Bishops to "you, as they have done. We request of you also to order "that all persons shall subscribe the faith of Nice, (which "we have prefixed to this letter,) and that no addition shall "be made to it, either to affirm that our LORD JESUS CHRIST "is a mere man, or that His Godhead is passible." To this letter they joined an Act of their pretended Council[3], in which they transcribed the Creed of Nice, adding, that this was their faith, and that they rejected the heretical articles of Cyril, with his anathemas. John of Antioch and all the other Bishops of his party subscribed this decree.

[2] C. Eph. p. 697.

[3] p. 701.

At the same time they wrote to three of the most powerful friends of Nestorius; to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, and Consul for this year; to Valerius, Master of the Offices, and Consul the year following; to Scholasticus, Præfect of

the Chamber. The same letter was sent to the two first in common; it began thus[1]: "We are reduced to such extremity that we have daily, we may say, death before our eyes. The outrages of Cyril and Memnon exceed the utmost fury of barbarians. They constantly attack us, as if in an open war. They have twice placarded our houses, to make them a conspicuous mark for an assault; all the churches are shut against us; and though worn out by disease, we dare not shew our heads to take a little air. We entreat you to take pity of us, to rescue us from death, and to provide that we may be removed to the Imperial city, to give a reason for our faith, and prove the heresy and malice of these people, otherwise we shall fall a prey to their fury. We conjure you by your children, by all you hold most dear, by the judgment of GOD, not to forsake us, but to deliver us as soon as possible from this place, that we may breathe the air freely." The letter to Scholasticus[2] is not so pathetic, although it contains the same complaints; they desire him to contrive that their letters may be read to the Emperor. They sent all these letters to Count Irenæus, who was at Constantinople, and from whom they received, a few days after, an account of the incidents that had followed his arrival[3].

A. D. 431. LV. [1] p. 709. [2] p. 712. [3] p. 717.

LV. The letters of Count Irenæus.

"It is with difficulty," he says, "that I am at present able to write to you, or to get a courier to my mind. The Egyptians had arrived at Constantinople three days before me. By their falsehoods and calumnies they had prejudiced every body against us to such a degree that even some persons of rank and dignity believed that this fine deposition" (meaning that of Nestorius,) "had been decreed after due examination and a regular process, and in an assembly of all the Bishops, whom they supposed to have unanimously pronounced that judgment which went by default. They had persuaded the noble Scholasticius, that Nestorius would never suffer any one to utter the word Theotocos at Ephesus. However, having, by the invincible force of truth and by your prayers, overcome the difficulties that presented themselves at the outset, I was at last able to speak with the magistrates, and explained to them the truth of the case. They were obliged to report it to the

A. D. 431. CH. LV.

"Emperor, and at length, after many discourses on both "sides, it was resolved that the Emperor should give an "audience to us both, that is, the Egyptians and myself, "in the presence of the magistrates. I protested, indeed, "as strongly as was possible, that this was not within the "sphere of my mission, that I had received no orders of "this kind from the Bishops, being only employed to bring "their letters. I thought I should have been pulled in "pieces for saying this.

"Our adversaries, then, have, by GOD's assistance, been "condemned, as being utterly unable either to justify the "Acts of the deposition, or to substantiate the false reports "they had spread about: for it was clearly shewn that the "Egyptian had not assembled the Council in due order, that "he was not competent to sit as judge, being himself one of "those who were to be arraigned, and that he ought not to "have opened the proceedings without Candidian's consent. "All the protests sent in by Candidian, together with the "letter which he had brought from the Emperor to the "Council, were then read, and the whole case fully explained, "so that the enemies of the truth were condemned without "one dissenting voice, and your decision approved and "ratified. The deposition of the Egyptian was immediately "sent into the Church by the Emperor's order, and all his "proceeding condemned as tyrannical and illegal. Such "was the result of this audience.

"But when John, Cyril's physician and syncellus, was "come, (you know how he came,) we found the greater part "of the magistrates to be quite altered men; they now re-"fused to hear us even speak on the subject which had been "decided before, and that too by themselves. Some say that "the acts of both parties ought to be confirmed, and so the "deposition not only of two, but of all three persons to be "authorized: others are for having all the depositions made "equally void, and other Bishops sent to ascertain the truth "of what has passed at Ephesus. There are some who use "every effort to get themselves sent by the Emperor to "Ephesus, armed with a discretionary power of making "such arrangements as the state of affairs shall seem to "demand. They who love you pray GOD that this advice

"may not be followed, knowing well the intentions and "motives of those who desire it; but this must be as the "LORD shall please. In the mean time, pray fervently for "me, who have been exposed to so many hazards, and am "not yet out of danger; for GOD is my witness, when I was "called to the audience of the Emperor, I expected no less "than to be thrown into the sea." This is Count Irenæus's letter. The latter of these plans was adopted, and John, Count of the Largesses, or grand Treasurer[1], was sent to Ephesus. A. D. 431. CH. LVI. [1 Supr. xviii. 51. note x.]

LVI. The sixth session, Charisius's petition.

While he was on his road, the Council held a sixth session[2] in the episcopal house of Memnon, on the eleventh of the calends of August, or the twenty-eighth of Epiphi, i. e. July the twenty-second. St. Cyril presided in it, also representing St. Cælestine[3]; the legates of the holy see [of the Romans[4]] are named in it at the end, after all the Bishops. Priest Peter of Alexandria, Chief of the Notaries, said, "The holy Council, "wishing to guard well the faith and the peace of the "Church, has put forth a definition of its doctrines, which "we have now in our hands." The Council ordered it to be read and inserted in the Acts. They had placed at the head of it the Nicene Creed, after which it proceeds, "This "is the holy Faith, in which all the world ought to agree; "for it might well suffice to uphold the integrity of the "whole Church under heaven. But because some, while in "pretence they confess it, explain away its meaning accord-"ing to their fancies, it has become necessary that we should "adduce the sentiments of the orthodox Fathers, and shew "in what manner they understood and preached the Faith, "and how they whose faith is pure, ought to understand, "explain, and preach it." The Priest Peter said, "We have "in our hands the books of the holy Bishops and Martyrs, "and have made an extract of some few passages from "them." The Council ordered them to be read and inserted in the Acts; they were the same passages as were read prior to Nestorius's condemnation at the first session[5]. [2 Ap. Baluz. p. 610.] [3 agente etiam vicem Cælestini] [4 apostolicæ sedis Romanorum.] [5 Supr. c. 41.]

Charisius, Steward[6] and Priest of the Church of Philadelphia in Lydia, next represented to the Council that some heretics of that province, wishing to be instructed in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, had fallen into very great [6 οἰκονόμου Labbe, p. 673. dispensator. Baluz. p. 617.]

A. D. 431. CH. LVI.

errors; for two Priests, named Anthony and James, had come from Constantinople with letters of recommendation[1] from Anastasius and Photius, who were also Priests, but who at that time sided with Nestorius. In virtue of these letters, James and Anthony had been received by the Bishops of Lydia as Catholics, and had induced the heretics, who wished to return to the Church, to sign an exposition of the Faith which was full of impious doctrines. In order to the better explanation of these circumstances, Charisius presented to the Council his own petition in writing, along with the false exposition of the Faith, and the subscriptions of those who had been deceived. The petition accused only the Priest James, who had come to Philadelphia and deceived many weak persons and even some of the clergy, so that these last had testified by letter that James was a Catholic, while they deprived Charisius of the Communion, and stripped him of his functions, as a heretic. Charisius, at the end of his petition, sets down his confession of the Faith, which is that of Nice.

[1 παραθέσεως]

The next step was to read the false exposition of the Faith, which began thus: "They who would be exactly instructed "in the doctrine of the Church, or be converted from any "heresy, are to know that we believe one GOD alone, the "eternal FATHER," &c. The mystery of the Trinity is sufficiently well explained, but on the subject of the Incarnation it says[2], "We do not say two SONS or two LORDS, since there "is but one SON by essence, GOD the WORD, the only SON of "the FATHER, to whom the manhood being joined, and partak- "ing of the Divinity, partakes likewise of the name and honour "of SON. GOD the WORD is also LORD by essence; and the man, "being conjoined[3] to Him, partakes of His honour, for which "reason we say neither two SONS nor two LORDS, because "of the inseparable conjunction[4] of the WORD with Him, "whom He has taken upon Him for our salvation, which "makes Him SON in a special sense, far above that in which "we are called the children of GOD. We say, then, that "there is one only SON and LORD, JESUS CHRIST, meaning "primarily GOD the WORD, but taking into our idea that "which He took upon Him[5], that is, JESUS of Nazareth." The exposition ends thus: "This is the doctrine of the Church;

[2] p. 677. E.

[3 συνημμένος.]

[4 ἀχώριστον συνάφειαν]

[5 συνεπινοοῦντες δέ τὸ ληφθὲν]

"whosoever thinks the contrary, let him be anathema. Who- A. D. 431.
"soever receives not saving penance[1], let him be anathema. CH. LVI.
"Whosoever keeps not Easter agreeably to the rule of the
"Catholic Church, let him be anathema." These two last
anathemas were inserted on account of the heretics who
were to be restored, and who were Quartodecimans, or No-
vatians[2].

[1 τὴν σωτήριον μετάνοιαν. Cf. μετάνοιαν εἰς σωτηρίαν. 2 Cor. 7. 10.]

[2 Supr. xx. 6. note m.]

The subscriptions amounted to twenty-one in number, and ran in this form: "I, Budius, son of Vinicus of "Philadelphia, Quartodeciman, having had my eyes opened "to see the true Faith of orthodoxy, and praying the "Bishop Theophanes to receive me, have come over to "the holy Catholic Church, and anathematize all heresies, "particularly that of the Quartodecimans, by which I "was deluded; and I assent to the above exposition of "the orthodox Faith, anathematizing all who do not keep "Easter as the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church does. "I swear this by the holy Trinity, and by the piety and "victory of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian; and "in case I ever infringe[3] it, I submit myself to the rigour "of the laws. This exposition having been read to me, not "being able to write myself, I have subscribed it by the "senator Hesychius." Hesychius also subscribed for himself in the same form. Some subscribed for themselves and their whole family; many stated that they were unable to write; among the rest, a Priest named Patricius.

[3 παρασαλεύσω]

After this had been read, the Council forbade any other profession of faith to be written or propounded than that of Nice[4], and ordained that they who should propose any other to people desirous of being converted from paganism, Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever[h], if Bishops or Clerks, should be deposed; if laymen, anathematized. "In like manner," they add, "if any one is found to believe or teach, respecting the "Incarnation of the SON of GOD, what is contained in the

[4] p. 689. A.

[h] This rule must evidently be interpreted by the occasion which called it forth; otherwise it might seem to be opposed to the practice of requiring the Athanasian Creed, or other dogmatic formulæ of later times, from heretics. Its obvious meaning is; "Let no individual draw up a confession of faith to "be subscribed by converts; let the authorized Creed of the Church, and that "only, be made use of." Nor again, does it affect the use of such *negative* forms as are necessary to enable the heretic to protest against his errors, and which will vary with the ever-varying shades of error; these remain as they were left by the Council of Constantinople; can. 7.

A. D. 431. CH. LVII. "exposition of faith reported by the Priest Charisius, or the "impious doctrines of Nestorius which are hereto subjoined, "the Council condemns him, if a Bishop or Clerk, to be de- "posed; if layman, to be anathematized, as aforesaid." They then read the extracts from Nestorius's books, which were inserted in the first session, and thus the sixth session[1] closed. The exposition of faith which they here condemned, was that of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, afterwards refuted by Marius Mercator[2].

[1] Sup. c. 41.

[2] Ed. Garn. Pt. 2. p. 250.

LVII. The claims of the Bishops of Cyprus. (July 31.)

The seventh and last session of the Council of Ephesus was held in St. Mary's church[3], on the last day of July; for so we must read, although the Acts place it on the last day of August, since we know that the Council assembled no more after the arrival of Count John. In this seventh session, Reginus, Bishop of Constantia in the island of Cyprus, presented a petition to the Council, in the name of himself and two other Bishops, Zeno and Evagrius, complaining that the clergy of Antioch had encroached upon their legitimate liberty. St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, the Metropolis of Cyprus, had been succeeded by Sabinus, and Sabinus by Troilus. After his death, John of Antioch, pretending that the island was subject to his Patriarchate, had obtained two letters from Dionysius, Duke of the East; one to Theodorus, Governor of Cyprus, the other to the clergy of Constantia; both of them suspending the election of a Bishop of Constantia till such time as the Council of Ephesus had given a decision. However, notwithstanding this prohibition, Reginus had been ordained. When the petition and the two letters of the Duke Dionysius had been read, the Council desired the Bishops of Cyprus to explain more fully [what had prevailed on the Duke to make him issue such prohibitions[4].]

[3] p. 787.

[4] p. 800. C.

The Bishop Zeno said that the letters had been written at the suggestion of the Bishop and clergy of Antioch. "What "motive had the Bishop of Antioch?" said the Council. The Bishop Evagrius answered, "He aims at subjecting our island, "and claims for himself the right of ordination, contrary to "the canons and the established custom." The Council said, "Is any instance known of the Bishop of Antioch's "having ordained a Bishop at Constantia?" Zeno said,

"Since the time of the Apostles, they cannot shew that the "Bishop of Antioch, or any other, ever came there to ordain." The Council said, "Let us bear in mind the canon "of Nice[1], which preserves to every Church its ancient dignity. Make it appear, then, that the Bishop of Antioch has "not had the right of ordination among you." Zeno said, "We have already affirmed it; he has never been there, nor "ever held an ordination there, either in the Metropolis, or "in any other city. It was the Council of our province that "appointed a Metropolitan. We request you to preserve our "ancient privilege." The Council said, "Inform us whether "the Bishop Troilus, who is just dead, or his predecessor "Sabinus, or the venerable Epiphanius, who was before "them, were ordained by a Council?" Zeno said[2], "Those "you have just named, and all the Catholics of Cyprus "[from the time of the Apostles,] have been ordained in "this manner, without any right of ordination having been "possessed by the Bishop of Antioch, or any other person." A. D. 431. CH. LVII. [1 can. 6.] [2 p. 802. A.]

After so precise a declaration, the Council pronounced sentence to this effect[3]; "If there be no established custom "warranting the Bishop of Antioch to hold ordinations in "Cyprus, (as the Bishops of the island have declared in "writing and by word of mouth that there is not,) they shall "be preserved in the free and full privilege to make by "themselves ordinations of Bishops, according to the canons "and the custom. The same shall be observed in all the "other provinces[4]; so that no Bishop may act in any province which has not been always subject to him, and if "any one have acted by violence, he shall make satisfaction "for it, that so the pride of secular power may not introduce "itself under the garb of priestly function[5], and we insensibly "lose that liberty which our LORD JESUS CHRIST purchased "for us with His own blood. Every Metropolitan may take "a copy of these Acts for his security." The Council could not decide otherwise on the evidence given by the Bishops of Cyprus in the absence of John of Antioch, who had refused to appear; but had he been present, he might have shewn that his right was well established, and that the right of ordaining the Bishops of Cyprus had only been interrupted during the prevalence of Arianism, as appears from the letter [3 p. 801. [4 τῶν ὅλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν.] [5 ἐν προσχήματι ἱερουργίας ἐξουσίας τύφος παρεισδύηται. v. not. Justel. in Cod. Can. Eccl. t. 1. p. 91.]

A. D. 431. CH. LVIII.

of Pope St. Innocent to Alexander of Antioch, written about twenty years before[i].

[i] Innoc. Ep. 18. [24. Coustant.] c. 2. [Mansi t. iii. p. 1055.] Supr. 23. 26.

The decision of several other private affairs is referred to this last session of the Council of Ephesus. Eustathius, Bishop of Sida, the metropolis of Pamphylia, had been canonically ordained[s]; but being worn out by the slander and other annoyances which were made use of against him, (though he might have justified himself,) he chose rather, under a sense of his incapacity for business, to lay down the Episcopate, and sent in his resignation in writing. The Council of the province elected Theodorus to supply his place, and he had now governed the Church for a long time. Eustathius came to the Council of Ephesus to desire, not that he might be reinstated in his see, but only that he might retain the title and rank of Bishop, and return as such to his country, from which he had been long absent. The Council was moved with the old man's tears, and restored him to Church communion, of which he had been a long time deprived by his renunciation, for according to the canons no Bishop was permitted to leave his Church[k]. The Council also granted him the title and rank of a Bishop, but with the proviso that he should perform neither ordination nor any other function, except by the order or permission of Theodorus. We learn this from a letter sent by

LVIII. Other private affairs.

[s] p. 807. A.

[1] St. Innocent's testimony, however, resolves itself into that of Alexander, since he merely decided on the strength of Alexander's assertions ("... sané "asseris ...") We may therefore say, with Coustant (Rom. Pont. Ep. t. i. p. 853), that his advice to the Cyprians was only hypothetical, that is, it went on the supposition that the information forwarded to him was correct. The question is thus reduced to a balancing of evidence, and there seems to be no reason for preferring Alexander's statement to the clear and explicit testimony of Zeno.

The decision of the Council of Ephesus was confirmed by the Trullan Canons (A.D. 692.) in a remarkable way; the independence of their Metropolitan was guaranteed to them, when they were driven out of their island by a barbarian incursion (can. 39. Labbe, t. vi. p. 1159). Bingham, 2. 18. § 2. See also the account of Peter the Fuller's attempt on the liberties of Cyprus, infr. xxx. 19. Balsamon (himself Patriarch of Antioch) allows that the Church of Cyprus was independent (αὐτοκέφαλος, in Can. 2. Conc. Constant.)

[k] The object of this rule being to place a check on individual indolence or caprice, occasions might arise when its operation might properly be suspended; whenever, for instance (as is provided by Can. Apost. 15. [Labbe, t. i. p. 27.] on a kindred subject), such suspension should be thought necessary for the advancement of religion and piety, so long as it was approved by a large number of other Bishops. Thus Gregory Nazianzen resigned in order to restore peace (supr. xviii. 4), his resignation being accepted by the Council of Constantinople; and so Aurelius, Augustine, and the other African Bishops, offered to resign, supr. xxii. 29. The case of Meletius as narrated by Theodoret, ii. c. 31, was somewhat more arbitrary.

the Council of Ephesus to the Council of the province of Pamphylia; it concludes by saying, "Should you be willing "to treat him with yet more indulgence, the Council is not "against it." A. D. 431. CH. LVIII.

The Bishops Valerian and Amphilochus, who also belonged to the province of Pamphylia, spoke to the Council[1] of the Massalian heretics, who were in their country. Valerian brought forward an ordinance of the Council held at Constantinople under Sisinnius four or five years before[2]; the Council of Ephesus confirmed it, and authorized Valerian, Amphilochus, and all the other Bishops of Pamphylia and Lycaonia to put it in execution. It provided that all who were infected with that heresy, or suspected of being so, should be summoned to anathematize it in writing; such as refused, if Clerks, were to be deposed and excommunicated; if laymen, to be anathematized; and none who were convicted of it were to be permitted to have the care of monasteries. The manual of these heretics, called Asceticon, (presented by the Bishop Valerian,) and all books of a like tendency, were anathematized.

[1] p. 809. Phot. Cod. 52. [p. 13. ed. Bekker.]

[2] Supr. 24. 44.

Two Bishops of Thrace, Euprepius of Byza, and Cyril of Cela, presented a petition to the Council; setting forth, that it was an ancient custom in their province, for every Bishop to have two or three sees[1]. Thus the Bishop of Heraclea, had Heraclea and Panium; the Bishop of Byza, had Byza and Arcadiopolis; the Bishop of Cela, Cela and Callipolis; the Bishop of Sabsadia, had Sabsadia and Aphrodisias. These cities had never had distinct Bishops; in other words, the Bishoprics had been always held conjointly; "Hence," they add, "as Fritilas, Bishop of Heraclea, has "quitted the Council to join himself to Nestorius, we are "apprehensive that, in order to be revenged upon us, he will

[1] Throughout the whole *diœcesis* of Thrace, the dioceses were very large; that of Tomi comprised all the northern province called Scythia. "To this day," says Sozomen, "the Scythians retain "the old custom of having all the "churches of the province subject to "but one see" (vi. c. 21, and again, vii. 19). As to the cities mentioned in the text, Bingham observes (9. 4. § 2.) that at the Council of Chalcedon there was a Lucian still styled Bishop of Byza and Arcadiopolis (Act. 16. t. iv. p. 800); but that in the Council of Constantinople under Mennas (Conc. t. v. p. 59, 74) Panium is mentioned as separate from Heraclea, and Callipolis from Cela, and in the Notitia of Leo the Wise (in Leunclavius) Byza and Arcadiopolis are both raised to the dignity of Autocephali, or independent sees.

A. D. 431. CH. LIX. "ordain Bishops to these cities. That no such innovation "may take place, we entreat you to order that we may not "be deprived of our Churches, (in which we have laboured "so much,) and that the ancient custom may not be altered." The Council ordered that no innovation should be made in respect of these cities of Europe, to the prejudice of the canons and the civil laws and ancient custom, which is of equal force with law.

In this same Council of Ephesus, Juvenal of Jerusalem pretended to assume to himself the primacy of Palestine, and offered to prove his claim by some supposititious writings[1]; but St. Cyril opposed it, and wrote to the Pope about it, earnestly begging him not to give his consent to such an attempt. We gather this from a letter of St. Leo, written twenty-two years after; but the Acts of the Council make no mention of this claim of Juvenal, which shews that, as I have before observed[2], they are not entire as we have them; the greater part, too, of the Acts of the last session, are only extant in Latin.

[1 Commentitia Scripta] Leo, Ep. 62. ad Max. c. 4. [p. 397.]

[2] c. 45.

LIX. Canons of the Council of Ephesus.

The canons composed by this Council are preceded by a synodical letter addressed to all the Churches[3]. The names of the schismatics who joined with John of Antioch are set down in it, to the number of thirty-five; the letter adds[4], "The holy Council has, with one consent, deprived them of "all Church communion and sacerdotal function." After this follow the canons, which are to inform those who could not assist at the Council, of the regulations which had been made in reference to the schismatics. The first canon directs "that the Metropolitan who shall have quitted the Œcu- "menical Council to attach himself to the self-styled Council[5], "or who shall maintain the opinions of Cælestius, shall not "have power to act against the Bishops of his province, being "excommunicated and interdicted; on the contrary, he shall "be subject to these very Bishops, and the neighbouring "Metropolitans[6]. The Bishops who are not Metropolitans, "and have joined in the schism, either in the first instance, "or after having subscribed to Nestorius's deposition, shall "be cut off from the priesthood and deposed[7]. The clergy "who may have been interdicted by Nestorius or his party, "for maintaining right opinions, shall be re-established; and

[3] p. 801.

[4] p. 804.

[5 Conciliabulum]

[6] can. 1.

[7] can. 2.

"in general, the clerks who adhere to the general Council A. D. 431.
"shall not in any wise be subject to schismatical Bishops[1], CH. LIX.
"but the clerks who shall maintain the schism, or the errors [1] can. 3.
"of Nestorius or Cælestius, shall be deposed[2]. Those who, [2] can. 4.
"having been condemned by the Council or by their own
"Bishops for malpractices[3], have been re-established by Nes- [3 ἐπὶ ἀτόποις πράξεσι]
"torius or his adherents, shall remain deposed as at first[4]. [4] can. 5.
"If any one opposes, in any manner whatsoever, the Acts of
"the holy Council of Ephesus, if Bishop or Clerk, he shall
"be deposed; if layman, excommunicated[5]." To these six [5] can. 6.
canons, some editions add two more, namely, the definition or decision of the Council[m] that no additions should be made to the Symbol of Nice, which was called forth by the false creed of Theodorus, and the decision regarding the conservation of provincial rights, made at the instance of the Bishops of Cyprus. This is all we know of the Acts of the Council General of Ephesus.

[m] This decision was quoted by Eutyches at the Council of Chalcedon. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 136. a.) When Eusebius of Dorylæum denied its genuineness, Dioscorus offered to produce four copies in confirmation of it, but explained that it was not one of the canons but a decision (ὅρος, οὐ κανών).

END OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH BOOK.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVI.

A. D. 431. CH. I.

I. Arrival of Count John at Ephesus.

In the mean time[1] Count John, by dint of hard travelling, had arrived at Ephesus. He immediately went to visit the Bishops of each party separately, since their dissension prevented him from seeing them all together. Neither St. Cyril nor Memnon appeared. Count John, besides issuing a manifesto to the absent, personally requested those who were present to assemble on the morrow at his hotel: and as such evident animosity prevailed on both sides, he deemed it necessary to station some troops of soldiers between them, in the vicinity of their respective quarters. Along with the dawn of next morning Nestorius made his appearance; John of Antioch came up soon after, with the Bishops of his party; and St. Cyril also came, attended by all the other Bishops, Memnon alone excepted. It was not long before a great tumult arose amongst them; those who were with St. Cyril, that is, the Catholics, refusing to tolerate the presence of Nestorius. Count John wished that the letter with which he was charged from the Emperor should be recited: but the Catholics would not consent either that Nestorius and the eastern schismatics should be present, or that St. Cyril should withdraw as the easterns demanded. A long dispute ensued, in which the greater part of the day was wasted. Count John proposed that both Cyril and Nestorius should retire, since neither of them was mentioned in the Emperor's letter. In spite of much opposition from the Catholics, who wished that none of the schismatics should be present, he at length carried his point, and St. Cyril and Nestorius both withdrew.

[1] C. Eph. p. 723. Synodic. Baluz. c. 16. [p. 708.]

About eventide therefore, all the other Bishops remaining,

A. D. 431. CH. I. the Emperor's letter[1] was read. It was addressed to Pope Cælestine, Rufus of Thessalonica, (as if they had been present,) and the rest of the Bishops, of whom, including these two, fifty-one were named; Catholics and schismatics being placed side by side indiscriminately. It seemed as if the only point on which any care had been taken, was that the names of St. Cyril, Nestorius, and Memnon, should not appear, all three being looked upon as deposed; nor are we left only to infer this, since the letter expressly says, "We give "our approval to the deposition of Nestorius, of Cyril, and of "Memnon, which your Piety has notified to us;" and this is the only thing of any importance contained in it. It mentions a letter from Acacius of Berrhæa, who, being prevented by old age from attending the Council, had written to exhort all the Bishops to maintain unity and concord. The Emperor sent this letter of Acacius to the Council, and empowered Count John to adopt such measures as the occasion should seem to demand.

[1] C. Eph. p. 721.

The Emperor's letter was patiently listened to by the schismatics, who testified their approbation of it[2]. The Catholics, on the contrary, expressed much dissatisfaction at the sanction it gave to the pretended deposition of Cyril and Memnon. To prevent any further tumult, Count John ordered all the three who were deposed, to be arrested. Count Candidian, who had been present at all the deliberations and proceedings of Count John, undertook the custody of Nestorius; and in such hands we may presume that he was not very harshly treated. St. Cyril was placed under the custody of Count James, captain of the fourth school[3]. As Memnon was absent, Count John sent for the steward, the defender, and the senior deacon[4a] of the Church

[2] p. 724.

[3] Præposito quartæ scholæ. v. Gibbon, c. 17.]

[4] Fleury *Archidiacre.*]

[a] These are called *Dispensator, Lictor*, and *Protodiaconus*, in Labbe (p. 724), and *Œconomus, Defensor*, and *Primus Diaconus*, in Baluz (p. 710). The *first* of these three (*οἰκονόμος*) had to look after the building and repairing of the churches, to manage the college estates and other revenues, to keep the accounts, overlook the slaves and workmen, pay the stipends of the clergy, and attend to the widows and poor of the Church:—so Isidore, ad Leudfred, p. 693 (quoted by Suicer). These duties had previously devolved on the Bishop and his Archdeacon, but as the dioceses were gradually augmented, it was thought advisable to take it out of their hands, while at the same time it cleared the Bishop from any suspicion of mismanagement of the revenues. This last is assigned as the reason for the canon passed in the Council of Chalcedon (Can. 26, Conc. t. iv. p. 778. cf. act. ix. p. 631 A.); that every Episcopal Church should have a steward, who was to be elected

of Ephesus, and telling them of Memnon's condemnation, he charged them to take great care of the money belonging to the Church, since they would be held responsible for it[1]. He supposed that the see of Ephesus had been vacated in consequence of this deposition. A. D. 431. CH. II. [1 Baluz. p. 710.]

After this, Count John went down to the great church to prayers, and understanding that Memnon was in the episcopal house, he sent one of the officers of his suite thither, to see whether he would speak with him, or would refuse to come. Memnon immediately came, and being reproached by Count John with his absence in the morning, he replied that he had been indisposed; and to shew that this was no studied excuse, he went of himself to Count John's hotel to submit himself to the Emperor's orders. He too was delivered to Count James; who placed over him, as over St. Cyril, a guard composed of the soldiers called Scutarii and Palatini. Count John immediately sent off to the Emperor this account of the first day's proceedings, adding, that he had exhorted the Bishops to peace, and that he would use every expedient in his power, though he had little hope of success, so mutually embittered and estranged were the minds of both parties.

II. Complaints of the Catholics.

The Catholic Bishops, that is, all the true Council, were very dissatisfied with the whole transaction. They complained of it to the Emperor in a letter, which, after recounting the measures adopted by the schismatics against the heads of the Council, proceeds[2]: "They have sent you an "account of this deposition, as if it had been the act of the "whole Council, and your Majesty has received and ratified "it, doubtless under the impression that it had emanated "from the Council; instead of which, it was done in opposi- "tion to the Council, by the partizans of Nestorius, and out [2 C. Eph. p. 766. C.

from the clergy of the Church, and to take charge of the Church revenues during the vacancy of the see: (Can. 25. infr. xxviii. 29). The *second* (ἔκδικος τῆς ἐκκλησίας or ἐκκλησιέκδικος) had to defend the rights of the Church, in the courts of law. According to Gothofred, in Cod. Theodos. (t. vi. p. 76, 77), he was generally a clerk, until the law of Honorius (l. 16. tit. 2. leg. 38) allowed the Churches to select their Defensors from the Scholastici or Law Advocates. The *last*, according to Salmasius, was originally the same as Archdeacon, though the Archidiaconate afterwards ceased to be determined by seniority and became an elective office (de Primatu, p. 89). He was possessed of very great influence, and in the Church of Rome was looked upon almost as Bishop elect (διάδοχος τοῦ ἀρχιερατεύοντος, Eulog. ap. Phot., Cod. 182. p. 127); and hence he thought himself injured by being ordained Priest (St. Jerome in Ezech. c. 48. t. iii. p. 1066).

A. D. 431. CH. II.

"of revenge for our having deposed him. We would there-
"fore all of us approach your Piety, beseeching you that
"the proceedings against Nestorius and his abettors may
"remain in full force, and that what they have done against
[1 ἐξάρχων] "the leaders[1] of our Council may be declared null. For if
"the sentence of the Council against Nestorius is reasonable,
"and if your Majesty approves of it, it is evident to your
"Majesty, that what the partizans of Nestorius have done
"in opposition to the Council is absolutely void, since it is
"merely an outbreak of revengeful feeling. We beseech
"you, then, at length to deliver us from this affliction, and to
"cause the heads of the Council, the holy Bishops Cyril and
"Memnon, to be restored to us; for [now that religion has
"been vindicated and her enemies subdued] it is but right
"that they who have assisted us in achieving this victory for
"the Faith, should be honoured, and not involved in the
"condemnation of those who have been convicted of blas-
"phemy against our LORD and SAVIOUR." This letter was subscribed by Juvenal of Jerusalem and all the rest.

Further annoyance, however, was yet in store for them. They soon heard that Count John had not made a faithful report to the Court[2]; and that it was even under consideration whether St. Cyril and Memnon should not be sent into banishment, as if the Council had approved of their deposition. This made the Catholics write in a more decided tone to the Emperor, whom they address as follows[3]: "The letter
"which has been lately read to us by Count John, has given
"us no common pain, since it reveals to us the imposture
"with which your ears have been abused; for your Majesty
"speaks as if you had received a report from us signifying
"the deposition of the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon.
"We take the liberty, therefore, to represent to you, that
"the general Council, supported by all the West, with the
"apostolical see of Rome, by all Africa, and all Illyricum, has
"not deposed these holy Bishops; on the contrary, it highly
"esteems their zeal for the Faith, and judges them worthy
"of receiving great applause from men, and from our LORD
[4 τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν ἀνθρωποκατρῶν κήρυκα] "JESUS CHRIST the crown of glory. We have deposed none
"but the heretic[4] Nestorius, as we wrote to your Majesty.
"We were also much grieved to find that the names of the

[2] Ep. Cyril. ad Constantinop. C. Eph. p. 760.

[3] p. 758.

"partizans of John of Antioch, who have separated from the "Council, and of the deposed Cælestians, who are with him, "were inserted (fraudulently[1], we presume) along with ours, "and that you sent but one and the same letter to them "and to us. However, we long since gave you to under- "stand how they had separated from the Council, the injury "they have offered to our leaders, and the sentence of ex- "communication pronounced against them by the Council. "We again declare to you that we cannot admit them to our "communion, not only because of this enormity, but also "because they always defend Nestorius, (so far are they "from subscribing to his deposition,) and because of their "daring attempt to impose upon you. We beg you to re- "store to us the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon, and to "adopt measures for the preservation of the Faith, which is "to be seen in its integrity in our Acts against Nestorius. "And if you wish for more exact information about the "transactions between us and the schismatics, we beg your "Highness will send to the Council some men on whom you "can rely, who will then be able to explain them to you *vivâ* "*voce.*"

A. D. 431. CH. III.

[1 ἐκ συναρπαγῆς]

III. Other letters from the Catholics.

The Council wrote also to the Bishops then at Constantinople, and to the Priests and Deacons of that city, in these terms[2]: "Know that we have been shut up at Ephesus, as in a prison, "for three months, so that neither by sea nor land can we "send any one with safety, either to Court or any other "place. For whenever any account of us has arrived at its "destination, those who carried it were only able to effect "their purpose by assuming disguises, varying their routes, "and facing a thousand perils. The reason of our being "thus guarded is, that the Emperor has received false re- "ports of every thing that concerns us. Some have said "that we are sedition-mongers; others, that the general "Council has deposed Cyril and Memnon; others, that we "confer amicably with the schismatics, of whom John of "Antioch is the head; and that the truth on all these points "may not be known, we are confined and maltreated. In "this extremity we hasten to write to you, as the true sons "of the general Council, not to desert the Faith, but to "prostrate yourselves before the Emperor with tears, and

[2] C. Eph. p. 767.

A. D. 431. CH. III. "give him an account of the whole matter; for we never "condemned Cyril and Memnon, we cannot separate our- "selves from their communion, and should think ourselves [1 συνεξορισθῆναι τούτοις κέρδος μέγιστον ἡγούμεθα.] "very happy to be banished along with them[1]. We are also "resolved not to admit the schismatics to our communion "till they have made amends for all their enormities; we "would rather quit our Churches (which God forbid) than "do so. Ask the Emperor to take compassion upon us, that "we may at length be delivered from this specious imprison- [2 εὐπροσώπου περιορισμοῦ] "ment[2]. If we are worthy to see the Emperor, let us be or- "dered to do so; if it be thought that we are unworthy, let "permission be granted us to return to our Churches, that "we may not all perish here, either by sickness or grief." [3 Commonitorium.] To this letter a short note[3] was subjoined, in these words; "The hot and unhealthy air kills us, scarcely a day passes "without a funeral, and the servants are all sent away sick "to their homes. Know, however, that though they should "make us all perish here, we will do nothing but what our "LORD JESUS CHRIST hath by us ordained." It is supposed that this note was intended specially for St. Dalmatius.

St. Cyril wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, noticing the two letters written by the Council to the Em- [4 p. 759.] peror, and adding[4], "Count John has tried a hundred different "ways to induce the Council to receive the schismatics into "communion, but it has hitherto refused to listen to him; "all continue resolute, and tell him, that until the dissidents "reverse their uncanonical Acts, ask pardon of the Council, "and by a written document anathematize both Nestorius "and his doctrine, all communion is impossible. Count "John being foiled in this design, bethought himself of "another plan, and requested the Council to give him a "written exposition of faith, that he might make the others "subscribe it, and say at his return, 'I have reconciled them; "'it was nothing but human passions that caused these di- "'visions[b].' The Council readily saw his drift, and boldly "opposed it, saying, 'We do them no wrong; we have not "'been summoned hither as heretics, but to defend the

[b] Besides, if the Council had fallen in with his proposal, he might then have dismissed them, and they would thus have lost all means of procuring the re-establishment of St. Cyril. Tillemont, xiv. p. 460.

" 'Faith, as we have done; and the Emperor does not want A. D. 431.
" 'to be instructed in it, he knows it already, and has been CH. III.
" 'baptized into it.' The Easterns, therefore, met with no
" better success in this scheme. An attempt which they
" made to draw up an exposition of faith, has occasioned a
" division among them, about which they are still disputing.
" Some are willing to call the holy Virgin *Theotocos*, if *An-*
" *thropotocos* be added[c]; others say that they would sooner
" have their hands cut off than subscribe to it. They have
" thus rendered themselves ridiculous, and their heresy is
" palpable. Let every one know this, especially the Archi-
" mandrites, lest Count John on his return should report
" things to be otherwise than they really are. Be not weary
" in labouring for us, and be assured that you shall win
" favour both with GOD and man. Even here there are
" Bishops who never saw us before, that are ready to lay
" down their lives for us, and that come to us saying with
" tears, that they would willingly go into banishment, or die
" with us. We are all greatly afflicted, a guard of soldiers
" being set over us, and lying at the doors of our chambers,
" and of mine more particularly; the rest of the Council
" are sunk in despondency or sickness[1] [d], many are dead, and [1 ἀπέκαμε καὶ κάμνει.]
" others are forced to sell all they have to defray their ex-
" penses."

St. Cyril wrote at the same time to Theopemptus, Daniel, and Potamon, three Egyptian Bishops then at Constantinople. Potamon had gone thither the year before; Theopemptus and Daniel had been at Ephesus[2], and had taken part in [2 Supr. 25. 40, 43.]
the deposition of Nestorius. It seems probable, therefore, that they had returned to Constantinople, to carry the first letters which the Council despatched.

St. Cyril wrote to them thus[3]: "Many calumnies have been [3 C. Eph. p. 772.]
" published against me here; as that several persons from
" the baths had followed me from Alexandria, [1]that some
" religious women[4] had left their convents, that the deposi- [4 κανονικαὶ]

[c] We have seen that Nestorius himself conceded thus much to orthodoxy. *Supr.* xxv. 29.

[d] Partly, no doubt, owing to the heat of the month of August, which is very intense on the coast of Asia Minor, so that travellers in that country are advised always to take refuge during the summer months in Constantinople or the villages of the Bosporus. Handbook for Travellers in the East, p. ix. and 258.

A. D. 431. CH. IV.

" tion of Nestorius was brought about, not by the free will " of the Council, but by my cabals; however, thanks be to " the SAVIOUR, those who spread these scandalous reports " have been convicted, for Count John finding, on his arrival " at Ephesus, that nothing of this was true, condemned them. " He ascertained also that the Council, in condemning Nes- " torius, had been prompted only by their own zeal, because " they were unable to endure his blasphemies. Since the " reading of the Emperor's letter, which confirms the depos- " tion of all three of us, we have been kept under guard, and " know not what is to come of it; but we return thanks to " GOD that we are thought worthy to suffer for His Name's " sake, for it will not go unrewarded. The Council refused " to communicate with John of Antioch, and continues " resolute, saying, 'Here are our persons, our churches, our " 'cities, they are in your power; we cannot communicate " 'with the Easterns unless their proceedings, full of calumny " 'and defamation against our brethren, be cancelled, and " 'unless they confess the Catholic Faith,' for they are of " Nestorius's opinions, and that avowedly." These letters from the Council, and from St. Cyril, were conveyed to Constantinople by a beggar[1], who concealed them in the hollow of a cane[e] which he held in his hand as he begged alms on the road. They were obliged to make use of this expedient, because Nestorius's party at Constantinople kept a strict look out upon all the ships and thoroughfares, to prevent any communication between the city and the Council.

[1] C. Eph. p. 752. C.

IV. Letters from the schismatics.

[f] Baluz. Synod. c. 17. [p. 710.]

The schismatics, on their part, wrote to the Emperor by Count John[2]; whether it was that he actually returned himself, or that he forwarded their letters. As the Emperor had enjoined the Council in his letter not to depart from the Nicene Creed, they took occasion thence to inveigh against the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril, whose pretended errors they paint in the strongest colours; they quote the letter from Acacius of Berrhæa, which the Emperor had sent them, and add, " He knows well what the truth is, he who is now " a hundred and ten years old, who has spent his life in de-

[e] In the East the cane is too common an attendant of the poor to have caused any suspicion. See for instance the case of the Moosellikátee in Lane's Mod. Egypt., vol. ii. ch. 1.

"fence of the Gospel, who has assisted at several Councils[f], A. D. 431.
"and who has always had the followers of Apollinarius in CH. V.
"his neighbourhood." So much indeed was true; for Laodicea, the city to which Apollinarius belonged[g], was situated in Syria as Berrhæa also was[1]. The Easterns add, that Count John had ordered them in the Emperor's name to explain themselves with regard to the expression 'Mother 'of God;' this they accordingly do, setting down their confession of faith, which is orthodox and in fact the same as that with which St. Cyril afterwards declared himself satisfied. They wrote at the same time to the Church at Antioch[2], that is, to the clergy, the monks, and the people, acquainting them with the proceedings of Count John at Ephesus, and saying how the Emperor had approved the condemnation of Cyril and Memnon, and that these were in consequence strictly guarded; but they omit to say that Nestorius was to be treated in the same way. They exhort the preachers to direct their sermons against the pretended error of Cyril, and advise that if any persons should endeavour to spread it at Antioch, they should be observed and brought before the judges as seditious persons. This letter is subscribed by John of Antioch, and twelve other Bishops. They also wrote to Acacius of Berrhæa[3], remarking, in much the same way, the condemnation and imprisonment of Cyril and Memnon, without any mention of Nestorius, and complaining that their adversaries are every where writing letters, and filling both cities and provinces with sedition.

[1] Supr. 25. 12.]
[2] c. 18. [p. 713.]
[3] c. 19.

V. Letters of St. Isidore of Pelusium.

The letters written from Ephesus against St. Cyril, made an impression even upon St. Isidore of Pelusium, one of the most famous monks of this period[4]. Though a native of Alexandria, he passed his life at Pelusium[5]. He was in Priest's orders, and united a profound knowledge of theology to the austerities of the monastic life. He had com-

[4] Evagr. i. c. 15.
[5] Ephrem. ap. Phot. c. 228. p. 247. Suidas. s. v. *Isid.*

[f] As at the Council of Constantinople, supr. xviii. c. 1. Baronius places his consecration to the see of Berrhæa in the year 378.

[g] Apollinarius the elder was a native of Alexandria; he settled first at Beyrout, and then at Laodicea (Ladikiyeh), where the younger Apollinarius, the principal hæresiarch, was born. Socr. ii. c. 46. Ladikiyeh itself is above a hundred miles south-west of Aleppo (or Berrhæa), but the heresy of which it was the focus disseminated itself over the whole basin of the Orontes (el-'Asy), or "from Cilicia to Phœnicia," as Gregory Naz. testifies (quoted by Sozom. vi. c. 27).

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posed several works,—among others, a treatise against the Gentiles[1],—but all that we have remaining is a collection of his letters, to the number of two thousand and twelve; they are written in a laconic style, and with considerable elegance.

[1] Isid. ii. Ep. 137. 228.

[2] i. Ep. 310. His letter to St. Cyril on this occasion, runs thus[2]: "Compassion does not see clearly, but aversion does not see at all. If, then, you would avoid both these faults, pass no violent sentences, but examine matters equitably. Many of those who are assembled at Ephesus, accuse you of seeking to revenge a private quarrel of your own, in preference to sincerely striving to promote the interests of JESUS CHRIST. He is nephew[3], they say, to Theophilus, and treads in his steps; he desires to be thought a man of consequence like his uncle, who wreaked his fury upon the blessed John, though, to be sure, there is a great difference between the persons accused."

[3 ἀδελφιδοῦς]

St. Isidore wrote also to the Emperor Theodosius in these terms[4]; "If you could find time to go in person to Ephesus, the sentence which would then be passed would be superior to all censure: but if you leave the decision to ill-regulated passion[5], who will guarantee the Council's credit? You will apply the true remedy if you prevent your domestics from interfering with doctrine; for they are far from being able to serve their Prince, and at the same time take care of what relates to GOD. Beware lest they destroy the empire through their infidelity, by running it against the Church, the solid Rock, which in the strength of GOD's promise is immoveable." In another letter to St. Cyril[6], he gives a short statement of his faith concerning the mystery of the Incarnation, which is altogether Catholic.

[4] i. Ep. 311.

[5 ὀχλώδει ἀντιπαθείᾳ]

[6] Ep. 323.

VI. Remonstrances of the Catholics at Constantinople.

The beggar who carried the letters from the Council arrived without any mischance at Constantinople, and delivered them to the Bishops, the clergy, the Archimandrites, and in particular to St. Dalmatius. The clergy of Constantinople presented a petition to the Emperor upon this occasion[7], no less resolute than respectful; "If your Majesty," say they, "should approve of the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, "made by the schismatics, we are all ready to expose ourselves, with a courage becoming Christians, to the same

[7] C. Eph. p. 778.

"dangers with these holy men, being persuaded that this A. D. 431.
"will be only a fit return for the sufferings they have under- CH. VI.
"gone in behalf of the Faith. We beg you, therefore, to
"support the sentence of those who form the majority, who
"have on their side the authority of the chief sees, and who,
"after having carefully examined into the orthodox Faith, are
"of the same opinion with this holy man, (that is, St. Cyril;)
"and do not suffer the world to be thrown into universal
"confusion under the pretence of procuring peace, and
"merely to hinder the separation of a small part of the
"East, who, if they obeyed the canons, would not separate
"at all. For if the head of the general Council should suffer
"any indignity, it would extend to all who are united with
"him in opinion; all the Bishops of the world must be de-
"posed with these holy men, and the name of orthodox come
"to be attached[1] to Arius and Eunomius. Let not then the [1 περιστήσεται]
"Church, in which you have been nurtured[2], be torn in pieces, [2 τὴν τιθηνηναμένην ὑμᾶς]
"and let no martyrs be seen in your time, but imitate the
"piety of your ancestors, by obeying the Council and sup-
"porting their decrees by your ordinances."

St. Dalmatius being engaged in prayer on this subject[3], a [3] C. Eph. p. 751. E.
voice from heaven ordered him to leave his monastery, to which he had confined himself for the preceding forty-eight years, refusing to leave it, though the Emperor had frequently entreated him to assist at the processions which were made on account of the earthquakes. But now he went out, accompanied by the monks of all the monasteries, with their Archimandrites at their head. They proceeded in the direction of the palace in two companies, singing antiphonally[h],

[h] The singing was called Antiphonal among the old Greeks in which the same harmony was executed by two voices or sets of voices together, the one being an octave higher than the other. (Aristot. Probl. s. 19. § 39. ed. Weise.) In Christian times it assumed an entirely different meaning, that of responsive singing; whether in the form of interlocutory addresses between the Priest and people, or of alternate singing between the people divided into two parts. The last approached somewhat to the character of the antistrophic singing of the Greek chorus; but to derive the one from the other (as suggested by Milman, Hist. of Chris. iii. p. 523) seems wide of the mark. So, too, the former bears a close resemblance to the responses which the mystæ returned to the daduchus in the Eleusinian mysteries (schol. in Arist. Ran. 479); yet we should hardly think of deducing the one from the other, as Casaubon does (Exercitt. in Baron. p. 549). It is much easier to derive it from the Jews who had the practices from the beginning. (Exod. xv. 1, 21. Philo-Jud. t. i. p. 312. ed. Mangey. 1 Sam. xviii. 7. et lexica ad v. ענה).

The construction of many of the psalms seems to imply that they were

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and a large body of Catholics followed them. On their arrival, the Archimandrites being sent for by the Emperor, entered the palace, but the monks and the people remaining outside, continued to chaunt their antiphons. The Archimandrites came out, after having received a favourable answer; the people all shouted, "The Emperor's orders!" The Archimandrites answered, "Let us go to the church of "St. Mocius[1] and the letter shall be read to you, and you "shall also hear the Emperor's answer;" thither accordingly

sung antiphonally; e. g. Ps. cxviii, cxxiv, cxxxv, cxxxvi. The last of these seems from the *réfrain* to have been the one which the Priests and Levites "sang "together by course," in Ezra, iii. 11, as also the one which was chaunted alternately by the Deacon and people during Athanasius's escape. (Theodoret, ii. 13.—on the word ὑπακούειν, see Coteler, Annott. in Apost. Const. p. 179. and Bingh. 14. 1. § 12.) In Nehem. xii. 24, the singing "ward over against "ward" is referred to the "command-"ment of David." (Lowth, de Sacr. Poës. præl. 19.) The Seraphim in Isaiah's vision *in the temple* "cried one "to another" (vi. 3. cf. Apocal. iv. 8—11. and xix. 1—6). The Therapeutæ as described by Philo (De vit. Contempl. t. ii. p. 485, and ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 17) retained the custom. It prevailed among the Christians in the very earliest times. Pliny says (Ep. x. 97. Tauchn.) that they sang hymns to CHRIST, as God, *in turns* (dicere secum invicem). Socrat. (vi. 8) attributes the origin of it to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, although Theodoret, ii. 24, says that Flavian and Diodorus of that city first introduced the custom. The discrepancy is cleared up by a passage of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, quoted by Nicetas, Thes. Orth. Fid.: "Flavian "and Diodorus transferred the kind of "psalmody, called antiphonal, *from the* "*Syrian* language into Greek, and thus "came to be regarded as its authors." (Bibl. VV. PP. xii. p. 593. Colon.) It spread rapidly to Constantinople and Alexandria, and was introduced into the West by St. Ambrose (Isid. de Off. i. c. 7. p. 582. Paulin. in Vit.) to cheer the people during the persecution raised by Justina. (Aug. Conf. ix. 7.) "The Ambrosian chaunt, with its "simple and masculine tones is still "preserved in the church of Milan." (Milman, iii. p. 523.) St. Augustine fluctuates in his decision respecting the use of chaunting. On the one hand he approves of the reading of Athanasius, which was almost entirely free from intonation; on the other he calls to mind the salutary tears which the chaunting at Milan drew from him after his conversion. (Confess. x. 33.) However, the Church seemed almost compelled to adopt it in order to counteract the use to which the power of music was applied by the heretics. Thus Arius had composed hymns which were set to popular airs, see note on Athan. c. Arian. p. 94. Oxf. Tr.; Paul of Samosata gained many over by his soft melodies; and the Donatists inflamed the fanaticism of their followers by hymns. (Milman, iii. p. 522.) When the Sabellians at Neocæsarea raised a clamour against St. Basil for his using chaunts, he justified himself by saying that it was the practice of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. (Epist. 207. (al. 63.) t. iii. p. 310, 311.) The excellence of the early chaunt was seen by the worldly-shrewd Julian, and he accordingly had bands of choristers organized to chaunt in all the temples.

The alternate chaunt was also used in family-worship, see Tertullian, Ad Uxor. ii. 9, and the account of Theodosius and his sisters in Socrat. vii. c. 22. For a defence of chaunting, see Hooker, V. ch. 39. § 4. "The cathe-"dral chaunting of England," says Milman, "has probably almost alone "preserved the ancient antiphonal sys-"tem, which has been discarded for a "more complicated system of music in "the Roman Catholic service. This," he adds, "has lost as much in solemnity "and majesty as it has gained in rich-"ness and variety." (p. 524.)

[1] Which according to Procopius (De Ædif., l. i. c. 4) was the largest of all the churches (ἱερῶν) in Constantinople.

went all the monks and the people. Their route lay through one of the principal streets, and the church of St. Mocius was at the farther end of the city, near the golden gate[1]. The monks still sung as they went along, carrying wax tapers in their hands; and when they reached the skirts of the city they were just singing the last psalm. The people cried out against Nestorius as the procession passed along. A. D. 431. CH. VI.

[1] Cange, Const. Chr. iv. c. 65. p. 129.

When they reached the church of St. Mocius[2], the letter from the Council was read, and the people cried out as with one voice, "Let Nestorius be anathema." St. Dalmatius ascended the pulpit, and said to them, "If you wish to hear, "keep silence, do not interrupt us, and have patience. The "Emperor has perused the letter which has just been read "to you, and is persuaded of the truth of the contents. "I had told him, when he came to see me, that it was "necessary to write to the holy Council certain things "which I repeated to him, but which were not put down "in writing. To save him trouble, I forwarded to him "a suitable answer[3], but those who were employed to take "it to him did not present it. I said to him, then, such "things as the occasion required, but I cannot repeat them "to you at present; for do not imagine that I am elated or "boasting: 'The LORD will break in pieces the bones of "'those who seek to please men[4].' The Emperor listened "to all the details in their proper order, he thanked GOD "that they had turned out as they have, and approved the "proceedings of the Council, as became him. Not that he "was persuaded by my words; no, he has but adhered to "the faith of his fathers. However, he received the letter "as was fitting, he read it, and giving it full credit, said, "'If it be so, let the Bishops come.' I answered him, "'They are not suffered to come.' 'No one,' he replied, "'hinders them.' 'They are under arrest,' said I to him. "'Numbers of the opposite party go and come without any "'hindrance, but the holy Council is not suffered to relate "'its proceedings to you.' In order to give Cyril's cause "my support, I said to him in the presence of all; 'Which "'do you prefer to listen to, six thousand Bishops, or one "'impious wretch?' I said six thousand, taking into ac- "count those who are virtually present in their Metropoli-

[2] C. Eph. p. 754.

[3] τὰ ἀκόλουθα. Fleury, *la reste*]

[4] Ps. 53. 5.

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"tans. My design in all this was to obtain an order for "the attendance of some Bishops, as in fact some are on "their way, being deputed by the Council to explain what "has passed. The Emperor replied to me, 'You have said "'well; pray for me.' I am sure that the Emperor will "follow GOD and the holy Council, and will not again listen "to perverse men. Pray therefore for the Emperor and for "us;" then the people of Constantinople cried out all together, "Let Nestorius be anathema."

VII. Answers of the Catholics of Constantinople to the Council.

The Emperor then sent an order to the Bishops of each party, that of St. Cyril, and that of John of Antioch, to send from Ephesus such deputies as they should respectively approve, to come to Court, and give in their information by word of mouth[1]. This order was directed to Count John; St. Cyril and Memnon were in the mean time to continue in confinement[2]. The Bishops who were at Constantinople, being seven in number, sent an answer by the same messenger to the Fathers of the Council[3]; their letter is dated 'the twentieth of Mesori, in the fifteenth indiction,' that is, on the thirteenth of August, A. D. 431; they congratulate the Council upon their sufferings for the good cause, and offer either to repair to them or to continue at Constantinople, as the Council should decide. The clergy of Constantinople also sent them a letter. At the head of the letter the names of Dalmatius, Tigrius, Samson, and Maximian are mentioned first, as being the chief presbyters[4]. "We have "received from the Emperor," say they, "your letters re"specting the deposition of Nestorius, and have caused them "to be read publicly in the church. All the people united "with us in approving it, and were loud in their acclama"tions in praise of you. Now, therefore, we would exhort "you to think of what is necessary for re-settling our "Church, since that is the only thing remaining to be "done," (meaning that a Bishop of Constantinople should be appointed.) Dalmatius signed first, subscribing himself Priest, Archimandrite, and Father of the monasteries; he also wrote a private letter to the Council[5], congratulating them on their victory over heresy. Alypius, who was Priest of the Apostles' church, also wrote to St. Cyril on the same subject[6], looking upon him as a Confessor and Martyr. At

[1] C. Eph. p. 782, 3.

[2] Baluz. p. 727.]

[3] p. 772.

[4] p. 755.

[5] Baluz. p. 653.

[6] C. Eph. p. 785.

the conclusion he says, "The Deacon Candidian, who will "deliver this letter to you, will tell you how matters stand "with us, with what freedom and boldness we have spoken, "and all that we have done." A. D. 431. CH. VIII.

VIII. The Council send deputies to Court.

As soon as the Emperor's orders were published at Ephesus by Count John, the Council nominated eight deputies;—the Priest Philip (who represented the Pope[1]), and seven Bishops, Arcadius, one of the Western Deputies, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Macedonia, Firmus of Cappadocia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, Evoptius of Ptolemais. They received a letter of commission[2], which enjoined them, first, to have no communion whatsoever with John of Antioch or his schismatical convention; "and if the Emperor con- "strains you to communicate with them," add the Fathers, "you shall obey him only on condition that they subscribe "the condemnation of Nestorius, and send a petition to the "Council, praying for the pardon of their headstrong be- "haviour to our Presidents; that they anathematize the doc- "trine of Nestorius, and labour with you for the restoration "of the holy Archbishops Cyril and Memnon. In this case "we permit you to promise them communion with you, but "you are to send us word, in order that, should we concur "in what you have done, a solid foundation may be laid for a "durable peace with them. But you need give them no hopes "of communion until the holy Council shall have had its "Presidents restored. And we would have you know, that if "you neglect any of these orders, the holy Council will with- "hold their assent from any arrangements you may make, "and will exclude you from communion." Berinian, Bishop of Perga, subscribed it first, and the rest of the Bishops followed. The Council also delivered to their deputies some documents which enabled them to refute the pretensions of the Easterns[3], and a letter to the Emperor[4], in which they chiefly insist on the liberation of Cyril and Memnon, and on having permission granted them to return to their respective Churches. It will be easily believed that they also sent answers, by the deputies, to the seven Bishops who had written to them from Constantinople, and to St. Dalmatius. The Council thanks the former for their affection[5], and advises them to stay at Constantinople and use their diligence to in-

[1] διέποντι τὸν τόπον . . . Κελεστίνου]

[2] C. Eph. p. 780. [ἐντολικόν]

[3] λιβέλλων ἀντιῤῥητικῶν p. 781. E.]

[4] p. 784.

[5] p. 773.

A. D. 431. CH. VIII. form the Emperor of the frauds practised by the Easterns. "Since we suspect," they add, "that what we have already "written has never reached you, we send you copies of the "same. We would have you enquire, too, whether a former "report which we sent to the Emperor was ever presented, "that if he has not received it he may see what artifices "have been resorted to with a view to prejudice our cause."

[1] Baluz. p. 653. In the letter to St. Dalmatius[1] they acknowledge that to him above all men they were indebted for the Emperor's being acquainted with the truth, and add, "We are not ignorant "that GOD revealed to you what was in Nestorius's heart "before he came to Constantinople, and that you said to all "who visited your cell, 'Take heed to yourselves, brethren; "'an evil beast has set out to come to our city, and many "'are they whom his doctrine shall injure!'"

The Easterns also, on their side, deputed eight Bishops, John of Antioch, John of Damascus, Himerius of Nicomedia, Paul of Emesa, representing Acacius of Berrhæa; Macarius of Laodicea, representing Cyrus of Tyre; Apringius of Chalcis, who represented Alexander of Apamea; Theodoret of Cyrus, who represented Alexander of Hierapolis; and Helladius of

[2] C. Eph. p. 725. Ptolemais. The commission delivered to them[2] was very general, giving them full power to do whatever they thought fit, either before the Emperor or in the consistory[k], in the senate or in the Council, with a promise to ratify all that they should do, and to subscribe synodically whatever con-

[[3] συμβιβασμοῦ] cessions they should make, [with a view to conciliation[3].] The only limitation is with regard to the propositions of St. Cyril, which they are absolutely prohibited from receiving. Alexander of Hierapolis subscribed first, repeating this restriction, and after him Dorotheus of Marcianopolis. Along with these orders, they gave the Deputies a petition to be

[[4] p. 727.] presented to the Emperor[4], in which, without referring to the deposition of Nestorius and the rest, or to the Acts of the Council, they express their deep sorrow respecting the articles of Cyril, and conjure the Emperor by all that is most sacred to be vigilant in maintaining the Faith, (of

[k] The consistory was the Emperor's privy council. Its members (called Consistorians) were the Præfect of the Prætorium, the Quæstor of the Palace, the Master of Offices, and the Counts of Largesses.

which they make him judge[1],) and to oblige their adversaries to discuss the questions relating to it in his presence and by writing, affirming what is certainly true, that two diverse teachings are not to be suffered in the Church[l m]. They take occasion by the way to complain of the encroachments of Juvenal of Jerusalem in Palestine and Arabia, and ask that if the dispute concerning the Faith cannot be decided they may be permitted to return to their Churches. A. D. 431. CH. IX. [l] p. 728.

As soon as the deputies had set out, the Emperor despatched orders to Nestorius to leave Ephesus, though with full liberty to go wherever he pleased. At his own request permission was given him to retire to the monastery of St. Euprepius, near Antioch, where he had been educated in his youth[2]; he was also furnished with carriages and whatever else was necessary to convey him thither. The letter which Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, sent him on this subject is still extant[3], together with his reply[4], which is filled with expressions of gratitude, and declares that no greater honour could have been conferred upon him than to be banished for the sake of religion. He only desired that the writings of Cyril (meaning chiefly the twelve articles) should be taken notice of in the Emperor's letters, lest the unwary should be led astray. [2] Evagr. l. 7. [3] Baluz. Synodic. c. 24. [p. 721.] [4] c. 25.

IX. The deputies heard at Chalcedon.

The deputies of both parties on arriving at Chalcedon, were ordered to stay there, and neither party suffered to enter Constantinople, lest it should excite a tumult [among the monks[5 n].] The Easterns soon after their arrival found it [5] C. Eph. p. 731. E.

[l] Ascribing to him something like inspiration; "We would be judged by "your Piety," they say, "for GOD "will guide your mind into an exact "comprehension of the points in dis-"pute." p. 728. E.

[m] Their words are notable. "Your "business is to see that the one primi-"tive and orthodox piety, which after "a long struggle burst into a glorious "effulgence under holy Constantine, "and for which your Majesty has "opened a way into barbarian nations, "and into Persia itself, be not stifled "in the very heart of the palaces. "You will not surely send two doc-"trines into Persia; they will reck "little of what we offer them, if they "see us at variance among ourselves; "and how are they possibly to adjudi-"cate between us?" p. 728. C.

[n] Who were always the staunchest supporters of orthodoxy. Gregory Nazianzen is very express in giving them the merit of stemming the tide of the Eunomian error (ap. Sozom. vi. c. 27). Gieseler places among the causes of the discredit into which Arianism soon fell in the East, "the "close alliance which monachism "formed with Athanasius," and remarks that "in Asia Minor the three "most distinguished men, Basil the "Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and "Gregory of Nyssa were equally dili-"gent in the cause of monachism and "of orthodoxy" (vol. i. p. 201). Hence the Arians directed a large portion of

A. D. 431. CH. IX. commonly reported that Nestorius had been dismissed from Ephesus. They were very much dispirited at this evident confirmation of his deposition. They wrote on the subject to their friends, on the eleventh of the Macedonian[1] month Gorpiæus, that is, the fourth of September[o], telling them, in addition, that they were expecting the Emperor that very day; he was to come to Ruffinus's House[2] near Chalcedon, and there to give an audience to the parties. The Bishop Himerius had not yet arrived, so that there were only seven Bishops on each side.

[1] Syro-Greek]

[2] or the suburb of the Oak. Supr. 19. 51. and 21. 18.]

The Emperor came as was expected. He gave both parties a favourable hearing, and the Easterns thought at first that they had the advantage[3]. The Catholics entreated that St. Cyril might be set at liberty, and that he should be summoned to make his defence in person. The Easterns maintained that it was necessary that the question of the Faith should be first of all determined. The Emperor ordered each of them to draw up an exposition of faith and present it to him. The Easterns said that it was impossible for them to make any other confession than that of Nice. The Emperor appeared satisfied. They sent back, therefore, to their friends the copy of the exposition of faith which they had brought with them from Ephesus[4], desiring them to send two other copies duly subscribed. They add, "All the people of Constantinople are constantly sailing across to us, entreating "us to fight manfully for the Faith; we use our utmost "endeavours to restrain their ardour, lest we should seem to "give any handle to our adversaries."

[3] Conc. Eph. p. 736. Baluz. Synodic. c. 27. [p. 724.]

[4] Supr. 25. c. 54.

Theodoret wrote to the same effect to his Metropolitan, Alexander of Hierapolis[5], but probably at a later period,

[5] C. Eph. p. 732. Baluz. Syn. c. 30. [p. 728.]

their persecutions against the monks (e. g. Fleury, xvi. 36). Gregory Naz. says of the monks (orat. 21. quoted by Giesecler, u. s.): "However quiet and "moderate they may be in other respects, they never purchase their "peace at the price of their fidelity to "God. On this point they are ready "to wage war to the death." (Λίαν εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα πολεμικοί τε καὶ δύσμαχοι.)

[o] Fleury was probably led by the note in Baluz. "According to Baronius it was Sept. 11, but Lupus "makes it Sept. 4" (p. 723). There is little doubt that Baronius was right. The Alexandrian Chronicle (p. 260) says that the indictions dated (χρηματίζειν ἤρξαντο) from the 1st of Gorpiæus, but it is also known that they began Sept. 1; so that the days of the two months were conumerary (see Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. App. iv. p. 361). This is to be understood of the Antiochene computation, for the Greeks of Asia Minor began their year a month earlier than the Syrian Greeks, and hence with them Gorpiæus would nearly correspond with August, actually beginning July 25. (Clinton, p. 350.)

since his hopes appear to be much less sanguine. "We have A. D. 431. CH. IX.
"neglected," he says, "no means that seemed likely to in-
"fluence the Prince and the consistory; suavity and asperity,
"entreaty [and invective,] have each in turn been put in
"motion to induce them not to neglect the Faith, which
"men are now attempting to adulterate; but up to this day
"we have not succeeded in producing any permanent impres-
"sion. We have declared to the Emperor on oath, that we
"cannot possibly restore Cyril and Memnon, or communicate
"with the rest, unless they reject the heretical articles. But
"those who seek their own, not the things which are JESUS
"CHRIST'S[1], wish to restore them, even without our consent;" [1 Phil. 2. 21.]
in other words, some of the Easterns were then beginning to speak of a re-union. "As to our friend," that is, Nestorius, "it is as well that you should know that whenever we have "spoken about him, either to the Prince or the consistory, "it has been taken as an insult; and the worst is, that the "Emperor goes beyond all the others in aversion to him. "He even said to us, 'Let nobody mention his name to me; "what relates to him has been decided once for all[2].' We [2 So in Baluz.; in Labbe, *specimen enim ipse semel dedit.*]
"are anxious to escape from this place, and to procure your
"liberation from Ephesus. Nothing good is to be hoped for
"in this place, where all are gained over by bribes, and affirm
"that the nature of the Divinity and of the humanity is one.
"However, by GOD'S mercy, the people are all well-disposed:
"they visit us continually. We have begun to speak to
"them, and frequently have very large assemblies[3]; they [3 Labbe, *Communiones:* Baluz., *Collectas.*]
"listen to us with so great pleasure that they would stay
"on, even at one o'clock in the afternoon, if it were possible
"to bear the extreme heat of the sun[p]. They assemble in a

[p] The disposition to exalt preaching above reading GOD'S word, meditation, and the sacraments, which Theodoret's party had in common with the puritans of later days, is also evident from the conversation between him and the Emperor narrated below. The longest sermons of Origen (the earliest of those whose discourses still survive in the Church) could only have required half an hour for their delivery. From the time of Athanasius downward long sermons formed a characteristic of the service of the Eastern Church as compared with that of the Western. Still the most prolix addresses of Gregory Naz., Gregory Nyss., Basil the Great, Athanasius, and Chrysostom did not exceed an hour, and many of them not half an hour. Where St. Chrysostom says, "I only ask you for two hours of "your time" (Hom. 48. de Inscript. Altar.), he must be understood to include the whole of divine service. Most of St. Augustine's sermons would occupy only a quarter of an hour, many not more than eight minutes; though as some of them imply that they were delivered extempore (Bingh. 14. 4. § 11) they may be only notes of sermons.

A. D. 431. CH. IX.

"large court, with quadrangular cloisters, and we address "them from a platform near the roof. But all the clergy, "with these worthy monks, oppose us violently, so that on "one occasion, as we returned from Ruffinus's House after "our first audience with the Prince, a collision took place, "in which many were wounded, both of the laymen who "accompanied us, and of the pseudo-monks[1]. The Emperor "had been told that the people assembled with us; one "day he met me alone, and said to me, 'I hear that you "'hold irregular assemblies.' 'Since you give me liberty "'to speak,' I answered, 'hear me with indulgence. Is it "'reasonable that those excommunicated heretics should "'perform duty in church, and that we who are contending "'for the Faith should be excluded from the churches?' "'What would you have me do?' said he to me. I replied, "'What Count John did when he came to Ephesus. Ob-"'serving that they held solemn assemblies, which we did "'not, he forbade them, saying, I will not allow either of "'you to assemble unless you are disposed to make peace. "'You ought, in like manner, to order the Bishop of this city "'to suffer neither them nor us to hold assemblies till we "'are agreed.' The Emperor answered me, 'I cannot give "'orders to a Bishop[2].' 'Do not, then, give us any orders,' "I said; 'We will take a church and call a congregation "'together, and you shall see that there will be far more "'people with us than with them.' I added, 'In our as-"'semblies the Holy Scriptures are not read, nor is there "'any oblation, but only supplications for the Faith and for "'your Majesty, with some religious discourses.' He ap-"proved of this, and made no further opposition. Our con-"gregations still increase in numbers, but we are in daily "peril and dread, seeing the outrages of the monks and "clergy, and the indifference of the men in power." [Part

[1 Cf. p. 729: Ut tantum non perderemur a servis monachorum habitu indutis.]

[2 Equidem episcopo imperare non possum.]

The same will apply to Leo the Great, Cæsarius of Arles, Gregory the Great, and the West generally, until perhaps the institution of the Dominicans and Franciscans as preaching monks (in 1217, by Pope Honorius), who frequently spoke for two hours; the Capuchins could even detain an audience for three or four hours. In this point they have been rivalled by many of the Reformed Churches, including the Lutheran, certainly in defiance of the injunction of Luther himself; "Do not "stretch your hearers," he said, "on "the rack of long sermons: the ear is "a delicate thing." Dr. H. Alt, Der Christliche Cultus, s. 98, 99. (Berlin, 1843.)

of] one of the sermons which Theodoret delivered at this time has been preserved[1], as also another which John of Antioch preached by way of farewell sermon to the same congregation[2]. A. D. 431. CH. IX.

[1] C. Eph. p. 733.
[2] p. 735.

The schismatics at Ephesus failed not to send to their deputies the required confession of Faith[3]; it was accompanied with letters[4], in which they still insist on the condemnation of the twelve Articles of St. Cyril, and maintain that to confirm the deposition of Nestorius would be to sanction these. They sent to their deputies at the same time an exposition of the twelve Articles[5], which St. Cyril had just drawn up at Ephesus at the request of the Council.

[3] p. 743.
[4] p. 744.
[5] C. Eph. Pt. 3. c. 1.

The Emperor heard the deputies five several times[6], and at length, returning to Constantinople[7], he left the schismatics at Chalcedon, and commanded the Catholic Bishops to repair to Constantinople to ordain a Bishop to that city. The schismatics complained of this in a remonstrance, which is considered the second[8], (the first being the one delivered to them on setting out from Ephesus). In it, they protest before God, that if the partizans of heresy (so they term the Catholics) ordain a Bishop at Constantinople before the dogmatic question be settled, a schism will of necessity ensue, which will rend asunder the whole Church; "for," say they, "neither "we who comprise the whole diocese[9] of the East, nor the "provinces of Pontus, Asia, Thrace, Illyricum, and the "Italies, will ever suffer the dogmas of Cyril to be re-"ceived; and they have sent you a book written by St. "Ambrose, to oppose the [now popular] doctrine." This remonstrance is addressed to the Emperor.

[6] p. 745.
[7] p. 730. A.
[8] p. 728. Baluz. Syn. c. 34.
[9] [political]

They wrote at the same time to Rufus[1], Bishop of Thessalonica, to try to draw him over to their party by prejudicing him against the Council, and insinuating into his mind a distrust of the report sent him by Flavian of Philippi, who was his representative at Ephesus. In this letter they again mention the book of St. Ambrose, which had been sent to the Emperor by the Bishop of Milan, whom they call Martin, though he should rather have been called Martinian. They say that he wrote to them, and thence infer that Italy is on their side[q].

[1] C. Eph. p. 736.

[q] To say in answer to this (with Baluz, p. 735, note a) that Rome, and the West generally, supported the Council (as owned by Theodoret, Sy-

A. D. 431. CH. X. But at the time this letter was written, (in September,) there had not been time enough to send to Milan an account of what had happened at Ephesus at the end of June, and to get an answer in return; so that this letter from Martinian must have been written to the Council of Ephesus in general, and have fallen, contrary to his intentions, into the hands of the schismatics: for it is certain that all Italy and the West adhered to the Pope and St. Cyril.

X. End of the Council of Ephesus.

Meanwhile the Emperor Theodosius wrote to the Council in these terms[1]: "As we have nothing so near our heart as "the peace of the Churches, we have endeavoured to restore "harmony between you, not only by means of our officers, "but in our own person. But since it is impossible to effect "a re-union, and since you have refused to hold any dis- "cussion on the controverted points, we have ordered that "the Bishops of the East return home to their Churches, "and that the Council of Ephesus be dissolved. Moreover, "St. Cyril shall go to Alexandria, and Memnon shall con- "tinue at Ephesus. We declare to you, however, that so "long as we live, we cannot condemn the Easterns, for in "no respect have they been convicted of error before us, no "one being willing to enter into debate with them. If, "therefore, you sincerely aim at peace, acquaint us with "such your intention; if not, think of retiring without "delay. We are not responsible for this result[2]; with whom "the responsibility rests GOD knows." It is evident from this letter of the Emperor as well as from that of the schismatics, that the Catholic deputies had not been willing to dispute with them before the Emperor, as if the doctrine were in any degree doubtful, but contented themselves with defending the Acts of the Council, and shewing that the deposition of Nestorius was just and canonical, as that of Cyril and Memnon was untenable and unwarranted.

[1] Coll. Baluz. p. 656.

[2] Fleury otherwise; *il ne tient pas à nous vous accorder: Dieu sait à qui il tient.*]

nodic. c. 20. p. 716), seems superfluous and perhaps beside the question. For the word Italy was at this time used, in a confined sense, of the district which afterwards comprised the Lombard kingdom. (Niebuhr, Rom. H., vol. i. p. 21.) The doubt, then (if any), is not whether Italy, in the wide sense, supported the views of the schismatics, but whether the diocese of Milan did so. May not the truth be that the Milanese, in their love for the memory of St. Ambrose and consequent jealousy for the doctrine he had taught them, imagined that the opposition to Nestorius was a new outbreak of that Apollinarianism which St. Ambrose had combated (in his book De Incarn. Dom. Sacr.)? This of course implied no approbation of the opinions really held by the schismatics.

At this blow the deputies of the schismatics lost all hopes. They sent to the Emperor a third remonstrance[1], filled with reproaches and protestations, and threatening him with the anger of GOD; "If this our entreaty," they say, "fails to "make an impression on you, 'we will shake off the dust "'of our feet,' and will cry out with St. Paul[2], 'We are guilt-"'less of your blood.'" They also wrote to their friends at Ephesus[3], that although the Emperor had given them audience five several times, all their efforts had been but thrown away; that Cyril would never enter into any discussion respecting his twelve Articles, neither would the judges oblige him to do so; and that no one would listen to the name of Nestorius. They complain of the tyranny of Cyril, "who has seduced every body," they say, "by adulation and "bribes; and thus he and Memnon are to continue at their "Churches, while this innocent man," that is, Nestorius, "is sent back to his monastery." Such was the termination of the Council of Ephesus. St. Cyril arrived in triumph at Alexandria, and was received there with very great rejoicings, on the third of Athyr, that is, on the thirtieth of October[4].

A. D. 431. CH. X.

[1] C. Eph. p. 730. Synodic. c. 35. [p. 736.]

[2] Acts 18. 6.

[3] C. Eph. p. 745. Synodic. c. 31.

[4] C. Eph. p. 1057. D. Baluz. p. 582.

In the mean time they proceeded to the choice of a Bishop of Constantinople[5]. The Bishops who were there already, together with the legates of the holy see, and the other deputies of the Council of Ephesus, presided at the election. Philip and Proclus were again proposed, as they had been before the election of Nestorius[6]. Proclus would have gained the election, but that some of the nobles opposed him on the ground of his having been nominated to the see of Cyzicus, although he had never been installed in it[7r]. They eventually elected Maximian, a Priest and Monk, who had been long in great reputation for his piety, having erected many tombs, at his own expense, for the sepulture of religious persons.

[5] Socrat. 7. 35.

[6] Supr. 24. 55.

[7] Supr. 24. 44.]

[r] On the canons which prohibit the translation of Bishops, see supr. xviii. c. 3. note f. and add Conc. Antioch. I. ap. Labbe, t. ii. p. 571. can. 21. Conc. Carth. III. p. 1172. can. 38. Socrates stops (vii. c. 37) to shew, by examples, that these canons did not forbid translation, in cases of emergency. (*ὁσάκις χρεία ἐκάλει.* Cf. Jus. Græco-Lat. l. 5. p. 713. on the same subject, *κατά τινα οἰκονομίαν λυσιτελοῦσαν κοινῇ.*) He instances Alexander of Jerusalem (Euseb. vi. c. 11), Perigenes of Corinth, Gregory of Nazianzus, Meletius of Antioch, and ten others. He quotes the eighteenth canon of Antioch (*u. s.* p. 569) as providing for cases like that of Proclus.

A. D. 431. CH. XI.

He was a man of plain and simple address, and habitually averse to a life of active employment[1]. His election was the more gratifying to the Pope's legates because he had been educated in the Roman Church[2]. He was ordained on Sunday the twenty-fifth of October, A.D. 431, four months after the deposition of Nestorius[3].

[1 ἰδιωτης τῷ λόγῳ, (cf. 2 Cor. 11. 6.) καὶ ἀπραγμονέστερον ζῆν προαιρούμενος]

[2 Ep. Cælest. ap. C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 23. p. 1080. E.

3 Socrat. 7. 37.

The Bishops who were assembled in Council for this ordination, sent immediate information of it, as was usual in such cases, to the Pope, St. Cyril, and the other Bishops of the great sees[4]. None of these letters remain, with the exception of the one addressed to the Bishops of Epirus[5], on whom the schismatics wished to impose, as on the rest, by making them believe that they were in communion with the Council of Ephesus. The Council of Constantinople sent the Epirots, for their greater security, a list of the schismatics, with the letter of the Council of Ephesus, which contained it[6]. We have also a private letter written from Maximian to St. Cyril[7], in which he begs the assistance of his prayers[8] and brotherly counsel, and the answers of St. Cyril, both to the Council[9] and to Maximian[1]. In the latter he explains the article of Faith concerning the Incarnation, and again anathematizes Apollinarius.

4 C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 16. et p. 801. D.

5 C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 16.

6 Supr. 25. 59.

7 Pt. 3. c. 17.

[8 τῆς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν πρεσβείας.]

9 c. 19.

1 c. 18.

XI. St. Cælestine defends the doctrine of St. Augustine.

The letters to Pope Cælestine about Maximian's ordination were carried by the Priest John and the Deacon Epictetus, who arrived at Rome on Christmas-day[2]. It was about this time that the Pope wrote to the Gallican Bishops in defence of St. Augustine, whose doctrine some of the Priests of Gaul continued to assail even after his death. Prosper and Hilary, who had written to St. Augustine on the subject[3], went to Rome and complained to Pope St. Cælestine, and this gave birth to the letter adverted to. It is directed to Venerius, Bishop of Marseilles, Leontius of Frejus, Marinus, Auxonius, Arcadius, Filtanius, and the rest of the Gallic Bishops. The Pope upbraids them severely for their negligence in not having suppressed this public scandal. "The Priests," he says, "ought not to teach so as to invade your prerogative [of "being the Doctors of the Church]; your silence upon this "occasion looks like connivance, and we should ourselves "fall under serious suspicion if we held our peace. All "those who teach wrong should be given to understand that

[2 C. Eph. p. 1071. D.]

3 Supr. 24. 59, 60. Conc. t. ii. p. 1611. Ep. 1. Cælest.

"they would do better to sit as learners. What do you do A. D. 431.
"in the Church, if they have authority to preach? It would CH. XI.
"not be thus, if it were not that some Bishops, having been
"but recently taken from among the laity, are ignorant of their
"privileges[s]." He then turns to St. Augustine[t], and speaks [t n. 2.]
thus: "Augustine of holy memory, has always, for his great
"merits, been in communion with us, and his character was
"never assailed by the least breath of suspicion. His know-
"ledge was so vast, that I well remember how my prede-
"cessors looked upon him as one of the principal doctors of
"the Church; I may add that he was loved and honoured
"by every body. You must therefore oppose and silence those
"who are now audacious enough to attack his memory."

To this letter of Pope St. Cælestine are appended nine articles concerning divine grace[2], which are quoted as part of the letter, in the beginning of the following century[3 t].

[2] Ap. Leon. (ed. Quesn.) t. i. p. 73.
[3] Not. Sirmondi, ad Conc. t. ii. p. 1618. A. et Diss. iii. Quesn.

[s] According to St. Ambrose (de Offic. Sacr. i. 1), "Preaching was the busi-
"ness of the Bishop" (Episcopi proprium munus docere populum). The Apostolic canons join the Bishop and the Presbyter in the duty of "teaching
"the people" (can. 57. Labbe, t. i. p. 37); but after having provided (can. 38) that "a Presbyter or Deacon
"should do nothing without the will
"of the Bishop" (ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐ.). This rule would seem to have been less rigidly observed in the East than in the West, and especially in Africa. Thus when St. Augustine was called upon to preach by his Bishop Valerius, much jealousy and resentment was shewn by the neighbouring Bishops (Possid. Vit. c. 5); and at Alexandria "none but the Bishop preached," Sozom. 7. 19. See Jeremy Taylor, Episc. Asserted, sect. 26 and 37. Bingham, 2. 3. § 4 and 14. 4. § 3.

[t] They are referred to by the Roman Pontiff Hormisdas, Ep. 70. ad Possessor. (A.D. 520), but simply as the decrees of the Roman Church. Petrus Diaconus (who lived about the same time) refers to them in his book "On the Incarnation" as St. Cælestine's; and so Cresconius (A.D. 690), Florus of Lyons, Hincmar of Rheims, Lupus of Ferrara, and many others. But Quesnel has shewn satisfactorily that they were misled by the "Code of "decrees" published by Dionysius Exiguus (A.D. 500), though Dionysius, rightly understood, furnishes no grounds for their opinion, but rather the contrary; for after giving the title of these capitula he does not mention Cælestine as the author, which is his usual practice in such cases, but leaves them anonymous. The first in later times who denied their having been written by Cælestine, was John Wandelstein in his edition of the "Codex "Decret. Pontific." (Mogunt. 1525.) His opinion was re-echoed by Binius and other editors of the Councils; and it was acquiesced in by Cardinals Caraffa and Baronius (ad ann. 431), as well as by Fr. Suarez, J. Sirmondus, and others.

Quesnel urges that they are not mentioned by Prosper (c. Collat.), though he could hardly have overlooked so strong a confirmation of his argument; and similarly, Vincentius Lir., and, in after times, Photius (Biblioth. c. 52, 53) refer to the letter of St. Cælestine, but without any allusion to the capitula. The author of them never refers to Innocent and Zosimus as his predecessors, though these are so styled in the letter of St. Cælestine. Quesnel therefore supposes them to have been drawn up by St. Leo while Deacon, and he quotes several coincidences of expressions between these articles and St. Leo's Works, particularly a passage in his De Vocat. Gentium, which bears a striking correspondence both in matter and style to Article 8. See Dissert. iii. ad Leon. Opera, t. ii. p. 394.

A. D. 431. CH. XII.

The Articles are preceded by an advertisement, which states, that "some who boast of their Catholicity, and who "anathematize Pelagius and Cælestius, seize every oppor- "tunity of speaking against our teachers[1], as if they had "exceeded the proper limits of doctrine, and that they pro- "fess publicly to approve only of that which the holy see has "determined. Hence we have thought it our duty to examine "what decisions the Popes have given heretofore, concerning "grace, in opposition to the criminal defenders of free will; "and we have added certain sentences passed by the Councils "of Africa, which the popes, by giving their approbation to "them, have in fact adopted."

[1 magistris; probably St. Augustine and St. Prosper.]

XII. Articles concerning grace.

"1. By Adam's sin, all men have lost their natural power[2] "and innocence; and no man can get out of the abyss into "which this fall has precipitated him, by his own free will, "or without the grace of GOD to raise him up. 2. No man "is good of himself; He who alone is good must communi- "cate Himself to him. 3. No man, though created anew[3] "by the grace of Baptism, is able to overcome the assaults "of the devil, and the lusts of the flesh, unless he receive "daily assistance from GOD, enabling him to persevere in a "good life." These three articles are taken from the letter written by Pope St. Innocent to the Council of Carthage, in 417[4]. By *natural* power in the first of them, we are to understand that which man enjoyed in his original upright- ness. "4. No man makes a good use of his free will but "by the grace of CHRIST:" which is taken out of the letter addressed by the same Pope to the Council of Milevis[5]. "5. All the desires, works, and merits of the Saints are to "be referred to the glory of GOD, because no one is well- "pleasing to Him, except by the gifts which he has first "received from Him." This is taken out of the letter of Pope Zosimus[6], directed to the Bishops of the whole world; the reflection, which is added, being that of the African Bishops. "6. GOD works in such wise upon the hearts of "men, and even upon our free will, that holy thoughts, "pious resolutions, and the least motion towards a good "will, proceed from GOD, for if we are able to do any good "thing it is through Him, without whom we can do no- "thing." This is from the same letter of Pope Zosimus,

[2 naturalem possibilitatem.]

[3 renovatum]

[4] Ep. 24. ap. Conc. t. ii. p. 1284.

[5] Ep. 25.

[6] Supr. 23. 56.

which is not now extant. "7. The grace of CHRIST, by which A. D. 431. CH. XIII.
"we are justified, not only serves for the remission of sins
"committed, but also to aid us against committing sin in
"future; not only by giving us an understanding of the
"moral law, so that we know what we are to choose and
"what to avoid, but by making us love, and enabling us to
"perform what we know to be our duty; and this not merely
"to facilitate our performance, but absolutely to enable us to
"perform at all." This is out of the third, fourth, and fifth canons of the Council of Carthage, held on the first of May, A.D. 418[1]. "8. We learn also what we are to believe, [1] Supr. 23. 48.
"by the prayers appointed by the Apostles throughout
"the world[2], and observed with uniformity throughout the [2 *ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi.*]
"Catholic Church; in which we request that faith may be
"granted to infidels, idolaters, Jews, and heretics; charity[3] [3 spiritum redivivæ caritatis.]
"to schismatics, repentance to sinners, and the grace of baptism to catechumens. These prayers are not unavailing
"forms, since the effects of them are visible in the conversion of many persons, for which thanks are returned unto
"GOD. 9. The ceremonies of exorcism and breathing[4], ob- [4 exsufflationibus]
"served by all the Church as a preparation for baptism both
"in the case of infants and of adults, clearly prove that she
"believes them all to be under the power of the devil.

"We must therefore confess that the grace of GOD pre-
"vents the merits of man; that it does not take away free
"will, but emancipates, illumines, rectifies, and heals it.
"GOD is willing, such is His goodness, that His gifts should
"be our merits, and grants them an eternal reward. He
"works in us both to will and to do according to His good
"pleasure, but His gifts are not idle in us; we co-operate
"with His grace, and if we find any remissness proceeding
"from our weakness, we immediately have recourse to Him.
"As to the more deep and difficult questions§ which have [§ n. 10.]
"been fully discussed by those who have combated the
"heretics, we do not despise them, but are not called upon
"to treat of them. It is sufficient for us to have declared
"what we believe to be essential to the Catholic Faith."

The Pope St. Cælestine, being informed of the death of XIII. St. Patrick in Ireland.
St. Palladius, whom he had sent into Scotland[6], substituted
St. Patrick in his place, ordained him Bishop, and sent him [6 Supr. 26. c. 18.]

A. D. 432. CH. XIII. to preach the Faith in Ireland[1]. St. Patrick was at this time about fifty-five years old, having been born about the year 377, in Scotland, in the territory of the city of Alcluid, now called Dumbarton[2]. At the age of sixteen he was carried captive into Ireland, and continued there five or six years, in which time he learned the language and customs of the country. Some pirates having carried him over into Gaul, about the year 400, he went to the monastery of St. Martin, that is, to Marmoutier[u]; here he received the monastic tonsure, and remained three years, after which he returned to Great Britain. He next travelled into Italy, and spent seven years in visiting the monasteries of that country, and of the neighbouring islands. He was ordained Priest, and continued three years with St. Senior, who is supposed to have been Bishop of Pisa[x]. In the mean time he believed that he had received, by revelation from GOD, a command to go and labour for the conversion of the Irish. To Ireland accordingly he made his way, but met with no success, the barbarians refusing to listen to him; so he returned to Gaul, and spent about seven years with St. Germain of Auxerre, after which he retired to the isle of Arles[3], (that is, Lerins,) where he remained nine years.

[1] Bolland. 17. Mart. t. 7. p. 522. sqq. [Usser. de Rer. Br. Prim. c. 17. p. 815.]

[2] formerly Dunbritton. Near it is Kirk-Patrick or Kil-Patrick.]

[3] una ex insulis, quæ dicitur Aralanensis.]

By the advice of St. Germain he made a journey to Rome, and it was then that the Pope St. Cælestine ordained him Bishop, and sent him into Ireland, in the year 432. He preached the Gospel there with great success, his zeal being supported by miracles, and he is looked upon as the Apostle of that island. About a year afterwards he founded the monastery of Sabal, near the city of Down[4], and appointed his disciple St. Dunnius to be the Abbot. He also founded the church of Armagh, which is the Metropolitan see of the kingdom. St. Patrick lived an austere life; he performed all his journeys on foot up to the age of fifty-five, that is, until he was made Bishop; and then the bad state of the roads in Ireland obliged him to make use of a car. He first introduced the use of letters among the Irish, who had pre-

[4] Sabhul Padhrig, two miles from Down-Patrick]

[u] Anciently Marmontier, i. e. Martini monasterium; the *on* becoming *ou* as in *couvent*. The Abbey is now in ruins, about a quarter of a league from Tours.

[x] This is purely conjectural; the words of Probus are curious; "St. "Senior, Bishop, who is on Mt. Her- "mon, on the right-hand of the ocean "sea, and his city is walled with seven "walls."

viously possessed no other public registers than the rhymed verses in which their bards embodied the traditional history of their country. St. Patrick made two more journeys to Rome, one in 444, another in 445, and died about the year 460, aged eighty-three years.

XIV. Letters from St. Cælestine to Constantinople.

It was Christmas (A.D. 431) before Pope St. Cælestine received the letters which informed him of the condemnation of Nestorius, and the election of Maximian to the Bishopric of Constantinople. He ordered them to be read in St. Peter's church, to confirm the faith of the Incarnation, which is the subject of commemoration at that hallowed tide; they elicited great and general applause from the people while they were being read. The Pope afterwards returned an answer to them in four letters, all bearing the same date,—the ides of March, in the Consulate of Aëtius and Valerius, that is, March the fifteenth, A.D. 432. The first is addressed to the Council of Ephesus[1], that is, to the Bishops who had assisted at it, for six months had now elapsed since the Council separated. The Pope congratulates the Fathers on their victory over heresy, on the deposition of Nestorius, and on the ordination of Maximian, whom he commends very highly. He says that he looks upon him as the immediate successor of Sisinnius, and considers the see to have been vacant during the Pontificate of Nestorius, adding, that he had been present in spirit to assist the other Catholic Bishops at the ordination of Maximian[2]. He complains that Nestorius had been allowed to return to Antioch, although the Bishop of that city was one of his adherents, and he exhorts the Fathers not to be satisfied until they have procured his entire removal from the midst of Christendom into some solitude. Speaking of those who had sided with Nestorius, he says, "On occasions like the present it becomes us to act with "great circumspection. If they see and confess their error, "they have permission to return, for this is refused to none "but those who have been [expressly[3]] condemned with the "authors of the heresy. In the mean time they must remain "excommunicated and deprived of their sees until they de- "clare themselves Catholics: and this, even though the Em- "peror may have been induced by their misrepresentations "to restore them[4]. As for the Bishop of Antioch, if any

[1] Conc. Eph. pt. 3. c.20.p.1069.

[2] Cum ejus capiti verba mystica dicerentur.]

[3] proprié damnati]

[4] quam formam etiam circà eos volumus custodiri qui subrependum in Ecclesiasticis causis Christianis principibus credidérunt.]

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"hopes remain of his recovery, we desire that you would "write to him, and if he refuse to condemn in writing the "new heresy, then let the Church adopt those measures "which a regard for the Faith renders obligatory upon it."

[1] Ibid. c. 21.

The second letter is addressed to the Emperor Theodosius[1]. It commends his zeal for the Faith, and approves the ordination of Maximian, whom the Pope recognises as a member of the Roman Church; but he insists chiefly on the necessity of banishing Nestorius, as the only means of successfully eradicating the [gangrene of] heresy. In the conclusion of the letter, he calls the attention of the Emperor to an affair of a private nature. The lady Proba, belonging to the order of Illustres, had bequeathed some lands she had in Asia to a certain person, but under the condition that the larger part of the income arising from them should be employed in the maintenance of poor clergy, and of monasteries. This condition not having been complied with, the Emperor was now called upon to confirm the will. The third letter is to [2] Ibid. p. 1074.] Maximian[2]; it exhorts him to rescue the Church of Constantinople from its disorders, and to follow the example of John in his preaching, of Atticus in his vigilance against heresy, and of Sisinnius in holy simplicity of living. In particular he admonishes him to oppose the errors of Cælestius (or Pelagianism), whose followers were constantly making [3 p. 1075.] fresh efforts to regain their former position. The fourth letter[3] was directed to the clergy and people of Constantinople. It contains a detailed account of the recent events; pointing out the peril they had been in, the anxiety it had caused him, the zeal displayed by St. Cyril, and the attempts he had made to reclaim Nestorius; the several steps he had himself taken in the affair; the demand made by Nestorius for a [4 p. 1078. D.] Council at which, when convened, he was afraid to appear[4]; and the last expiring effort he had made to support himself by beating up for voluntoers among the Pelagians. In conclusion, the Pope exhorts the Church of Constantinople to follow the teaching of Maximian,—from whom they would hear none but the ancient and primitive doctrines which he had learnt in the Roman Church,—and to continue steadfast in the Faith. These four letters were carried by the Priest John and the Deacon Epictetus, who had brought the letters

from Constantinople to Rome. As they arrived at Rome at Christmas, so they were to reach Constantinople on their return by Easter[1][y], which this year (A.D. 432) fell on the third of April. A. D. 432. CH. XV. [1] p. 1071. D.

XV. Death of St. Cælestine. Sixtus III. Pope.

The Pope St. Cælestine lived only three weeks beyond the date of these letters, since he died on the sixth of April. He had held the holy see nine years and ten months[2]. It is said[3] that, whereas before his time they only read the epistles of St. Paul and the gospels, he introduced the practice of chaunting psalms before the sacrifice of the mass. By this we are, probably, to understand that he instituted the custom of singing the psalm of Introit, for St. Augustine furnishes evidence[4] that they had begun in his day to sing psalms at the Offertory and at the Communion, in Carthage. St. Cælestine dedicated the Basilica of Julius, and presented it with a large quantity of silver plate, as he did also St. Peter's church; the whole amounting to 1,136 Roman pounds[5], that is 1,704 marks, equivalent to 51,120 livres[z]. St. Cælestine held three ordinations in the month of December, at which thirty-two Priests, twelve Deacons, and forty-six Bishops were ordained. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla. After a vacancy of twenty days, Sixtus, the third of that name, and a native of Rome, was appointed to be his successor in the holy see. He was ordained on the twenty-sixth of April, A.D. 432, and continued in the see [2] Supr. 24. 32. [3] Lib. Pontif. ap. Labbe, t. ii. p. 1610.] [4] ii. Retract. c. 11. [t. i. p. 45.] [5] libræ]

[y] Tillemont, to account for the late period at which the letter is dated, supposes that St. Cælestine was prevented from finishing it sooner by the attack of illness which so soon after proved fatal. He also suggests that during the winter months navigation was generally at a stop. (t. xiv. p. 502.) But the words of the letter: "We have sent John and "Epictetus back to you *in haste*, being "desirous to restore to you at the sea-"son of our LORD's resurrection those "whom we received at His nativity," seem inconsistent with such an explanation. The legates in the preceding year were two months in sailing from Rome to Ephesus (Baluz. p. 735, note a); and therefore St. Cælestine could scarcely have expected his letter to reach Constantinople in eighteen days. Was not the letter post-dated, as in the instance noticed, supr. xxv. 22?

[z] The calculation in the text assumes 30 livres to the mark,—the proportion which existed in Fleury's time. (The H. E. was published in 1691.) Originally the mark (8 oz.) was half a livre; but the currency was gradually depreciated, until, during Colbert's ministry the mark was worth 27 livres (Dict. de Trévoux; ed. 1771), and the livre of 1789 did not amount to one seventy-eighth of the livre of Charlemagne.

If we take the Roman libra according to Hase's calculation (Hussey, Anc. W. and M., p. 126) at 5204 grs. troy, 1136 libræ are equivalent to 1026⅔ pounds troy, or (since 1lb. troy of silver is coined into 66s.) about 3387*l.* sterling, or 84,675 francs. This however must be understood as giving the amount of St. Cælestine's donations in current silver of the present day, not the *exchangeable value*, which was probably many times greater.

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about eight years[1]. He was a Priest of the Roman Church, and it was to him that St. Augustine wrote his celebrated letter concerning grace[2].

[1] Chron. Prosp. [p. 658] et Marcell. [pt. 2. p. 284.]

[2] Supr. 23. 57.

St. Sixtus was ordained with unanimous consent; two Eastern Bishops, Hermogenes of Rhinocorura in Egypt, and Lampetius of Cassium, being present at the ceremony. They had been sent by the Bishops assembled at Ephesus in Council, and brought with them commendatory letters from St. Cyril[3]. St. Sixtus gave them letters in answer to those of St. Cyril and the other Bishops, although he had previously given a full statement of his opinions in some letters which he had already sent by the clergy of the Church of Constantinople, and one of St. Cyril's Deacons. The two letters which the Bishops Hermogenes and Lampetius conveyed are still extant. The first was written specially to St. Cyril, the second was a circular letter addressed to all the Bishops by whom they had been deputed. Its object was twofold; first, to inform them (as required by the old custom) of his ordination; and secondly, to effect a re-union of the Oriental Churches. He commends the zeal of St. Cyril, who, stripping himself of all revengeful feeling, and forgetting the injuries he had suffered, thought only of re-establishing the peace of the Churches. The Pope declares that he agrees with him in thinking that all should be received who are willing to return into the good way, but that they should provide for the supply of the churches belonging to such as were unwilling to be reconciled. With regard to John of Antioch, in particular, he declares that if he desires to be acknowledged as a Catholic Bishop, he must condemn all that the Church has condemned.

[3] Baluz. Coll. p. 658.

XVI. Division in the East.

In the East, things wore indeed a painful aspect; every where dissension and discord prevailed. When John of Antioch, on his route homeward from the Council of Ephesus, arrived at Ancyra, he wrote to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, saying[4] that neither he, nor any of his party, recognised Maximian of Constantinople, or those who had ordained him, or any who had been ordained by them to other Churches, to be Bishops at all, and they beg him to signify this to the Emperor and his consistory. At Tarsus[5] John and his partizans assembled in Council, and again

[4] Baluz. c. 38. [p. 740.]

[5] Baluz. c. 66, [136,] 141, 174. [201.]

deposed St. Cyril and the seven Bishops who had been at Constantinople to ordain Maximian; namely, Arcadius, the Pope's legate, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Philippi, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, and Evoptius of Ptolemais. As soon as he reached Antioch he convened another Council[1], in which the Easterns again ratified the deposition of St. Cyril, and all their former acts. They also wrote to the Emperor[2], declaring to him that they abhorred the Articles of St. Cyril, and begging him not to suffer them to be taught in any Church. A. D. 432. CH. XVI.

[1] Socrat. 7. 34. Liberat. c. 6.

[2] Baluz. c. 39.

They then proceeded to suspend from their communion, Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, whose conversion we related above[3]. He had assisted at the Council of Ephesus, where he at first took part with the Easterns[4], but he afterwards perceived that the doctrine of St. Cyril was the only true doctrine[5], and he accordingly anathematized Theodorus of Mopsuestia and those who read his writings. He had moreover condemned the writings which Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret had composed against St. Cyril. On the complaint of Andrew, the Council of Antioch ordered the Bishops of Osroene[6] to abstain from communion with Rabbula, till he had been summoned and tried in a judiciary way. About the same time Theodoret, who still retained his prejudices, wrote five books on the Incarnation, in opposition to the doctrine of St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus. Of these only a few fragments now exist[7]. He also wrote letters of condolence to the people of Constantinople[8], a large section of whom remained firm in their adherence to Nestorius.

[3] Supr. 25. 27.

[4] Baluz. c. 13.

[5] c. 43, 44.

[6] [6 or province of *Orrhoa*, see note on 25. 27. supr.]

[7] Merc. Garn. pt. 2. p. 265. Auct. Theod.

[8] Baluz. Synod. c. 40. 47.

The Catholics, on their part, being supported by all the weight of the imperial authority, adopted vigorous measures against the schismatics. Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, came to Tyana, to ordain a Bishop over that place in the room of Eutherius[9]; but Count Longras sent some Isaurians to the aid of Eutherius, who, thus reinforced, succeeded in foiling his opponents, and took several of them prisoners; among them the man whom Firmus had ordained in his stead. He pleaded that his ordination had been effected by force, put on the military habit[1], and went to the theatre to attend the public shows. At Marcianopolis, the metro-

[9] Baluz. c. 45.

[1] chlamydem]

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polis of Mæsia, Saturninus was ordained to succeed Dorotheus, one of the partizans of Nestorius[1]; and Plintha, Master of the Militia, went to put him in possession of his see; the people raised an opposition, which was sturdily and, for some time, effectually persevered in; but he at length carried his point, and continued Bishop of Marcianopolis[2]. An attempt was made to expel Helladius, Bishop of Tarsus, because he refused to admit the name of Maximian into the registers[a]. Many other Bishops were forced in the same way to quit their sees[3].

[1] c. 46.

[2] Conc. Const. [ap. C. Chalc.] t. 4. p. 183. 230.

[3] Baluz. c. 49. 48. 47.

XVII. Aristolaus sent to procure peace.

To arrest the progress of these disorders the Emperor Theodosius sent for Maximian[4], and many other Bishops who had remained at Constantinople after his ordination, to advise with them on the means of procuring peace to the Church. "We must begin," they said, "by coming to "an agreement about the Faith. Let John of Antioch "anathematize the doctrine of Nestorius, and consent to "his deposition; and let Cyril on his side forget what took "place at Ephesus." The Emperor approved of this advice, and wrote a letter to John of Antioch, in which he says; "You shall repair to Nicomedia forthwith, bringing no "Bishops with you, but only some few clerks to wait upon "you. We have also enjoined the most holy Bishop Cyril "to attend us there; but we would have neither of you "come into our presence until you have seen one another, "and are perfectly reconciled. In the mean time no further "steps shall be taken touching the depositions and ordina-"tions of Bishops; all things shall continue in their present "state. The clergy may suffice for the service of the Church, "until an entire reconciliation has been brought about." This letter mentions Pope St. Cælestine as living, so that it was, clearly, written before the news of his death had reached Constantinople, that is, before the end of April, 432. The Emperor wrote at the same time to Acacius of Berrhæa[5], as being the oldest Bishop of Syria, and as having the greatest

[4] Epist. Cyr. ad Acac. Conc. Eph. pt. 3. c. 35. [p. 1114.] et c. 23. [p. 1082.]

[5] c. 26.

[a] The use of the *diptycha* or church-registers was alluded to above, xxii. 42, note h. The one here spoken of belonged to the second class, which contained the names of living benefactors or men in high station. So Nicephorus Gregoras, Hist. Rom. l. 5. (quoted by Suicer, s. v.) states it as one of the conditions of peace between Palæologus and the Pope, "that in the sacred "hymns the Pope should be men-"tioned in the diptycha along with "the other four Patriarchs."

influence over John of Antioch. He also wrote to St. Simeon the Stylite[1], whose miraculous life gave great weight to his declared sentiments. Aristolaus, Tribune and Notary, was ordered to deliver these letters; and Plintha, Master of the Militia, was commanded to assist him with soldiers upon occasion. A. D. 432. CH. XVII. [1] c. 25.

As soon as John of Antioch was informed of this, fearing that he might be carried by force to Constantinople, he wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis, the most zealous of the schismatics, saying[2], "If it remain open for me to go or stay "as I choose, I should still want you here, that we might "consult together as to what answer I should return; if I am "to have violence offered me, let us at least be able to bid "each other farewell. Though indeed my health is so bad, "that in spite of all the compulsory means resorted to by Cyril, "it is impossible for me to perform the journey; nay, some "of my friends have written me word that a plot is formed "to assassinate me on the road. I beg of you, then, that "after the assembly[3] which is usually held about this time "at Cyrus, you will come without delay, and bring with you "the holy Bishop Theodoret, and any others that you may "meet with. Your plea for coming may be, that you wish "to pay your respects to the Master of Soldiers[4]." [2] Baluz. Synod. c. 50. [3 Collecta] [4 i. e. Plintha.]

Alexander came to Antioch accordingly, attended by Macarius of Laodicea, Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret, and apparently some others. They found that the reports which had been spread about the violence that was intended against John of Antioch were utterly groundless; Aristolaus did not even press him to go to Nicomedia, but allowed him to hold a Council at Antioch. The Easterns there assembled drew up six propositions, to which they required St. Cyril to assent. We have none of them remaining except the first; but this contained all that was essential: it was to this effect[5]; "We "adhere to the Nicene Creed, and the exposition given of it "by the blessed Athanasius in his letter to Epictetus. But "the new dogmas, advanced in certain letters or articles, we "reject, as calculated to create disturbance." This refers to the writings of St. Cyril, and especially to the twelve Articles. Acacius of Berrhæa enclosed the six propositions to St. Cyril in a letter which he sent him exhorting him to [5] Baluz. [c. 53.]

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peace. Aristolaus undertook to convey it himself to Alexandria, which he did; and he also deputed an officer, named Maximus, to take back St. Cyril's answer to Acacius[1].

[1] c. 55.

XVIII. St. Cyril's letter to Acacius of Berrhæa.

The answer set forth that the Easterns, when they proposed that he should condemn all that he had written previously to the Council of Ephesus, demanded what was plainly impossible. "That the Nicene Creed is sufficient," he says[2], "I admit, but what I have written is only in opposition to "the new errors of Nestorius; if I should now retract this, "it would follow that he has been in the right, and that we "were therefore wrong in condemning and deposing him. "You see, then, that far from desiring peace they throw us "back upon the original cause of division. Why did they "not rather join with us on their arrival at Ephesus in con- "demning Nestorius? Suppose they did come a little too "late, yet what hindered them from looking over the Acts, "and approving what had been decided by the rest? If "peradventure we erred on some point, was it therefore "necessary that they should disdain even to speak to us? "We had suffered the blasphemies of Nestorius three years "long, and during all this time used our endeavours (as you "also did) to bring him back to the truth. At length the "Council, seeing that he persisted at Ephesus in the same "course, and that he was past remedy obstinate and im- "penitent, deprived him of the priesthood. But the Council "at the same time confirmed the Nicene Creed; [for this "was the very ground of their sentence against him, that he "would not teach according to this creed, but sought to ob- "literate its doctrines by familiarizing men's ears with state- "ments foreign to the teaching of the Church.] For my "part, whatever outrages I have suffered, I am ready for the "love of GOD, and from respect to the Emperor who desires "it, and for the good of the Church, to forget all and forgive "all as to brethren. But it is also the will of GOD and of "the Emperor to sanction the sentence passed upon Nes- "torius, and to anathematize his blasphemies. Nothing be- "yond this is required to restore peace among the Churches.

[2] c. 56. [p. 758.]

"As some inconsiderate men accuse me of holding the "errors of Apollinarius, Arius, or Eunomius; I declare, that "by the grace of our SAVIOUR, I have been always orthodox;

"I anathematize Apollinarius, and all other heretics; I con- A. D. 432.
"fess that the body of JESUS CHRIST is animated by a rea- CH. XVIII.
"sonable soul, and this without commixture[1]: and that the
"Divine WORD is in His own nature immutable, and im-
"passible. But I affirm that one and the same CHRIST
"and LORD, the only begotten SON of GOD Himself suffered
"for us in the flesh, as saith St. Peter[2]. As to the twelve
"Articles, they relate only to the dogmas of Nestorius, and
"when peace shall have been restored to the Churches, and
"we can write freely, and with brotherly confidence to each
"other, it will be easy to satisfy every body as to these
"articles; for our doctrine and conduct is approved by all
"the Bishops throughout the Roman empire, and we ought
"to take care to maintain peace with them. I may add that
"the Tribune Aristolaus has so far soothed the minds of the
"clergy at Alexandria, and of all the Egyptian Bishops, who
"were sorely grieved at what the Easterns have done against
"me, that I find the way towards an accommodation very
"much smoothed." Such was St. Cyril's answer to Acacius of Berrhæa. The Pope St. Sixtus also wrote to him about the same time[3], exhorting him probably to use his endeavours to effect a re-union.

[1] neque confusionem vel confermentationem vel refusionem factam.]

[2] 1 Pet. 4. 1.

[3] Synod. c. 55.

St. Cyril's letter was variously received by the Easterns. Acacius of Berrhæa and John of Antioch were satisfied with it. They found it in no way contradictory to the Catholic doctrine; they thought that the two natures of CHRIST were acknowledged with sufficient distinctness; and they believed it their duty to receive the rest with a favourable construction[4]. Acacius therefore wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis[5], requesting him to come, if possible, to Antioch, and give his approbation to the answer which John and the other Bishops there assembled were to return to St. Cyril, or at least to signify his approval of it by letter. He wrote to the same effect to Theodoret, and forwarded St. Cyril's letter to both of them. Theodoret approved the doctrine contained in it, and believed that St. Cyril had forsaken the error which, in Theodoret's opinion, he had formerly maintained in the twelve Articles[6]; but he refused to subscribe the condemnation of Nestorius, saying that he could not condemn a man whom he had not judged, and who was in reality orthodox,

[4] [condescensio] c. 55.

[5] c. 60. 66. 70. 71. 72.

A. D. 432. since he had only been condemned on the evidence of some
CH. XIX. pretended extracts from his writings[1].

[1] Synodic. c. 61. But Alexander of Hierapolis absolutely rejected St. Cyril's letter, pretending that he could still perceive the same errors
[2] c. 57. in it as before[2]; and he required St. Cyril first of all to con-
[3] c. 58, 69. demn his twelve Articles[3]; for no indulgent constructions,
[4] c. 64, 65. he maintained, ought to be admitted in matters of faith[4].
[5] c. 58. 64. "When I saw this change," he says[5], "in Acacius and John,
"I prayed that the earth might open its mouth to receive
"me; and truly, had not the fear of GOD restrained me, I
"should have fled to the desert, and sought out its most
[6] c. 64. "distant retreats[6b]. I would sooner pluck out my right eye,
[7] c. 58. "and cut off my right hand, than assent to this impiety[7]."
[8] c. 69. He proposed, however[8], that two or three of the Easterns
should go to Egypt to ascertain more distinctly what St.
[9] c. 67. Cyril's opinions were. Maximin of Anazarbus[9], Helladius of
[1] c. 68. Tarsus[1], and Eutherius of Tyana[2], were of the same opinion
[2] c. 73, 74. as Alexander, and absolutely rejected the letter of St. Cyril.
Andrew of Samosata so far agreed with Alexander, that he
[3] c. 59. believed Cyril was still in error[3]; but he also believed with
Theodoret that, to secure the advantages of peace, there was
[4] c. 62, 63. nothing to prevent their using a leniency of construction[4],
[condescensionem: see Andrew's dream, c. 59.] which would enable them to condemn in general those who admitted two Sons, or who said that JESUS CHRIST was a mere man.

XIX. Paul of Emesa at Alexandria. John of Antioch was of opinion that they should not require any thing more of St. Cyril, now that he had distinctly condemned the errors of Apollinarius and the confusion of the natures. Thus predisposed to seek peace, he went to Berrhæa, to visit the aged Bishop Acacius, whom they all looked up to as their father, and who employed the whole of
[5] c. 76. his influence in trying to bring about a union[5]. After mature deliberation, reflecting how much more easily affairs of such
[6 aiunt colloquium multas difficultates adimere, c. 77.] a nature can be discussed in conversation[6], they agreed that Paul, Bishop of Emesa, should be requested to go to Egypt

[b] This sort of feeling is often given vent to by Alexander and his friends (though in less highly-coloured language). Theodoret, for instance, says that affairs wore so gloomy an aspect that he had sent word to the Archimandrite of his monastery to get a room ready for him (c. 66). So too Helladius (c. 68). Nestorius apparently reproached them with being prevented from taking this step by worldly motives (c. 120).

and confer with St. Cyril. Paul was an aged man of great ability, and one in whom they could repose confidence; it was he who subscribed for Acacius of Berrhæa at the Council of Ephesus. As soon as he had undertaken to perform the journey, John of Antioch communicated their resolution to Alexander of Hierapolis, desiring him to give his consent to it, and remonstrating with him that the times were such as did not allow of managing matters with rigorous precision, or with absolute power; that there was no occasion for him now to forsake every thing, or offer himself to martyrdom: what they ought rather to do was, to labour to restore tranquillity to the troubled Church. Alexander shewed no relish for this proposition, and remained inflexible[1]; Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, however, and all the other Bishops of Mæsia, approved of the deputation of Paul; requesting that Cyril should be obliged to acknowledge in CHRIST two natures without confusion, [and to anathematize the Capitula[2].] A. D. 432. CH. XIX.

[1] c. 77. 136.

[2] c. 78.]

Paul of Emesa was obliged to wait some time after his arrival at Alexandria[3], as he found St. Cyril confined by a violent attack of sickness[4]. St. Cyril afterwards had many long conversations with him on the subject of the proceedings against him at Ephesus; but willing to forget the past, and proceed to matters of greater importance, he asked him whether he brought any letter from John of Antioch. Paul delivered one to him, in which John said[5], "I had always previously "maintained a special affection for you, and that even with- "out having seen you, but those articles were the cause of "our estrangement. I could not at first believe them to be "yours, so widely discrepant were they from the doctrine of "the Church. These you have already, in a great measure, "corrected; and you have raised in us great hopes for the "future by your letter to Acacius, which gladdened the "hearts of all who love the peace of the Church. [We shall "look forward to the fulfilment of the promise you made that] "as soon as peace is restored, we shall come to a better un- "derstanding. What most rejoices us, is that you received "favourably the letter of our common father, the blessed "Athanasius, which is of itself sufficient to terminate all our "differences." He then exhorts St. Cyril to join him in labouring for peace, that a stop might be put to the mutual

[3] Cyr. ad Acac. ap. C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 35.

[4] Synod. c. 203. p. 908.]

[5] Synodic. c. 80.

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anathematizing and persecution of the Bishops, the division of the people, and the insulting scoffs of the Jews and pagans[c]. In conclusion, he commends to him Paul of Emesa, desiring that he would speak to him with no less confidence than he would to himself.

St. Cyril was not satisfied with this letter of John of Antioch[1]; the reproaches it contained were more adapted, he thought, to exasperate than to appease him; so that although it was a letter of communion, he would not receive it, and said[2], "What? Will they, who ought to ask pardon for the past, "give us fresh offence? I rather expected some consolation." Paul of Emesa assured him on his oath[3], that they had not intended to give him any offence, but that John had thus written to him out of pure simplicity and zeal for the true doctrine. St. Cyril was willing to make use of a charitable dissimulation and to receive this excuse; but before he would suffer Paul to attend prayers in the church[4], he obliged him to give his declaration in writing that he renounced the schism. It was drawn up in the form of a letter to St. Cyril, though it addresses him as present[5]. It states that in pursuance of the Emperor's order, John of Antioch and Acacius of Berrhæa had sent him to St. Cyril; that he had found him disposed to peace, and had received from him a writing, in which the Catholic Faith was set down in all its purity; "This," he says, "was the point of greatest importance. And because it "is necessary that what relates to Nestorius should also be "settled, I declare that we receive the ordination of the most "holy Bishop Maximian; that we look upon Nestorius, late "Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; that we anathema-"tize the impieties he has taught, and that we sincerely em-"brace your communion, according to the exposition which "we have given you of our views respecting the Incarnation "of the WORD, which exposition you have received as em-"bodying your own faith, and a copy of which is inserted in "this paper. By this act of communion we put an end to

[1] Cyr. ad Acac. p. 1115. A.

[2] Ep. ad Don. c. 38. p. 1152. E.

[3] ἐνωμότως

[4] συναχθῆναι

[5] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 28.

[c] This is not quite accurate. "Anathematisms pour out," he says, "in "clouds: brother assails brother, "Priest Priest, and nation nation. "Some with Apollinarius call the "whole Christian Church *Jews*, be-"cause they oppose the errors of that "enemy of GOD;" as if the assertion that CHRIST was perfect man, implied that He was a mere man: "and others "again call them *pagans*;" as if 'the 'taking of the manhood into GOD' implied the deification of one who had been man.

"the troubles which may have originated with either party, A. D. 433.
"and restore the Churches to their former tranquillity." CH. XIX.
The exposition of faith is not found inserted in this declaration, but it must be the same with that which was afterwards inserted in the letter of John of Antioch.

Having made this declaration, Paul was admitted to the Church-prayers[1], and took his place as Bishop in the great church of Alexandria, where he preached a sermon to the people[2], in the presence of St. Cyril, on Christmas-day, December the twenty-fifth (in the Egyptian calendar, the twenty-ninth of Choiak) of the same year, 432. He began by proclaiming "peace on earth," with the Angels; and then, entering upon the mystery which we commemorate on that day, he said plainly, "Mary, Mother of GOD, brought forth "EMMANUEL." The people, when they heard it, cried out, "Behold this is the Faith: it is GOD's gift, O orthodox Cyril! "this is what we wished to hear. He that speaks not thus, "let him be anathema." Paul of Emesa proceeded; "Who-"soever says not or thinks not thus, let him be anathema, "and cut off from the Church:" then resuming the thread of his discourse, and proceeding to explain the mystery of the Incarnation, he says; "Forasmuch as the concurrence "of the two perfect natures, I mean the Divinity and the "humanity, has formed the one only SON, the one only "CHRIST, the one only LORD." At these words, the people again interrupted him with shouts of, "You are welcome[3], "O orthodox Bishop, worthy of Cyril, gift of GOD!" Paul concluded his sermon in a few words, expressly anathematizing those who spoke of two SONS, or said that EMMANUEL was a mere man; and extolling the confession made by St. Peter, when he acknowledged one only SON of the living GOD[4]. He then broke off, to allow St. Cyril to deliver the address usual in such cases[5].

[1] Ep. ad. Theogn. ap. Cyr. opp. t. 5. pt. 2. p. 152. [alterâ pagg. seriê]
[2] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 31.
[3] καλῶς ἦλθες
[4] Matt. 16. 16.
[5] Supr. 25. 2.]

Paul of Emesa, not having had time enough to explain himself fully on that day, preached a second time[6] in the great church of Alexandria, eight days afterwards; that is, on the sixth of Tibi, or first of January, A.D. 433. In this sermon, which is longer than the former, he carefully unfolds the mystery of the Incarnation in opposition to the errors of Nestorius and Apollinarius. The people twice interrupted

[6] Ibid. c. 32.

A. D. 433. CH. XX. him (as before) with applause and acclamation; and St. Cyril added a few words on the same subject[1].

[1] c. 33.

It was Paul's wish that in making the declaration in writing as he had done, he should be considered to represent in his own person both John of Antioch and all the Eastern Bishops[2]; and that nothing further therefore should be required of them. In this he was overruled by St. Cyril, who maintained that the declaration could serve only for himself, and peremptorily insisted that John of Antioch should likewise give his declaration in writing. St. Cyril remained inflexible also on the subject of the four deposed Bishops, whose restoration Paul had at first stated to be indispensable[3]. (They were Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherius of Tyana, Himerius of Nicomedia, and Dorotheus of Marcianopolis.) St. Cyril declared that he could never give his assent to any such act, nor were they eventually included in the peace.

[2] Ep. ad Acac. Mel. C. Eph. p. 1115. B.

[3] Ep. ad Donat. C. Eph. p. 1153. C, D.

St. Cyril and Paul of Emesa drew up in concert the declaration that John of Antioch was to sign[4]. Two of St. Cyril's clergy were appointed to carry it, along with a letter of communion for him; but he was not to receive the latter until he had signed the declaration. The two Clerks accompanied the Tribune Aristolaus, who returned to Antioch murmuring at the tedious character of the negotiation. He promised St. Cyril on oath, that the purpose which the declaration was intended to serve, should not be frustrated; "And if Bishop "John," he added, "refuses to subscribe it, I will proceed "immediately to Constantinople, and tell the Emperor that "it is no fault of the Church of Alexandria if peace be not "made, but of the Bishop of Antioch only." The declaration contained an approval of Nestorius's deposition, and a condemnation of his tenets.

[4] Ep. ad Theogn. *u. s.* p. 153.

XX. St. Cyril negotiates at Constantinople.

In the mean time St. Cyril was employing his influence at Constantinople to procure orders from the Court urging Aristolaus to bring the business to a conclusion, and pressing John of Antioch to abandon the cause of Nestorius. St. Cyril wrote with this view to St. Pulcheria—to Paul, Præfect of the Chamber[5]—to Romanus, Chamberlain—to the lady Marcella and the lady Droseria—sending them at the same time blessings[6], that is, presents. Another Præfect, called Chrysoretes, who was opposed to the in-

[5] Præposito]

[6] Eulogias]

terests of the Church, received similar presents, besides being solicited to desist from his persecution by two other officers[1], to whom presents were sent[d]. We learn all this from a letter written by Epiphanius, St. Cyril's Archdeacon and Syncellus, to Maximian of Constantinople[2], in which the latter is entreated to throw the weight of his authority into the same scale. "Beg of the Empress Pulcheria," says the letter, "to write sharply to John, warning him never more to "mention that impious person," that is, Nestorius; "and "let a pressing letter be written to Aristolaus too. Entreat "the holy Abbot Dalmatius to send to the Emperor, binding "him and the officers of the chamber by awful adjurations[3] "never again to make mention of Nestorius; desire also the "holy Eutyches to contend for us." This is the same that was afterwards the heresiarch[4]. Epiphanius adds, "You will "see by the memorial subjoined[5] who the persons are to "whom presents have been sent, and how much the holy "Church of Alexandria has done for you. Our clergy are "grieved to think that their Church is stripped on account of "these troubles, and that over and above the sum which has "been transmitted, it owes to the Count Ammonius fifteen "hundred pounds' weight of gold[e]. We have again written "to him to advance money; but do you rather advance it, to "such as are known to be covetous, at the expense of your "Church, for otherwise the Church of Alexandria will be "over-burdened. Entreat Pulcheria to displace Chrysoretes, "and put Lausus in his room; for without some such check "on his power we shall still be subject to much maltreat-"ment." This letter shews us something of what was going on at Constantinople.

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[1 Scholasticus and Arthebas.]

[2 Synodic. c. 203. [p. 907.]

[3 terribili conjuratione]

[4 infr. 27. 23.]

[5 subjectus brevis]

There were some in the imperial city who declared themselves opposed to the reconciliation. These spread a report that St. Cyril had recanted, and condemned what he had

[d] New Rome it seems, kept up the character of the old stock on which it was engrafted: it retained the Odrysian "rule, which prevailed indeed through-"out the whole of Thrace—to receive "rather than to give; so that it was "more discreditable when asked for a "gift to refuse it, than to ask and meet "with a repulse. At the seat of govern-"ment this system was so extensively "practised that it was impossible to "get any business attended to unless "you were lavish of your presents." (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξαι οὐδὲν μὴ δίδοντα δῶρα. Thucyd. ii. 97.)

[e] Auri libras mille quingentas; i. e. about 1355 pounds Troy, or 63. 310*l.* in standard gold.

A. D. 433. written against Nestorius; for thus the Nestorians, who
CH. XXI. sought to retrace their steps, wished his letter to Acacius of Berrhæa to be construed. This obliged St. Cyril to send a letter to the Priests Theognostus and Charmosinus, and the Deacon Leontius, who were his Apocrisiarii at Constantinople[1], that is, who acted at Court as solicitors in matters relating to his Church[2]. He gives them an account of all that had passed, from the letter with which Acacius of Berrhæa had opened the negotiation[3], up to the period of his writing: he concludes in these words; "Let no one, "therefore, feel any anxiety; we are not yet so far advanced "in dotage as to anathematize what we have written. We "abide by our old opinions, for they are sound, and con- "formable to Scripture and to the faith of our fathers."

[1] Cyril. opp. t. v. p. 152. (alt. s.)
[2] Supr. 25. 51. f.]
[3] Supr. c. 17.

XXI. John of Antioch reconciled.

John of Antioch at length submitted. He wrote a letter to St. Cyril, in which he says that for the good of the Church, and in obedience to the Emperor's orders, he has commissioned Paul of Emesa to conclude a peace, and to deliver in his name the exposition of faith which they had agreed upon, in these terms[4]: "As to the Virgin Mary, "Mother of GOD, and the mode of the Incarnation, we are "obliged to say what we think of them,—not as if we would "add any thing whatsoever to the Nicene Creed, or pretend "to explain mysteries which are ineffable, but to stop the "mouths of those who wish to attack us. We declare, then, "that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is the only SON of GOD; "perfect GOD and perfect man, composed of a reasonable "soul and a body; in respect of His GODHEAD, 'begotten of "'the Father before all worlds,' and the same, according to "the humanity, born in these latter days, for our salvation, "of the Virgin Mary; in respect of His GODHEAD, consub- "stantial with the Father, and the same consubstantial with "us, according to the humanity; for the two natures have "been united: and therefore we confess one CHRIST, one "SON, one LORD. In consistence with the notion of this "union without confusion[5], we confess that the holy Virgin "is Mother of GOD, because GOD the WORD was Incarnate "and made man, and, from the very act of conception[6], united "to Himself the temple which He took from her. As to the "expressions concerning our LORD in the Evangelists and

[4] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 30. [p. 1094. B.]
[5] ἀσυγχύτου ἑνώσεως]
[6] ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συλλήψεως]

"Apostles, we know that divines apply some of them in "common, as to one person, and others separately, as to two "natures; teaching that such as are worthy of GOD[1] relate "to the Divinity of CHRIST, and those of a meaner kind to "His humanity. A. D. 433. CH. XXI. [1 θεοπρεπεῖς v. Basil. De Fide, t. 1. p. 430. E. ed. 1638.]

"Having received this confession of faith, we have agreed, "in order to procure universal peace and remove all grounds "of offence from the Church, to look upon Nestorius, late "Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; and we anathema- "tize the evil and profane novelties of words introduced by "him; for our Churches preserve the sound and right faith "no less than your holiness does. We also approve the or- "dination of the most holy Bishop Maximian to the Church "of Constantinople, and we are in communion with all the "Bishops in the world, who hold and preach the pure and "Orthodox Faith."

Peace having been thus made, St. Cyril declared the joyful news to his people, in a short sermon[2] preached on the twenty-eighth of Pharmouthi in the first indiction, that is, April the twenty-third, A.D. 433. He then ordered the letter of John of Antioch to be read in the church, along with his own answer, which he sent by Paul of Emesa[3]. This, in addition to various expressions of joy and avowals of friendship, contained the declaration of John of Antioch, and some doctrinal explanations, which St. Cyril made in order to remove the scruples of the Easterns. "I am accused," he says[4], "of "affirming that CHRIST's sacred body was not taken from "the Holy Virgin, but brought from heaven. How can they "have brought themselves to imagine this, when almost the "whole of our dispute turned on my maintaining that she is "Mother of GOD? How could she be this, or whom could "she have brought forth, if the body had come from heaven? "But when we say that CHRIST came down from heaven, "we follow St. Paul, who says[5], 'The first man was of the "'earth, earthy; the second Man was from heaven:' and "our SAVIOUR Himself says[6], 'No man hath ascended up to "'heaven, but He who came down from heaven, even the "'SON of Man.' For although it be properly the WORD "who came down from heaven, yet by virtue of the unity of "person we may attribute the same to the man."

[2] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 29.

[3] c. 34.

[4] p. 1107. E.

[5] 1 Cor. 15. 47.

[6] John 3. 13.

A. D. 433. CH. XXII.

As to the other reproach, that he admitted a commixture or confusion of the WORD[1] with the flesh, he says[2], "So far "am I from holding any such opinion, that I believe a man "must have lost his senses before he can suppose the Divine "WORD subject to even the least semblance of change[3]. He "ever abides what He is, incapable of alteration. We all "acknowledge, too, that He is impassible, although He "ascribes to Himself the sufferings incidental to the flesh, "even as St. Peter so wisely said[4], 'CHRIST having suffered in "the flesh,' not in His Divinity." He further declares, that he in all things follows the doctrine of the Fathers, especially of St. Athanasius, and embraces the Creed of Nicæa, not allowing a syllable of it to be altered, knowing that it was not the Fathers who spake it, but the very Spirit of GOD[5]. He concludes thus[6]: "Having learnt that some have corrupted "the letter of our father Athanasius to Epictetus[f], to the "hurt of many souls, we deem it our duty to send you a "copy of it taken from the manuscripts[7] preserved in our "archives."

[1 κρᾶσις ἢ σύγχυσις ἢ φυρμός]
[2] p. 1110. D.
[3 τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα. James 1. 17.]
[4] 1 Pet. 4. 1.
[5 αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός.]
[6] p. 1111. C.
[7 ἀντιγράφων]

The fact was[8], that Paul of Emesa, when conversing with St. Cyril on the Faith, asked him very seriously, if he agreed with what St. Athanasius had written to Epictetus. "Have "you the letter," answered St. Cyril, "in its genuine form?— "for many things in it have been altered by the enemies of "the truth:—if you have, then I entirely agree with it in "every respect." "I have the letter," said Paul, "and I "should be glad to ascertain fully[9], from the copies you "possess, whether it has been falsified or not." The old copies were therefore put into his hand. After collating them with his own copy, he was satisfied that the latter was corrupt; and urged St. Cyril to get a transcript of the Alexandrine copies made and sent to Antioch, [which was accordingly done.]

[8] Ep. ad Acac. Mel. [p. 1128. E.]
[9 πληροφορηθῆναι]

XXII. The consequence of the reconciliation.

As soon as John of Antioch received intelligence of this agreement, he communicated it to Theodoret[1], promising to send him more definite information on the arrival of Paul of

[1] Baluz. Synodic. c. 86.

[f] A copy of this celebrated letter is preserved by Epiphanius (Hæres. 77); which agrees entirely with the editions of St. Athanasius's works. (See t. i. pt. 2. p. 900. ed. Bened.) An extract from it was inserted in the first Act of the Council of Ephesus (supr. 25. 41. and Conc. Chalc. t. iv. p. 287); it is again quoted by St. Cyril in his Apologetic (Conc. t. iii. p. 836).

Emesa, who was now on his way back from Egypt. Theodoret, A. D. 433. however, looked on the peace with great suspicion, and refused to be a party to it, unless those who had been deposed for what he considered the good cause were restored to their Churches[1]. John of Antioch next wrote to all the Bishops of the East, to inform them of the peace; "Cyril and we are "of the same opinion," he says[2]; "we both preserve the same "faith. The letter which he sent to me proves that there is "no difference between us, nor any reasonable grounds for "suspecting a difference; it is plainly and unambiguously "in harmony with our propositions throughout. He receives, "nay, commends our expressions, and expounds [his own "views in similar language, only interweaving] the tradition "of the Fathers, which was in danger of perishing, so to say, "from among men. He distinctly teaches the difference of "natures and identity of person in the SON of GOD, in such "a way, that all who are well inclined cannot, I suppose, but "be satisfied, while unbelievers and those who seek to revive "the error of Apollinarius will be covered with confusion. "However, I send you the letter itself, by which he satisfied "us, as also the one I wrote to him; you will thus see that "it is not by resorting either to meanness or servility that "we have arrived at this happy agreement."

CH. XXII.

[1] c. 87.

[2] c. 2. [p. 687.]

Aristolaus, after this successful issue of his negotiation, returned to Constantinople with a letter from John of Antioch to the Emperor[3], informing him that peace was made, and that St. Cyril and he were mutually satisfied; that he approved of the ordination of Maximian and the deposition of Nestorius, whose pernicious doctrine he anathematizes. "We "entreat you," he adds, "if you wish that the joy you are "giving to the world should be unalloyed by any painful "feeling, and that no city should be excluded from an in- "terest in it, to issue orders enjoining the restoration of the "Bishops who have been driven in these unsettled times "from their Churches. You will thus erase every trace of "past animosity. Nor will such a course be without prece- "dent; for in former times, when cases similar to the "present occurred, the original Bishops were restored to "their sees, and those who had been ordained during the "disturbances forbore the exercise of their functions so long

[3] c. 91.

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"as the others lived." This seems to have been written with a view to satisfy Theodoret and some others, who refused to listen to any proposals of peace until the deposed Bishops were restored[1].

[1] c. 87.

John of Antioch also wrote, in the name of himself and the Bishops who were with him, a letter of communion to Pope St. Sixtus, St. Cyril, and Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople[2]. He professes to approve the sentence passed by the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius, sanctioning his deposition, and anathematizing his impious tenets; to acquiesce in the ordination of Maximian; and to be in communion with the Bishops of the whole world.

[2] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 27.

St. Cyril, too, wrote both to St. Sixtus[3] and to Maximian[4], informing them of the favourable aspect of affairs. His letters arrived at Rome first; the Pope being at the time in Council with the Bishops, who had come to celebrate the anniversary of his consecration[g]. The people were assembled in St. Peter's, when the happy news reached them. The Pope sent letters of congratulation to St. Cyril[5] and to John of Antioch[6]; both letters bear the same date, the seventeenth of September, 433[7]. St. Sixtus was ordained on the twenty-sixth of April; either, therefore, the Bishops must have been convened at a later period, or the session must have been one of unusual length[h]. The Pope says, in his letter to St. Cyril[8], that he does not believe John of Antioch ever to have held the error of Nestorius, but only to have suspended his judgment for the time.

[3] Ibid. c. 41. init.
[4] c. 39.
[5] c. 41.
[6] c. 42.
[7] 15. Kal. Octobris, Theodosio xiv. et Maximo Coss.
[8] p. 1177. A.

Some seeds of Nestorianism had been carried even as far as Spain[i]. There were some there who would not allow it to

[g] *Natalis dies:* C. Eph. p. 1176. E. It was usual for Bishops to celebrate the day of their accession by a solemn service, to which the neighbouring Bishops were invited. We have two sermons preached by St. Augustine on the anniversary of his own ordination, Serm. 383, 339. (al. 24, 25. ex quinquag.) The solemnity was one of especial splendour at Rome. The four first of Leo the Great's homilies were delivered on occasions of this kind. He addresses his audience as *consacerdotes*, i. e. brother-Bishops: for none but these were ordinarily present; v. Dufresne, s. v., who rightly quotes, in proof of this, Paulinus, Ep. 20 (al. 16) ad Delph., where it is expressly stated. Binius, when he denied that this passage relates to the anniversary of Anastasius's election (ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1037), had, perhaps, read only the extract given by Baronius, ad ann. 398.

[h] The difficulty is in a great measure done away, if we adopt Pagi's Chronology (§ 5, 6; in Baron. a. 432), according to which Cælestine died July 18, and Sixtus was consecrated July 24.

[i] The state of the Church in Spain consequent upon the irruption of the barbarians was depicted, supr. 23. 5.

be said that GOD was born, and maintained that He who was born of the Virgin and suffered upon the cross was a mere man. Two of the faithful, Vitalis and Tonantius (or Constantius) by name, having brought against the heretics such arguments as they were masters of, wrote to Capreolus[1], Bishop of Carthage[k], for further instruction in the orthodox belief. Capreolus sent them a long letter in reply[2], in which [after congratulating them on their adherence to the old Catholic rule of faith, and expressing his confident trust that the LORD of all still has, 'in all places of His dominion,' those who labour faithfully in the Gospel harvest] he refers to the event which had just taken place in the East, the condemnation of the heresy in question by the Council of Ephesus. [This, involving as it did the authority of the Church universal, would of course be sufficient, he says, for all devout minds;] yet, as they wished it, he would explain the views held by evangelical antiquity respecting this mystery, and the necessity of believing the personal unity of Christ.

A. D. 433. CH. XXIII.

[1] Edit. Sirmond. an. 1630. [item ap. Sirm. opp. t. i. p. 362.] [2] p. 364.]

This heresy was refuted about the same time in Gaul by Vincentius of Lerins in his 'Warning against Heresy,' the date of which is fixed by what he says at the close of the second part, that, "about three years have elapsed since the "Council of Ephesus was held." Vincentius was brother to

XXIII. Writings of Vincentius of Lerins.

Since that time (A.D. 413) the country had been a prey to the successive hordes which entered it and contested its possession,—the Vandals, the Alans, the Sueves, and the Visigoths. At the period we are now considering the two former of these tribes had crossed over to Africa, so that the rival parties were now the Arian Goths under King Theudorid (A.D. 419—452), and the Catholic Sueves under Theodemir (A.D. 411—440), v. Cennius de Antiq. Eccl. Hisp. t. i. p. 186. The result of this unsettled state of things was that "it was a hard thing for one of GOD'S "Priests to visit another, and for a "Council to be held was rare indeed." (Leo M. Ep. ad Turib. Concilia. t. iii. p. 1410.) Hence the worst forms of heresy were easily introduced, and found time to strike root and propagate off-shoots. Whether this was the case with Nestorianism (as heresy when driven from the heart was wont to seize on the extremities), or whether it was an independent developement of a similar error, we cannot say. Certainly, the Spanish heretics were less ambiguous in their profaneness than Nestorius, for they plainly asserted that "He who "was born of Mary was a mere man "whom GOD made His dwelling, *until* "*the Crucifixion*, and then GOD de-"serted him." (Ep. Vit. et Ton.) This to a plain mind would be the necessary complement of Nestorius's way of speaking about the Incarnation.

[k] There seems to have been a good deal of connexion between the Spanish and African Churches in early times. Thus in the well known affair of Basilides, the Spanish Bishops wrote to St. Cyprian. (Cypr. Ep. 67. ed. Oxon.) A resemblance has been pointed out in their ecclesiastical discipline, by Cennius, de Ant. Eccl. H. Diss. i. c. 4. §§ 7, 10, 11.

A. D. 433. CH. XXIII. St. Lupus of Troyes[1]; and having passed part of his life in the secular warfare[2] (by which we are probably to understand the public service) he retired to the monastery of Lerins[1]. The leisure which he there enjoyed was employed in writing for his private use two treatises, containing excellent rules for the defence of oneself against heresy. The real name of the writer is concealed under that of Peregrinus, or 'The 'Pilgrim.' His fundamental maxim is, to adhere first to the authority of the divine law, and in the next place to the tradition of the Catholic Church[3]. Scripture is not of itself sufficient, since [its depth is such that] it is variously expounded; every heretic pretending that it is the rule of his faith. To learn the meaning of it, therefore, we must go to the Catholic Church; and in the Church itself we must hold to that which has been believed at all times, in all places, and by all; for such only can be truly termed Catholic, that is, Universal. If, therefore, a part of the Church breaks off from communion with the rest, we must prefer the [sound] body to the divided member; if attempts are made to infect the Church with novel errors, we must cling to the doctrine of antiquity. We are to consult the works of approved doctors who have lived in different places and divers ages, yet all in the communion of the same Church, and should look upon that as certainly to be believed which has been taught by all clearly, unanimously, and without variation[4].

He then adduces the cases of the Donatists[5], who were separated from the rest of the Church, and of the Arians, who had impressed into their ranks, by force or craft, almost all the Bishops of the West[6]. The Donatists were to be shewn that they differed from the general body, the Arians that they differed from antiquity. He proceeds to urge, as of primary importance, the maxim, that it is never lawful to introduce new religious tenets; when GOD permits any men

[1] Not. Baluz. p. 431.

[2] Common. § 1. [Secularis militiæ. Cf. Hieron. ad Nepot. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 257.]

[3] p. 317.

[4] [uno eodemque consensu, apertè, frequenter, perseveranter.]

[5] p. 319.

[6] [propé cunctis Latini sermonis Episcopis.]

[1] Vincentius himself says that he wrote in a secluded farm or hamlet (remotioris villulæ), which Noris (Hist. Pelag. ii. c. 11. p. 251) thinks could not apply to Lerins; he therefore supposes it to have been a monastery in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Antelmi (quoted by Galland., Proleg. 2. in t. x.) assents to the premise of this argument but fixes on Capo-Fulvi, near Friuli, as the place of his retirement. Tillemont (t. xv. pp. 144. and 860) acquiesces in what seems implied in Gennadius (De vir. ill. c. 66), that he lived at Lerins; so, too, the Hist. Litt. de la France, t. ii. p. 306. Perhaps, as Vincentius wished to conceal himself, he intentionally used an indefinite phrase. (Tillemont, p. 860.)

of eminence in the Church to teach novelties[1], it is to try our faith[2]. He quotes Nestorius as an instance of this last[3]: "He "had gained the esteem of the Bishops and the love of the "people; he preached daily, and refuted Jews, Pagans, and "heretics; though," says Vincentius, "his talents tended "rather to excite admiration than to edify, and were brilliant "rather than effective." He also refers to the instances of Photinus and Apollinarius[4], and takes the opportunity to give a summary account and refutation of all three heresies[m], more particularly establishing against Nestorius the personal unity of CHRIST, without, however, in any degree intrenching upon the distinctness of the two natures. "In GOD," he says[5], "there is one substance but three persons; in CHRIST "two substances but one person." He remarks[6] that some abused the word 'person,' taking it in its original Latin sense of a fictitious character like those on the stage; so that when they said that GOD was made man personally (*per Personam*), they meant *in appearance*, relapsing into Manicheism[n].

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[1] p. 329.

[2] referring to 1 Cor. 2. 19, and Deut. 13.]

[3] p. 330.

[4] p. 331.

[5] p. 335.

[6] p. 337.

After this digression he refers to the cases of Origen[7] and Tertullian[8] to shew that we can never rely on the authority of any single doctor; and recurs to his rule of adhering steadfastly to the doctrines of antiquity[9], and of excluding novelty, which is the characteristic of heresy; and this, because the Christian doctrine is not a human invention, but a trust[1] which GOD has deposited with His Church[2]. "Not," he says[3], "that it is forbidden or is not even profitable to "make advances[4] in doctrine; but in doing this we must

[7] p. 342.

[8] p. 345.

[9] p. 346.

[1] depositum]

[2] p. 347, 349.

[3] p. 351, 352.

[4] profectus]

[m] This is the ground of one of Antelmi's arguments in his ingenious Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed (Paris, 1693), where he assigns the authorship of it to Vincentius. "The "heresies of Photinus, Apollinarius, "and Nestorius are the only *specific* "heresies aimed at in either:" (quæ in uno solæ præstringuntur hæreses, Ph. Ap. atque N., eædem in specie nec plures jugulantur in altero. p. 68.) He has tabulated the coincidences of expression between the Creed and the Commonitory (p. 54, 58, 62); and observes that the Lerinsians shewed a more than ordinary leaning of affection to the Creeds. Faustus's Treatise on the Holy Spirit was the fruit of his lectures on the Creed (Gennadius, c. 87). Hilary published a valuable exposition of the Creed (ambiendam Symboli expositionem; Honorat. ap. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 740). Eucherius wrote some sermons on the Creed (Bibl. Magn. t. v. pt. 1. p. 552). Treves, the native place of Vincentius and the see of his intimate friend Severus, was the place from which the Creed *Quicumque* was first promulgated; and hence it might come to be assigned to Athanasius, who had lived there in banishment (Fleury, xi. 56).

[n] On the *Docetism* of the Manicheans, see Walch's Hist. der Ketzereien; Th. i s. 760—2. Beausobre, Hist. du Manich. t. ii. p. 519, sqq.

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" only consolidate, expand, and illustrate it, without altering " or mutilating it. [Nor has the Church, when assembled " in general Councils, any other object than] to commit to " writing the tradition it has received[1], and by a new word " to express the ancient faith[2]." He afterwards observes the different ways of dealing with different heresies, whether of ancient or modern date[3]. Such (roughly) are the contents of the first book. In the second[4], the former rules were applied, and the way in which the authorities of the Fathers were to be made use of, was shewn by the example of the Council of Ephesus. This second tract, however, was stolen from Vincentius while it was in sheets[5], and he contented himself with subjoining to the first a recapitulation of what he had said; concluding with the authorities of the two Popes, St. Sixtus and St. Cælestine, against Nestorius.

[1] p. 354.

[2] non novum fidei sensum novæ appellationis proprietate signando.]

[3] p. 361. sqq.

[4] p. 364.

[5] Gennad. Catal. c. 66. [in schedulis]

XXIV. Writings of St. Prosper.

Vincentius several times, in the course of this work, mentions the Pelagians as heretics who had been condemned; in spite of this, however, he is supposed to be the Vincentius who was author of the objections to which St. Prosper wrote a reply[o]. The supposition is based on the agreement of the name, and derives strength from his living so near Cassian and the other Priests of Marseilles, who about this time attacked the doctrine of St. Augustine concerning grace, as

[o] The fact that Vincentius speaks of the Pelagians as heretics is of no great force in rebutting the charge of (what was afterwards called) Semi-Pelagianism. Cassian, we saw (supr. xxv. c. 13), did the same; and yet Noris (Hist. Pelag. l. ii. p. 246) makes him the founder of the Semi-Pelagian school. Indeed, Prosper (c. Collat.), when addressing Cassian, tells him that he had "broached a nondescript "doctrine, as much at variance with "the Pelagian as with that of Augus-"tine" (tu informe nescio quid, tertium et utrique parti inconveniens, reperisti).

Noris (*u. s.* p. 245), Natalis Alex. (Hist. Sæc. v. c. 3. art. 7. § 7), Pagi (ad ann. 434. § 16. sqq.), and Cave (Hist. Litt. t. i. p. 337) are inclined to attribute Semi-Pelagianism to Vincentius of Lerins. Baronius (ad ann. 431. § 188,) Labbe (Diss. de Script. t. ii. p. 489), Papebrok. (Acta SS., Maii. t. v. p. 285. n. 6), and the Hist. Litt. de la France (t. ii. p. 309) acquit him. "However this may be," says Noris (p. 252), "no censure is implied either "on the learning or the piety of Vin-"centius. The school referred to were "not at that time heretics, but learned "and holy men, called by St. Augus-"tine 'brothers and friends' (de dono "persev., in fine), and by Prosper (Ep. "ad August.) 'holy men, of distin-"'guished merit, studious of every "'virtue.' The doctrine of Augustine "was then a moot-point, and so it re-"mained for a hundred years, until the "Council of Orange [infr. xxxii. c. "12]; nay, Prosper, in his letter "[supr. xxiv. 60], owns that it was "generally thought 'contrary to the "'opinion of the Fathers and to eccle-"'siastical consent.' What wonder, "then, if Vincentius, complying with "the great rule of his Commonitory, "hesitated to follow what seemed the "opinion of an individual?"

extravagant and dangerous, on account of certain consequences which it seemed to them to involve. These supposed objections are included by Vincentius in sixteen false and invidious propositions[1], which amount to this; that GOD will not save all mankind; that He has predestinated the greater part to be damned; that these cannot possibly be saved, and that GOD is the author of their sins. St. Prosper answered each of them singly, shewing how very different the doctrine of the Church was. Among other things he says, that GOD's predestination does not cause the fall of any man[2]; and that He does not forsake those who will hereafter leave Him until He is forsaken by them; on the contrary, He often hinders them from straying, or when they have strayed, causes them to return[3]. A. D. 433. CH. XXIV. [1 Prosper. opp. p. 335. sqq. et in Append. t. x. opp. August. p. 207.] [2 ad obj. 12.] [3 ad obj. 14.]

St. Prosper also replied to the fifteen articles, above alluded to as having been drawn up by the Gallic divines in opposition to the doctrine of St. Augustine[4]. They came to much the same sense as those of Vincentius; namely, that predestination imposes upon men a fatal necessity of sinning; that free will is nothing; that GOD does not wish all men to be saved; and that CHRIST did not die for all. St. Prosper having replied to these objections in detail, reviews them all in the conclusion, assigning to each its proper character and due limitations. In this work he again says[5], that they who fall are not forsaken by GOD to the end that they may forsake Him; but they abandoned Him, and so were themselves abandoned; and by their own will are changed from good to bad. And afterwards[6]; "If GOD causes him to fall "who is living piously, then He returns evil for good, and "He unjustly punishes the act of which He is impulsively "the cause. Can any thing be more absurd or senseless "than such a thought?" And further on[7]; "Although the "Almighty power of GOD might have granted to those who "are fallen power to have stood, yet His grace did not "leave them until they left it." Again[8]; "If any man says "that there are some who, whilst living piously, have the "power of obedience withdrawn from them in order that "they may cease to obey, he has a degraded notion of the "goodness and justice of GOD." He shews that in one sense it may be said that not all men are called to grace, [4 p. 316.] [5 ad obj 3. [p. 318.]] [6 ad obj. 12.] [7 Sent. 7.] [8 Sent. 12.]

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since there are still nations who have not heard the Gospel, and in Christendom itself so many thousands of infants die unbaptized[1]. "GOD, however, takes care of all men, and there "is none whom He does not warn, either by the preaching "of the Gospel, or the testimony of the law, or by nature "itself. Men's infidelity is to be charged upon themselves, "their faith to be attributed to the gift of GOD[2]." "Although "CHRIST died for all, yet His death profits those only to "whom it is particularly applied. [For no one is saved by "the cross of CHRIST who is not crucified in CHRIST; no "one is crucified in CHRIST who is not a member of CHRIST's "body, and who has not, by water and the HOLY GHOST, put "on CHRIST[3].]" The Priests Camillus and Theodorus sent to Prosper, from Genoa, nine passages extracted from St. Augustine's books on predestination and perseverance, respecting which they felt some scruples; he shewed them in his answers[4] that these books contained nothing but what was perfectly Catholic.

[1] ad obj. 4.

[2] ad obj. 8. [p. 323.]

[3] ad obj. 9.

[4] Opp. p. 346, sqq.]

St. Prosper's great work, however, in defence of St. Augustine, is the book 'Against the Collator,' that is, against Cassian, the author of the Collations or Conferences. This was written about the year 432; for he says, "It is now "above twenty years since the Church began to fight "against the Pelagians, under the command of St. Augus-"tine[5];" which may be supposed to refer to his earliest works, addressed to Marcellinus in 412[6]. In this treatise St. Prosper examines twelve propositions of Cassian, taken from the thirteenth conference, in which the Abbot Chæremon[7] is the speaker. The first proposition is Catholic; it asserts that GOD is the origin not only of every good work, but of every good thought; but in the other propositions Cassian favours the errors of the Pelagians, pretending that many arrive at grace without grace; that man is sometimes of himself inclined to virtue; that both these opinions are authorized by Scripture; that free will contributes as much to our salvation as grace; that Adam did not lose the knowledge of good by his sin; that we are not to refer all the merits of the saints to GOD in such a way as that nothing but evil shall be attributed to nature; that every soul has the seeds of virtue in it naturally; and lastly, that GOD is the sole cause of salva-

[5] c. 1. [p. 362, ult.]

[6] Supr. 23. 3.

[7] Supr. 20. 3; 24. 56.

tion to some, and to others only an assisting cause[1]. St. Prosper shews, that in all these particulars Cassian inclines to the opinions of the Pelagians and contradicts himself. He concludes his work by expressing a wish, that St. Sixtus would expel from the Church those who were secretly Pelagians, as his predecessors had expelled those who avowed themselves to be such; at the same time he declares his willingness to bear charitably with them, so long as they are not separated from the Church. Cassian always continued in its communion, and though this censure of him is very just, yet his conferences, as well as his other books, have always been perused by the monks and other pious persons for the sake of the sound doctrine and elevated spirituality with which they are pervaded[p].

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[1 quorundam volentium cursum . . . incitare, . . quosdam invitos compellere.]

It was about this time, too, that Marius Mercator wrote his book of Annotations. Having received the books of Julian against St. Augustine, with St. Augustine's answers, he made remarks on several passages in Julian's writings, with a view to point out his errors. These he afterwards collected, at the desire of a Priest called Pientius[2]. A short advertisement to the reader is prefixed, containing a succinct account of the state of the question, and giving a history of the heresy, which was first broached, he says, by Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Rufinus the Syrian[3]. He speaks of St. Augustine as dead; hence we may infer that the work was not published until about the year 432, after the close of the Council of Ephesus, where he may have received the last treatises of St. Augustine from Bessula the Deacon. The plan of the work is, first to set down Julian's words on each article, then St. Augustine's answer, and lastly, Mercator's own observations in support of St. Augustine.

XXV. Writings of Mercator.

[2 pt. 1. p. 30. ed. Garn.]

[3 Supr. 23. 1.

[p] In this he resembled his tutor and patron St. Chrysostom, (supr. xxi. 51.) "Nothing can be more exalted than "Chrysostom's views of devotion; yet, "certainly, he was obscure, as to many "important first principles. To discover these required, in the nature "of things, a subtle and penetrating "mind; and such was Augustine's. . . "The striking dissimilitude between "them may providentially correspond "to an important difference of purpose. "Chrysostom was a superstructure-man, while Austin was sinking the "foundation; and therefore you see "*the former as zealous for holiness as* "*the latter for efficacious grace.*" A. Knox, Lett. xvii. to Jebb. Cassian's books were long the vade-mecum of the monks in Africa, Spain, and France; Mabillon Ann. Bened., lib. iii. c. 36. Cassiodore ordered them to be diligently studied by his monks, Divin. Lect. c. 29. St. Benedict in his seventy-third rule (Codex Regul. pt. 2. p. 64. ed. 1661) recommends them to such as wished to go on to perfection.

A. D. 433. CH. XXVI. Mercator also wrote against some works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia[1], whom he looked upon as the parent of both the Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. He refuted the creed of Theodorus, which had been condemned at the instance of the Priest Charisius by the Council of Ephesus[2]; he translated some extracts from a work by Theodorus against St. Augustine and the doctrine of original sin, and from a work respecting the mystery of the Incarnation. To these extracts thus translated into Latin, Mercator appended notes, which were designed to confute them.

[1] Ed. Garn. pt. 2. p. 249.

[2] Supr. 25. 56.

XXVI. Schismatics in the East. The reconciliation between John of Antioch and St. Cyril found some in both parties who were dissatisfied with it. Many of those who had defended Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus, thought that John had acted dishonourably in abandoning the cause. Of the party who adopted this view, Theodoret and his Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis were the most influential and distinguished. On the point of doctrine Theodoret had no difficulty; for since the explanation which St. Cyril had made in his letters to Acacius of Berrhæa and John of Antioch, Theodoret acknowledged him to be orthodox, since he plainly confessed the two natures in CHRIST, guarded against the supposition of any confusion of the natures, and anathematized the heresy of Apollinarius. "He "has retracted," said Theodoret[3], "and has overthrown his "twelve Articles." On the other hand, he could not prevail upon himself to desert the person of Nestorius, whom he believed to have been unjustly condemned, because his doctrine had never been rightly appreciated; this he states in a letter to Nestorius himself[4]. Alexander of Hierapolis drew no such distinction, but set himself against the agreement, both in detail and in the gross; he refused either to condemn Nestorius, whose doctrine he considered to be sound and scriptural, or to communicate with St. Cyril, whom he still looked upon as heretical[5]. He even separated himself from the communion of John of Antioch and all others who embraced the peace. "Be assured," he said to Andrew of Samosata[6], "that I will have no part or lot with them; let "exile or death, let the precipice, fire, or the beasts be set "before me, in GOD's strength I will suffer all things rather "than communicate with them." And in a letter to Theo-

[3] Synodic. c. 95. cf. c. 88.

[4] c. 120.

[5] c. 96. 100, 104.

[6] c. 93.

doret[1]: "I will not consent to the propositions which Paul "has offered, and the Egyptian received, not if I am to die "ten thousand deaths for it; the whole world besides may "consent, but I never!" The chief point on which he insisted was, the title 'Mother of GOD,' which he refused to admit, unless that of 'Mother of CHRIST' were added, as required by Nestorius. A. D. 433. CH. XXVI. [1] c. 94.

He had made an appointment with Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata, to meet at Zeugma, in order to deliberate on the affair[2]. They both exhorted him [by letters sent previously to the intended meeting] to accept the peace[3]; but Alexander answered Theodoret[4], that it would be useless to come to an interview, if they felt no disgust at the proceedings of John of Antioch, who had betrayed the Faith, and condemned Nestorius, though he knew him to be orthodox. To Andrew he replied[5], "It is unnecessary for any more "letters to pass between us on this subject. My only "reason for retaining my Church in the face of so much "opposition from the secular power is, that I may not seem "to betray the flock of CHRIST." And in another letter[6]: "I no longer communicate with Cyril, or with you either. "So far as you are concerned, you have done your part; "you have sought the lost sheep, and it does not care to be "found. Henceforth, then, abide at rest;—before the dread "tribunal we shall most certainly confront each other." When Andrew saw Alexander thus highly incensed, he wrote to the stewards of the Church of Hierapolis[7], declaring his resolve to continue in communion not only with John of Antioch, but with all the Catholic Bishops wherever found, as Sixtus, Cyril, Maximian, Rabbula of Edessa, Acacius of Melitene, and all the rest. John of Germanicia[q] also embraced the peace[8], and John of Antioch gave Theodoret a written (though a private) commission, to use every mean he should think proper to reclaim the obstinate[9]. [2] c. 97—99. [3] c. 101. 103. [4] c. 100. [5] c. 102. [6] c. 104. [7] c. 106. [8] c. 105. 109. [9] c. 122.

Maximin of Anazarbus and his suffragans, the Bishops of the second Cilicia, remained firm in their adherence to Nestorius. They held a Council at Anazarbus[1], in which Maximin presided, and there they confirmed the pretended deposition of St. Cyril at Ephesus, and declared all who [1] c. 111-113.

[q] In Euphratesia. It was the birth-place of Nestorius.

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had admitted him to their communion to be excommunicate, until such time as they should condemn his twelve Articles; "Such is our determination," say they, "even though it "should expose us to fire and sword and the teeth of wild "beasts." Helladius of Tarsus, Metropolitan of the first Cilicia, gave his sanction to this Council[1].

[1] c. 114.

Eutherius of Tyana, Metropolitan of the second Cappadocia, and Helladius of Tarsus, concerted a plan for engaging the Western Bishops in their behalf, and invited Alexander and Theodoret to join them in their design[2]. This was none other than to address a long letter to Pope St. Sixtus[3], recapitulating the history of the Ephesian Council, of the alleged errors of St. Cyril, and of the reconciliation of John of Antioch. "We "throw ourselves at your feet," they add[4], "begging you to "reach out a helping hand towards us, and to enjoin that "the whole of this subject be thoroughly sifted, and the "appropriate remedy applied, by recalling the pastors who "have been unjustly banished, and so gathering together the "scattered flocks, whose salvation is in peril; for they are "unwilling to receive the washing of regeneration, or the "mystical Communion from the hands of heretics, and they "are not allowed to receive them at the hands of the ortho-"dox. We who are of different provinces, namely, of Eu-"phratesia, of the two Cilicias, the second Cappadocia, of "Bithynia, of Thessaly, and of Mæsia, should ourselves have "long since come to present our complaints to you with "floods of tears, had we not been withheld by fear of the "wolves who threaten our flocks. We are obliged, there-"fore, to send in our stead some of our clergy and monks, if "haply they may kindle your zeal, and dispose you to send "us speedy assistance." This letter was sent, but it is easy to imagine that it could have no great influence at Rome, where the doctrine of St. Cyril, the reconciliation of John of Antioch, and the Acts of the Council of Ephesus had been so solemnly approved. However, the letter is not without its use, as it shews that, even in the remote parts of the East, the Bishops were persuaded that they all had the right of addressing the Pope, whenever they had any grievances from their superiors, or any disorders in the Church, to complain of[5].

[2] c. 116.

[3] c. 117.

[4] p. 820.

[5] Cf. infr. c. 39, et Synodic. c. 119.

A. D. 434. CH. XXVII. XXVII. Death of Maximian Proclus made Bishop.

In the mean time Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople, died suddenly on the twelfth of April, A.D. 434, in the Consulate of Asper and Ariobindus, having governed that Church in peace for two years and five months. The day of his death was Holy Thursday[1]. The Nestorians, who were very numerous at Constantinople, assembled in several parts of the town, loudly demanding the recal of Nestorius, and threatening to endanger the city and burn the church down[2]. The Emperor Theodosius, fearing there might be some commotion, got Proclus immediately elected and installed before Maximian was interred; and Proclus solemnized the funeral. He had been Reader from his earliest youth[3], and had studied under the masters of rhetoric. On arriving at man's estate, he attached himself to the Bishop Atticus, and was one of his notaries[4]. Atticus, seeing the progress he made, ordained him Deacon; in the course of time he became Priest, and Sisinnius ordained him Bishop of Cyzicus, as we saw above[5]. When the people refused to receive him, he continued at Constantinople, officiating as Priest; but in spite of this, his ordination to Constantinople was looked upon as a translation. However, letters were produced from Pope St. Cælestine to St. Cyril, John of Antioch, and Rufus of Thessalonica, which removed the difficulty, and shewed that there was nothing to prevent a translation in cases of this kind[6]. These letters must have been dated two years before, on the eve of the election in which a Bishop of Constantinople was chosen to succeed Nestorius.

[1] Socrat. 7. 40.

[2] Synodic. c. 150.

[3] Socr. c. 41.

[4] ὑπογραφεὺς αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων γενόμενος]

[5] Supr. 24. 44.

[6] v. Supr. c. 10. not. r.]

The Bishops who elected Proclus wrote a synodical letter[7], which they sent into the East to be signed by all the Bishops on pain of their being deposed as schismatics[8]. As for Proclus, he imitated all the virtues of Atticus, whose disciple he had been; nay, he surpassed him in meekness and patience; his gentleness extended even to the heretics, for he believed this a readier way of reclaiming them, than harsh treatment. It was in his time that St. Melania the younger came to Constantinople, at the desire of her uncle Volusian, who, being Præfect of Rome, had been sent thither on an embassy[9]. This Volusian is the one who was friend to the Tribune Marcellinus, and to whom St. Augustine wrote on a former occasion[1]. Up to this time he had con-

[7] Synodic. c. 150.

[8] c. 149.]

[9] Vita S. Mel. ap. Sur. 31 Jan. Phot. Cod. 53. [p. 14. not.]

[1] Supr. 22. 51; 24. 21.

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tinued a pagan, but was now converted by the exhortations of his niece and the instructions of the Bishop Proclus; and falling sick, he was baptized[1], and died soon after. In this same year, 434, being the first of the Pontificate of Proclus, on the fifteenth of December, the Emperor Theodosius ordained[2], that the goods of all clergy and monks who died without heirs should belong to their respective churches or monasteries[r].

[1 φωτισθείς]

[2] Cod. Theod. de bon. Cler. lib. v. tit. 3. l. 1. [t. i. p. 436.]

XXVIII. Prosecution of the schismatics.

John of Antioch was informed of the ordination of Proclus, by a letter from Taurus, Præfect of the Prætorium[3 s]. He sent an answer expressive of the satisfaction he felt at the election of Proclus, with whose merits he was intimately acquainted. "Now that you have effected this good work," he adds, "let me entreat you to think of restoring tranquillity "to these parts too; for here are some few unruly spirits, "who think themselves injured by the peace which God, "by the ministry of the Emperor, has granted us, and who "abuse your clemency and ours." John of Antioch did not stop here; he sent a person named Verius to Constantinople, who solicited and obtained an order from the Emperor, making it imperative on all the Bishops of the East to communicate with John, or quit their churches[4]. This order was directed to the Quæstor Domitian, who sent information of it to Helladius of Tarsus[5], advising him to comply, while he could do so with a good grace, and to unite with all the Bishops of the first and second Cilicia in making

[3] Synodic. c. 123.

[4] c. 124.

[5] c. 125.

[r] This was the first step made towards the state of things in which the individual rights of monks were entirely merged in their corporate relations. By the civil law (Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 2. l. 13), adopted into the canon law (Caus. xix. qu. 3. c. 7, sqq.), professed monks (*ingressi*) lost the power of willing away their property, though they might still succeed to the property of their relatives. Afterwards they were considered dead *quoad civilia*, and could neither be testators nor legatees. Indeed, according to the monastic rules, a monk could have no property (see Dufresne, s. v. *Peculiaritas* and *propriétarii*); whatever he acquired was the monastery's, not his. "If any thing "be left to a slave," says Panormitan, "it instantly becomes the property of "his master; but a monk is more "inseparably bound to his monastery "than the slave to his master. (Religiosus magis astrictus monasterio "quàm servus domino.)" Super Tertio, fol. 170. in c. *monachi*. A slave might have a *peculium*, which a monk could not.

With regard to the secular clergy, the canon law distinguished between patrimonial property, and the produce of their benefice. The Church succeeded to the latter, the civil heirs to the former. See Durand de Maillaine, Art. *Succession*.

[s] The law mentioned in the last chapter is addressed to him, and Gothofred (in l.) thinks it more than probable that he procured its enactment. He corresponded with Isidore of Pelusium and with Theodoret.

peace with John, before the time came when it would be his duty to make the letters public. A. D. 434. CH. XXVIII.

Another order came down from the Emperor, which prohibited the Eastern Bishops from going to Court or leaving their churches. John of Antioch sent a copy of it to Alexander of Hierapolis[1] that he might give notice of it to his suffragans. But Alexander, who had broken off communion with John, ordered his secretary to receive the letter, and addressed his answer to the Imperial officer[2] who had brought the letter from John. However, he promised to obey, that is, he undertook not to go to Court or stir from his church[3]. In the mean time, he and the six Bishops of his province wrote to the Bishops of Syria, of the first and second Cilicia, and of the second Cappadocia[4], exciting them to animosity against John of Antioch; complaining that the Church was disturbed by unlawful ordinations, and that the priesthood had become venal and was prostituted to men of infamous lives. Alexander remarks in his subscription, that above a year had passed since he had ceased communion with John of Antioch; which brings us therefore to the year 434. Meletius of Mopsuestia, and three others of the second Cilicia[5], declared that they remained fixed in their resolution of opposing John; the Bishops of the other provinces sent indecisive answers[6]. The unlawful ordinations of which the schismatics complained were two[7]: first and foremost that of Athanasius, Priest and Steward of Dulichium, who was ordained Bishop of the said Church in the room of Abib, and that of Marinian, ordained Bishop of Barbalissus in the room of Acilinus. Scandalous charges were brought against the characters of these two new Bishops, and, on more general grounds, it was objected, that they had been ordained when neither the Metropolitan nor the Bishops of the province were present. In fact, as the object was to get rid of the schismatics, it was not likely that any great anxiety would be felt to ask their consent. Alexander of Hierapolis and his suffragans endeavoured to bring over the Princesses, St. Pulcheria and her sisters, to their party. With this view[8] they sent some clergy and monks to them with a letter, in which they complain of the persecution of John of Antioch, and of his ordaining within their province two Bishops of scandalous characters, besides ordaining a

[1] c. 126.
[2] [magistrianus]
[3] c. 127.
[4] c. 129.
[5] c. 131.
[6] c. 130. 132.
[7] c. 133. 135. 165.
[8] c. 135.

A. D. 434. CH. XXIX. third to a new see in the church of the Martyr St. Sergius, which was in the diocese of Hierapolis. They entreat the Princesses to represent all these irregularities to the Emperor, and to induce him to exert his authority in reforming them: but it does not appear that this letter produced any result. Alexander complains elsewhere[1] about this church of St. Sergius having been taken away from him; he had laid out on it, he says, nearly three hundred pounds' weight of gold, and involved his own church in debt. He had rebuilt it with great magnificence.

[1] c. 165.

Proclus, on his side, wished to expel Dorotheus, the Metropolitan of Mæsia, from his see of Marcianopolis, and wrote letters against him to the clergy and people of that Church; but they were devotedly attached to their Bishop, and supported him stoutly. Dorotheus, in a letter which he sent to Alexander of Hierapolis[2], informs him of this transaction, and urges him to come to Constantinople and address the Emperor in person. Hence perhaps originated the order which prohibited the Orientals from coming to Court.

[2] c. 137.

XXIX. Justification of St. Cyril.

On the other hand, there were Catholics who blamed St. Cyril, and asserted that he had conceded too much in the accommodation with the Eastern Bishops. They found fault with their exposition, and said, "Why did Cyril suffer, nay, "sanction their mention of two natures? The Nestorians "say that he holds their opinion, and so they are kidnapping[3] "all who are unacquainted with the true state of the case." These depreciating statements must have gained some prevalence at Constantinople, for St. Cyril notices them in a letter to the Priest Eulogius, his resident there, and instructs him how he should answer them[4]; he also gives in this letter a careful explanation of the Catholic doctrine on this point. He wrote moreover to Donatus, Bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus[5], to anticipate any calumnious report which might get there of his having retracted his former writings against Nestorius; and he gives him an account of the different steps by which the accommodation had been brought about, including the negotiation of Paul of Emesa.

[3] [συναρπάζοντες]

[4] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 37.

[5] Ibid. c. 38.

A fuller account was given in a letter to his old friend Acacius, Bishop of Melitene in Armenia[6]. After detailing the matters of fact, he adds[7]: "The partizans of Nestorius,

[6] c. 35.

[7] p. 1115. D.

"now that they see themselves abandoned, have become A. D. 434
"desperate; they are like men who are on the point of sink- CH. XXIX.
"ing, and catch at every thing within their reach. They
"maliciously vilify the characters of all who refuse to be of
"their way of thinking. They say that the Confession of
"the Easterns harmonizes well enough with the novelties
"of Nestorius, and even accuse me of holding opinions just
"the reverse of what I expressed in my writings, and of
"having received a new Creed—out of contempt, I presume,
"for the old! But what if Nestorius had himself con-
"demned his errors, and given in writing a Catholic con-
"fession of faith? would any one have said that he had
"made us a new Creed?" He then explains how widely the exposition of faith which he had received from the Easterns differs from the doctrine of Nestorius.

Acacius had asked of St. Cyril the mystical meaning of the scape-goat mentioned in Leviticus[1]. St. Cyril wrote a long letter to him[2], in which he says[3], that it is a type of JESUS CHRIST, equally with the other goat which was offered at the same time; the latter represented His human nature, in which He suffered for us; the former symbolized the Divinity, in respect of which He was free and exempt from death. He gives the same interpretation of the two birds[4] which the leper was to offer for his purification. He takes the opportunity of enlarging on the mystery of the Incarnation, and explains at length the unity of person in two natures.

[1] Lev. 16. 8.
[2] Cyr. Epist. ad. s. p. 121. C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 36.
[3] p. 127.
[4] Lev. 14. 4.

St. Cyril also wrote a letter in vindication of himself to Successus, Bishop of Diocæsarea in Isauria[5]. Successus had inquired of him whether it was proper to say there are two natures in CHRIST. He first of all lays it down in opposition to Nestorius, that CHRIST is one and the same, before and after His Incarnation; he then adds, that this union proceeds from the concurrence of the two natures; that after this union we never divide them, but say with the Fathers, 'the one incarnate nature of GOD the WORD,' which he explains presently after, by saying[6], that there are two natures united, but that CHRIST is one. By way of example he mentions our human nature, each particular man being personally one, though compounded of soul and body, so

[5] Cyr. Epist. p. 135.
[6] p. 137. E.

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different in their natures. He then replies to another question,—how CHRIST'S body became Divine after His resurrection,—"not," he says, "by changing its nature, but by "being freed from human infirmities." Successus having sent him some objections to this explanation, he replied in a second, still larger, letter[1], the object of which is to prove that when he says 'one nature,' he does not admit of any confusion or mixture[2], since the Divine nature is immutable, and the human nature remains entire in CHRIST; for it is not one nature simply[3], but one incarnate nature. He remarks[4] that there are three sorts of expression employed by Scripture in reference to our LORD; some apply to the Divine nature only[5], others to the human only[6], and others to both taken together. The object of these two letters, as well as of the preceding, was to justify St. Cyril on the subject of his reunion with the Easterns.

[1] p. 141.

[2 φυρμὸν καὶ σύγκρασιν]

[3 ἁπλῶς]

[4] p. 148. B.

[5 θεοπρεπεῖς]

[6 ἀνθρωποπρεπεῖς]

He wrote a very similar letter[7] to Valerian, Bishop of Iconium, in which, after explaining the Catholic Faith concerning the Incarnation, he thus concludes[8]: "Some im-"pertinent people, I am told, have given out that the error "of Nestorius prevails among the Bishops of the East; it "may be as well therefore to give you some information on "that point." He then relates how John of Antioch and the rest had distinctly explained themselves, and adds, "If, "then, they are charged with holding other opinions, do "not believe the charge: if any one shall pretend to affirm "it, send them away as impostors; and if any letters are "shewn in their names, set them down as forgeries." He wrote likewise to Maximus, Deacon of Antioch, who had some scruples about communicating with Bishop John, because he had admitted some Nestorians to his communion whom Maximus believed not to be genuine converts. St. Cyril's advice to him is[9], that he should be satisfied with their outward abjuration, and not seek to penetrate too deeply into men's consciences.

[7] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 40.

[8 1176. A.]

[9] Cyril. Epist. p. 192.

XXX. St. Isidore of Pelusium, [supr. c. 5.]

St. Isidore of Pelusium had blamed St. Cyril, as if he had fomented the division. "I am terrified," he said[1], "by the "examples of Holy Writ, which constrain me to send you "what I conceive to be needful admonitions. If I am your "father, as you indeed yourself call me, I fear the condem-

[1] i. Ep. 370.

"nation of Eli; if I am your son, (which is nearer the truth, A. D. 434. CH. XXX.
"since you represent[1] St. Mark,) I fear the punishment in- [1 σχηματί-
"flicted upon Jonathan, because he did not prevent his ζοντος]
"father from inquiring of the woman with a familiar spirit.
"If you wish, then, that we should not both of us be con-
"demned, let the dispute be put an end to; do not seek to
"revenge a private injury at the expense of the Church's
"safety; and do not under the pretence of piety introduce
"what may be a never-ending schism." When, however, he
was told what St. Cyril had written to satisfy the Easterns,
he was afraid that he had conceded too much, and wrote to
him thus[2]: "You should seek to remain always constant, [2 i. Ep. 324.
"neither allowing yourself to be frightened into a betrayal
"of heavenly things, nor seeming to contradict yourself. If
"you compare what you have lately written with your former
"writings, you will see that you are liable to the imputation
"of flattery, inconstancy, or vain-glory[3]; instead of emulating [3 κενῆς
"the valour of those famous champions, who, rather than δόξης]
"listen for a moment to heterodox opinions, were content
"to pass the whole of their days in the wretchedness of
"exile."

It is evident from the first of these letters that St. Isidore was now very aged, since one who presided over so great a see styled him 'father.' In both of them we may observe that free-spoken plainness which is every where visible in his correspondence. A large number of the letters are dogmatical, being intended either to elucidate hard texts of Scripture, or to establish some religious doctrine; others are on points of discipline, for the instruction of ecclesiastics (including even Bishops), but especially for that of the monks; and lastly, there are some on subjects of morality, for the information of laymen of every condition in life.

To an inquiry respecting the effect of Infant Baptism, he answers[4], that it is a low notion of it which supposes that it serves only to purify their souls from the stain contracted by Adam's sin[5]. He ascribes to it, in addition, many supernatural graces conveyed by regeneration, sanctification, and adoption; man becomes one body with CHRIST, and is united to his flesh[6] by partaking of the holy mysteries. Baptism was at that time never administered without the Eucharist, even

[4 lib. iii. ep. 195.
[5 τὸν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ Ἀ. διαδοθέντα τῇ φύσει ῥύπον]
[6 εἰς τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ τελεῖ.]

A. D. 434. CH. XXXI. to children; both of them (as he elsewhere says[1]) being considered necessary to salvation.

[1] ii. Ep. 52.

XXXI. Further prosecution of the schismatics.

The Emperor's first ordinance against the Eastern schismatics not proving so effectual as had been expected, a second was now issued against four Bishops in particular—Helladius of Tarsus, Maximin of Anazarbus, Alexander of Hierapolis, and Theodoret,—giving them the alternative of communicating with John of Antioch, or leaving their churches. This order was addressed by Count Titus, Lieutenant[2] of the East, to Dionysius, Master of the Soldiery[3], who notified it to each of the four Bishops[4]. Helladius also received intelligence from his correspondents at Constantinople[5], that Proclus was in great esteem there, and that he was to send his synodical letter, along with letters from the Emperor, to John of Antioch, in order that all who refused to receive them might be driven from their churches. Helladius communicated these tidings to Meletius of Mopsuestia, asking him what was to be done. Meletius replied[6], that he could not recognise either Proclus or John of Antioch as Bishop, and that although the whole world beside should chime in with the fickle folly of the present age, he was resolved to keep his conscience clear. Elsewhere he says[7], "Since the reconciliation of John with "Cyril, I have had but one letter from him, it was brought "by a magistrian; but I threw them in the bearer's face with "such evident disgust that he did not dare to ask for an "answer." This would prepare us for finding that Meletius was in the number of those who persisted in the schism to the last.

[2] [Vicarium]

[3] Synod. c. 142.

[4] c. 143.

[5] c. 144.

[6] c. 145.

[7] c. 155.

Count Titus wrote to Theodoret, and at the same time to the monks, especially to the three most famous among them, St. James the younger, of Nisibis, St. Simeon the Stylite, and St. Baradat[8 t]. The letter to Theodoret stated, that unless he consented to the terms of pacification, he should be expelled and another ordained in his place. At these menaces he only laughed, but he was deeply affected by the pressing solicitations with which the holy monks urged him to accede to the peace. At first he was irritated, and disposed, in his pique, to quit the city and province, and retire to some

[8] c. 146.

[t] On this St. James, v. infr. xxix. 6 (for St. James the elder, Fleury, xi. 3, 58; xiii. 2; xv. 44); St. Simeon, infr. xxix. 7, sqq.; St. Baradat, infr. xxix. 6.

desert where he might resume the monastic life; but the holy monks promised that, if he would go where they might all confer together with John of Antioch, they would accompany him; and they suggested that the meeting might be at Gindarus, a place half-way between Cyrus and Antioch; for Theodoret was unwilling to go to Antioch, from fear of communicating too openly with John. He communicated all this to Alexander of Hierapolis, who replied[1], "I hear that "the heresy which asserts GOD to be passible[2]," so he speaks of the Catholic doctrine—"prevails both at Antioch and Con- "stantinople, and is openly preached there." "I am sorely "grieved," he proceeds, "at the earnestness[3] of the holy "monks against us; nevertheless, should all who have died "from the beginning of the world rise up again, I would say, "'if they agree with us, let them pray for us[4], but if they "'condemn us, GOD forgive them.' Their authority is not "greater than that of the Apostles, or the Angels in heaven, "whom CHRIST, by the mouth of St. Paul[5], anathematizes, if "they presume to preach any other gospel than CHRIST'S "Gospel. If you see any of them, and they introduce the "subject, assure them from me, that if John were to give "me the whole kingdom of heaven, I would not communi- "cate with him, unless the acts which have caused this "universal shipwreck of faith had been corrected. GOD be "praised, they have on their side synods and sees, kings "and judges, but we have the LORD GOD, and our unspotted "faith in Him."

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[1] c. 147.

[2] Deo-passianam hæresim]

[3] Curiosi-tatem]

[4] So Baluz. Fleury has: *je les prie de se tenir en repos et de prier pour nous.*]

[5] Gal. i. 8.

Theodoret replied[6], "I beg of you to think not on the "orthodoxy only, but also on the peace of the Churches, "for they have been far too rudely disturbed, and we be- "come a by-word among the people." And elsewhere[7], "So "far as I can see, further inflexibility on our part will pro- "duce no good effect; the Churches will be harassed, and "our flocks exposed to the wolves. There is room for fear "lest GOD may punish us for being so excessively rigid[8], and "for pressing forward our own cause without considering "what is expedient for the people. Balance the gain and "the loss, and choose the least evil." Alexander answered[9]: "It were superfluous to travel over the old ground again; "pray read my former letters, and trouble me no more.

[6] c. 148.

[7] c. 151.

[8] pro hâc nimiâ acri-biâ]

[9] c. 152.

A. D. 434. CH. XXXII. "I declare before God that, comparing the advantages on "each side, I prefer the desire of God above all things, and "the kingdom of heaven to the honour and glory of this "world; and comparing the loss on each side, I choose to "suffer banishment, death, and the mockery of man here, "rather than everlasting torment. Do not be surprised if "we disagree in what we write. You believe Cyril to be "Catholic, I think him a heretic. When, in our days, the [1] Fleury, 16. 26, 33; 17. 1. "blessed Bishops Meletius, Eusebius, Barses, and the rest[1], "were driven into exile, God took care of their Churches, "and did not require an account of them at their hands. "Do whatever you know to be best for the Church of God "entrusted to you." "In the deluge," he says in a letter c. 156. to Meletius of Mopsuestia[2], "God was satisfied with even "a single man, and at Babylon with the three in the "furnace."

XXXII. Reconciliation of Theodoret and of the Cilicians. In the interview which Theodoret had with John of Antioch, it was stipulated that the question about Nestorius's deposition should not be mooted; so that as nothing remained beyond the point of faith, (on which they were already agreed,) [3] c. 160. 162. communion was immediately restored[3]. Maximin of Anazarbus and the other Bishops of the second Cilicia accepted these conditions, and wrote collectively to John of Antioch, [4] c. 163. 157. 159. to be re-admitted to his communion[4]; the only exception was [5] c. 158. Meletius of Mopsuestia, who continued in schism, saying[5], "What does it matter, whether I have many or few to bear "me company?" Theodoret also induced Helladius of Tarsus and the other Bishops of the first Cilicia to accept the terms of peace, and their example was soon followed by the Isau- [6] c. 160. 161. 166. 168. 171. rians[6]. Meletius thus stood in isolated opiniativeness, with all Cilicia ranged against him[7]. He was now therefore de- [7] c. 173-175. posed by John of Antioch, who ordained Chomasius, or Thomas, to succeed him in his see, and obtained an order from the Emperor to banish Meletius to Melitene in Ar- [8] c. 176. 177. 179. menia[8].

[190.] Theodoret now made his last attempt at winning over Alexander of Hierapolis. He wrote to him in the most submissive terms, telling him that he throws himself at his feet, [9] c. 166. 168. and embraces his knees[9]. He wrote to Mocimus, Steward [1] c. 162. of his Church[1]. He wrote even to Nestorius[2], (if indeed the [2] c. 170.

letter be genuine) entreating him to urge Alexander to accept the peace. Alexander replied to Theodoret[1]; "I believe that "you have left nothing undone for the salvation of my poor "soul; nay, you have done more than the good shepherd in "the Gospel, who sought his lost sheep but once. Now "therefore you may remain quiet, and seek no more to "weary yourself and annoy us. It is of no great moment "to me how the Cilicians and Isaurians act; nay, should all "the men who have lived in the world from the creation rise "from the dead, and call the abomination of Egypt piety, "I should not think that they were to be credited in pre-"ference to that knowledge which GOD hath given me." And afterwards[2], "I am not out of my senses, I am not yet "doting; pray you, spare my old age; I am ready to die a "thousand deaths rather than embrace communion on such "terms." After this, Alexander would no more speak or write to any of his friends on the subject of the peace, nor so much as see or think of them[3].

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[1] c. 167.

[2] p. 867.

[3] c. 172. 178.

Theodoret then addressed himself to John of Antioch[4], supplicating him to have patience, and not to suffer the old man to be importuned any more. "You know well the excellence "of the man," he says, "all that he wants is to be quiet; "time will soothe and soften him, or even if he should persist "you have nothing to apprehend from him; he neither can "nor will raise any disturbance. But if he should be ejected, "the worst results will follow. A schism will take place in "the Church at Constantinople, and in many other cities, "where some in their simplicity believe him to be the "champion of the purest Faith; and you will draw much "obloquy upon yourself."

[4] c. 172.

XXXIII. Alexander driven from Hierapolis.

Alexander still continuing inflexible, Count Dionysius and his Lieutenant Titus wrote to him as friends[5], advising him to obey the Emperor's order by submitting to the Council of Ephesus, and communicating with John of Antioch; that otherwise they must be obliged, in execution of the order, to eject him from his Church, and send him into banishment. Alexander replied[6] that he was prepared for the persecution which was in store for him; all that he requested was that he might be sent away without noise. Titus wrote to Lybian, Governor of Euphratesia[7], to eject Alexander if he persisted,

[5] c. 180. 181.

[6] c. 182.

[7] c. 183.

A. D. 435. CH. XXXIV. and to install the person whom the Council of the Bishops should ordain; and he empowered him to employ for this purpose the soldiers who were quartered in the city. "If "you need a stronger force," he adds, "or if our presence "should be required there, you need only inform us." Lybian received this order, along with the Emperor's letter annexed to it, on the fifteenth of April, A.D. 435[1].

[1] c. 184.

Alexander forthwith obeyed; he retired, professing but little regret at the loss of the Bishopric[2]; but the whole city of Hierapolis was in a strange consternation[3]. The people wept and cried aloud in the streets; they said they had lost their father and pastor, who had instructed them from their childhood. They extolled his doctrine and the sanctity of his life. They inveighed against the authors of his banishment and even against the Emperor himself; they closed the churches, and seemed ripe for sedition. At last they threatened to lay violent hands on themselves, if their Bishop were not restored to them. The Governor Lybian put a stop to the sedition, and caused the churches to be opened, and Divine Service to be performed as usual; but he sent to the Count of the East and to John of Antioch an account of what had occurred, and told them of the petition which the people of Hierapolis had proposed and carried by acclamation in the church[4]. John of Antioch sent them a letter[5] explaining how he had used every possible means to reclaim Alexander, "but his self-will and obstinacy," he adds, "have rendered him inexorable. Still, let him only correct "his fault, and even now we shall be ready to receive him, "and send him back to you with joy; but if he is bent on "his own ruin, we have done our duty to GOD and man."

[2] episcopatum tenere minimè delectatus]

[3] c. 185.

[4] c. 186.

[5] c. 187.

XXXIV. End of Nestorius.

Up to this time Nestorius had remained in his monastery near Antioch. At last a decree came down from the Emperor Theodosius against him[6], in which it was enacted that his followers should be called Simonians, as being imitators of Simon Magus[u], and that his books should be suppressed

[6] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 45. Cod. Th. l. xvi. tit. 5. sive de hæret. leg. ult.

[u] The reason of this appellation is not obvious. The words of the edict (cujus scelus sunt in deserendo Deo imitati) may simply refer to the fact of Simon's being the proto-heresiarch (πάσης ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως, Euseb., ii. 13), but more probably they had some special application. Justin (ap. Euseb.) says that "after our LORD's ascension "the devils put forward some men "who called themselves gods;" and in Acts viii. 10, we read that Simon

and publicly burnt; his followers were to be prohibited from holding any assemblies on pain of having all their estates confiscated. The law was published both in Greek and Latin, that none might be ignorant of it. It was dated 'the third of the nones of August in the fifteenth year of Theodosius,' i. e. the third of August, 435. In the following year (436) a rescript was directed to Isidore, Præfect of the Prætoria and Consul[1], enjoining him to convey Nestorius in exile to Petra, and declaring all his property to be forfeited to the Church of Constantinople. A. D. 436. CH. XXXIV.

[1] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 15.

Nestorius was now therefore driven from his monastery[2], where he had lived peaceably four entire years from the time he had been deposed. The rescript for his banishment speaks of Petra, which is in Arabia; yet it is certain that he was sent to the desert of Oasis, on the borders of Egypt[x]. Perhaps an alteration was made in the order before it was put in execution, or he may have been transferred from the one place to the other. The city of Oasis, or Ibis, (both these names are given to it) was pillaged some time after by the Blemmyans, a neighbouring and barbarous tribe, who

[2] Evagr. l. 7.

was called "The great power of GOD." Now it seems to be one of Satan's devices, when the True appears, immediately to issue a False which bears a degraded likeness to it, that men may confound the two and attribute to them in common the qualities of the False. And so, doubtless, the Simonians regarded our LORD in the same way that they did Simon,—as a mere man in whom a divine energy resided. If this be true, the reason of the Nestorians' being branded with the title of Simonians is plain.

Theodosius refers for a precedent to the edict of Constantine, in which he ordered the Arians to be called Porphyrians. The edict is found in Socrat. i. c. 9.

[x] The Greek *Oasis* and Arabic *Wah* both came from the Coptic *Wahe*, 'a habitation' (v. Baehr in Herod. iii. 26). In Herodotus as in this passage of Evagrius, the word designates a city (ἐς Ὄασιν πόλιν). It soon came to be used generically of any fertile spot in the desert, but was still applied *par éminence* to three; the Greater and Less Oases, which run parallel to the Nile, stretching from the latitude of Thebes northward almost to that of the Faioum; and the Siwah, or Ammonian city of Herodotus. It was to the first and most southerly of these—the Greater Oasis, or El-Wah—that Nestorius was banished.

The earliest instance of their being used as places of banishment is in the second persecution of the orthodox by the Arians (Fleury, xiii. 33): "From "this time the Oasis is no longer re- "presented as an isle of the blessed "(μακάρων νῆσος. Herod. *u. s.*), but as "a region dreary and desolate, swept "by noxious winds and often plun- "dered by the neighbouring Beduins." Ersch-u.-Gruber, *Oase.* Michaelis (in Abulfed. Descr. Ægyp. p. 31.) refers to Greg. Naz. (Orat. 23. p. 419. ed. 1609), who calls it ἡ ἀπάνθρωπος ἐρημία, Zonaras (Ann. xiii. c. 22.) who speaks of it as ὑπ' ἀνέμων καταπνεομέναν φθοροποιῶν; and Athanas. t. i. p. 316, as ἐρήμους καὶ ἀήθεις καὶ φοβερὸὺς τόπους. In the Digests (lib. xlviii. tit. 22. l. 7. § 5), a *relegatio* to the Oasis is spoken of, and in the Codex (lib. ix. tit. 47. l. 26. § 2) it is enacted that none but Egyptian magistrates should send criminals to the Oasis, and then for only six months, or twelve at the utmost—a longer residence was probably found to be fatal.

A. D. 436. CH. XXXIV.

carried away many captives and among the rest Nestorius. It was not long, however, before they were set at liberty, and, each taking his own route, Nestorius came to Panopolis, whence he despatched a letter to the Governor of Thebais, fearing he might be accused of an attempt to escape. The Governor ordered that he should be removed from Panopolis to Elephantina, a frontier town; then, again, he commanded him to return to Panopolis, and thence had him conveyed to another place in the same district; and an order was issued which would have banished him to a fourth place; but at length, worn out by age and infirmities, he died[y]. His tongue, it is said[1], was eaten up with worms.

[1 Evagr. u. s. Cf. Theod. lect. p. 580. σηπέδονι τὸ σῶμα διεφθάρη]

The schismatics reckon up fifteen Bishops[2] as having lost their sees because they would not be reconciled to St. Cyril and John of Antioch; namely, Alexander of Hierapolis, Metropolitan of Euphratesia, who was sent into Egypt, to the mines of Famothis; in the same province Abib of Dolichium, ejected; and Acilinus of Barbalissa, also ejected, but afterwards restored on his communicating with John of Antioch, though without approving the deposition of Nestorius; Eutherius of Tyana, Metropolitan of the second Cappadocia, banished to Scythopolis, but being expelled thence, he died at Tyre; Zenobius of Zephyrium in the first Cilicia, who quitted his Church of his own accord, and was afterwards banished to Tiberias, though he was soon obliged to leave it; Meletius of Mopsuestia in the second Cilicia, banished to Melitene in Armenia, where he died. They allege that Acacius, the Catholic Bishop of Melitene, treated him very harshly.

[2 Synodic. c. 190.]

[y] Eutychius (t. ii. p. 12) says that Nestorius "lived seven years in exile "in Echmim [Chemmis or Panopolis, "see D'Anville M. sur l' Egypte, p. "191], and then died and was buried "in a village called Saclan, where the "heat was very great, especially in the "valley which contained his grave, so "that no man could pass that way in "summer-time." Bar-Hebræus, Chron. Syr. pt. 3 (ap. Asseman. t. ii. p. 316), relates that "the physician Gabriel was "told by a Nestorian who had travelled "in Egypt that the Jacobites insulted "Nestorius, throwing stones at his "grave, and saying, 'the rain falls not "'upon him.'"

An account given by Zacharias, Bishop of Melitene (about A.D. 540), says that Nestorius was invited to the Council of Chalcedon, and, in fact, died on his way to it. (Evagr., ii. 2. Asseman., t. ii. p. 55.) He probably derived his statements from Xenajas of Philoxenus (Bishop of Mabuga, A.D. 481), who asserts the same, and says that he had it from the messenger who was sent to summon Nestorius. (Asseman, t. ii. p. 40.) Philoxenus was a Monophysite, and so would be inclined to receive any report prejudicial to the Council of Chalcedon. Evagrius remarks that Nestorius is several times anathematized by the Council.

Anastasius of Tenedos, and Pausian of Hypata, voluntarily resigned their Churches. Theosebius of Chios, or rather of Ceos in Bithynia, died in his Church without being ejected, though he had neither consented to the deposition of Nestorius, nor communicated with St. Cyril; yet he seems to have been deposed. So much for Asia. In Europe, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, Metropolitan of Mæsia, was ejected and banished to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; Valeanius and Eudocius, of the same province, retired of their own accord. Basil of Larissa, Metropolitan of Thessaly, endured much hardship, they say, but would never consent to condemn Nestorius. Maximin, or Maximus, of Demetrias in the same province, quitted his Church immediately after the deposition of Nestorius. Julian of Sardica, the Metropolitan of Illyricum, likewise refused to condemn him. In all there were but six who were ejected. A. D. 436. CH. XXXV.

XXXV. Second journey of Aristolaus.

The edict against Nestorius was conveyed to the East by the Tribune Aristolaus[1], who was to see that it was received by all the Bishops. We have the synodal letter which was sent by the prelates of the first Cilicia, that is, by Helladius of Tarsus and four others[2]. It is addressed to the Emperor, and imports, that, Aristolaus having come to them by his order, they have willingly obeyed. "We embrace," say they, "the "communion of the holy Council of Ephesus; we hold Nes- "torius, late Bishop of Constantinople, to be deposed, and "we anathematize him on account of the impieties he has "taught both by word of mouth and in writing; and on all "these points we agree with the holy Bishops Sixtus of "Rome, Proclus of Constantinople, Cyril of Alexandria, "John of Antioch, and the rest; and we join them in "anathematizing Nestorius and all who maintain the like "impieties." It is observable that they give the second place to the Bishop of Constantinople.

[1] Synodic. c. 194.

[2] c. 192.

St. Cyril was informed that some Bishops in the East pretended that they were under no obligation to do more than what was expressly contained in the Emperor's letter, and so condemned Nestorius only in words. He therefore wrote to Aristolaus[3], saying that if it was their object to produce a *bonâ fide* conformity, it would be necessary that the Bishops besides anathematizing Nestorius and his doctrine, should also declare that 'there is but one only JESUS CHRIST, SON

[3] c. 194. 209.

A. D. 436. CH. XXXV.

'of GOD, the same begotten of GOD before all time and 'conceived by a woman in these last times according to the 'flesh; in such sort that He is one single person,' as he further explains in his letter. He sent the same formula to John of Antioch[1], as necessary to provide against all chicane. "I have learnt," he says, "that there are some Bishops in "your parts of the world who, while they anathematize "Nestorius and his tenets, constantly set themselves to "support them on other grounds. They affirm that he was "only condemned because he refused to admit that one "expression, 'Mother of GOD.'" He complains in especial of Theodoret. "I did believe," he says to John of Antioch[2], "that having written to me, and received letters from me, "he had sincerely embraced the peace; meanwhile, I am "told by Priest Daniel that he has neither anathematized "the blasphemies of Nestorius, nor subscribed to his sen-"tence." John of Antioch wrote to Proclus, informing him of the results of the second mission of Aristolaus, who probably conveyed his letter. "All the Bishops of the East," he writes[3], "and indeed those of all the rest of the world, "have given in their verdict, and passed sentence upon the "error of Nestorius, and have consented to his deposition. "We are all unanimous in thinking that nothing should be "either added to, or taken away from, the Nicene Creed. "We understand it in the same way as the holy Bishops our "predecessors; in the West, Damasus, Innocent, and Am-"brose; in Greece[4] and Illyricum, Methodius; in Africa, "Cyprian; at Alexandria, Alexander, Athanasius, and The-"ophilus; at Constantinople, Nectarius, John, and Atticus; "in Pontus, Basil and Gregory; in Asia, Amphilochius and "Optimus; in the East, Eustathius, Meletius, and Flavian." Then after inserting the Nicene Creed, he adds: "We send "you this to satisfy those who yet require to be satisfied; as "for us, we said and did all that was necessary four years "ago, on the return of the blessed Paul;" i. e. Paul of Emesa; whence, by the way, it appears that this letter was written in 437; "but I know not whence it comes that these "vexations seem still to return upon us and all our Churches. "All the Bishops of the sea-coast[5] have consented and sub-"scribed; they of the second Phœnicia, and both the Cilicias

[1] c. 195.
[2] c. 210.
[3] c. 197.
[4 Hellade]
[5 Paralia; Lupus says this was an old name of Cyprus.]

"a year ago; the Arabians by Antiochus their Metropolitan; A. D. 456.
"Mesopotamia, Osroene, Euphratesia, and the second Syria, CH. XXXVI.
"have approved all we have done; you have long since re-
"ceived the answer of the Isaurians[1], and all in the first [1 Supr. 21. 42. i.]
"Syria subscribed with us. The Tribune Aristolaus will
"inform you in what manner our clergy received this, and
"how they applauded your care. Henceforth, then, let all
"this tumult cease, that we may take breath after the evils
"we have suffered on account of the accursed Nestorius,
"and be at length able to make head against the pagans
"of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Arabia; the Jews, particularly
"those of Laodicea; and the insubordinate Nestorians of
"Cilicia."

XXXVI. Writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia.

Cilicia, in fact, was the country where the heresy of Nestorius had thrown out its deepest roots. We have before seen that Meletius of Mopsuestia was the only Bishop, in either Cilicia, who had chosen to be deposed and banished rather than consent to the union. His predecessor, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, was looked upon as the tutor of Nestorius; and Theodorus himself had been a disciple of Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus and Metropolitan of the first Cilicia. Hence the Nestorians seeing their leader rejected by all the rest of the world, and his works condemned, first by the Council of Ephesus and more recently by the Emperor's edict, resolved on dispersing the writings of these two Bishops, Theodorus and Diodorus[2], who died in the communion of the Church and had left a great name behind them all over the East. They were both of them natives of Antioch, where Diodorus had maintained the Catholic Faith during the two Arian persecutions under Constantius and Valens[3], and Theodorus had been an intimate friend of St. Chrysostom's[4]. Diodorus had written commentaries on almost every part of Scripture, in which he adhered to the literal meaning; also a book on the Trinity, another against the Apollinarians, one 'against Destiny and the Astrologers,' and some other works[5]; many of his letters, too, had been preserved, but his writings are now all lost, as are those of Theodorus. The latter had composed commentaries on most of the books of Scripture; fifteen books on the Incarnation, five-and-twenty against Eunomius, four against Apollinarius, and several others[6],

[2 Liberat. c. 10.]
[3 Fleury, 12. 46; 16. 26.]
[4 Supr. 19. 7. Phot. Cod. 96.]
[5 Phot. [c. 85. 102. and] 223. Suid. s. v. *Diod.* Socr. 6. 3. Sozom. 8. 2. Hieronym. de Vir. Illustr. c. 119. Phot. c. 4. 38. 81. 177. Gennad. c. 13. [Ep. Cyr. ap. Facund. iii. 3.]]

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of which nothing remains, except some passages quoted by authors who either attacked or defended him[z].

The writings of these two Bishops, and of others who had written to maintain the two natures in JESUS CHRIST in opposition to Eunomius and Apollinarius, were much sought after and pointedly eulogized by the Nestorians, who pretended to shew that Nestorius had advanced nothing new, but had merely followed the doctrine of the ancients. In order that they might disperse the books with greater effect, they translated them into the Syriac, Armenian, and Persian languages[a]. Theodotus of Ancyra[1], Acacius of Melitene, and Rabbula of Edessa, who were very zealous Catholic Bishops, raised their voices against the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Rabbula publicly anathematized him in the Church[2].

[1] Synodic. c. 199.

[2] c. 43.

St. Cyril was soon informed of this new stratagem[3]. The Catholics at Antioch sent him a letter, and the Abbot Maximus repaired to him at Alexandria, and told him, that however the Easterns might pretend to condemn Nestorius, they in reality still followed his opinions, sheltering themselves under the name of Theodorus. On the other side, some of the Eastern Bishops wrote to St. Cyril that the censures passed on the writings of Theodorus were groundless, since he had only taught the doctrines of Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory; and that the people cried out in the churches, 'May the faith of Theodorus increase, we believe as he did.' As these Easterns were constantly vaunting of their adherence to the Nicene Creed, which they wrested to their own meaning by false interpretations, St. Cyril composed an exposition of the Creed in question, in which he chiefly enlarged on the mystery of the Incarnation[4]. It is addressed to Maximus and other Abbots of the East, who had requested him to undertake it; copies were also sent to Acacius of Melitene, and to the Priest Lampo at Constantinople[5], who

[3] c. 205, 206.

[4] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 43.

[5] Synodic. c. 205, 206.

[z] According to Ebed-Jesu († A.D. 1318) Diodorus composed sixty treatises, which were sought up and burnt by the Arians. He gives the titles of eight which were extant in Syriac in his time. He also enumerates the works of Theodorus which comprised forty-one volumes (ap. Asseman. t. iii. p. 28—35). His commentaries on the Minor Prophets were published in Ang. Mai's Nov. Coll., t. i. pt. 2. p. 41, and t. vi. pt. 1. p. 1. See also Fabric. Bibl. Gr., vol. x. p. 352 (ed. 1807).

[a] Ibas translated them into Syriac (Procli Ep. ad Joan. Ant. ap. Labbe, t. v. p. 512. C), Maris into Persian, and Eulalius, the friend of Theodoret, into Armenian. Garner. ad Liberat., p. 52. Cf. Asseman., t. iii. p. 30. note 1.

was to present it to the Princesses and to the Emperor. He also sent a letter to the Emperor[1] to put him on his guard against the writings of Diodorus and Theodorus. In addition to this he composed a short treatise upon the Incarnation, divided into three chapters[2]; in the first, he shewed that the holy Virgin is Mother of GOD; in the second, that CHRIST is one, and not two; in the third, that the WORD, remaining impassible, suffered for us in His flesh[3]. A. D. 436. CH. XXXVII. [1] c. 198. [2] c. 208. [3 propriâ carne]

Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, wrote on his part to St. Cyril[4] that Nestorianism was deeply rooted in the East; that in his writings Theodorus had taught a very different doctrine from what he had preached to the people, and that in the prefaces to some of his books he conjured the reader, under pain of anathema, not to make them public. He said that the holy Virgin is not truly Mother of GOD, that man was not united to the WORD in respect of His substance or subsistence, but by his good will[5]: that CHRIST is to be adored [not as LORD, but] only in relation to GOD, as an image; that the flesh of CHRIST profiteth nothing[6]; that St. Peter[7] did not acknowledge CHRIST to be GOD, but that the Church was founded on faith in a *man*. This was Theodorus's doctrine as stated by Rabbula, who was now blind[8] and far advanced in age, and died soon after. [4] ap. Conc. Const. Labbe, t. v. p. 469. [5 bonâ voluntate quâdam] [6 alluding to John 6. 33.] [7 Matt. 16. 18. [8 Theod. Lect. lib. 2. p. 580.

He and Acacius of Melitene[9] wrote also to the Bishops of Armenia not to receive the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, because he was a heretic and the originator of the doctrines put forth by Nestorius. The Bishops of Cilicia complained of this proceeding of Rabbula and Acacius, and charged them with being influenced solely by envy and prejudice. The Bishops of Armenia, on the other hand, met together and sent two Priests, Leontius and Aberius, to Proclus of Constantinople, according to custom[b], with their accusations[1] and one of the volumes of Theodorus of Mopsuestia; wishing to know which of the doctrines Proclus approved, that of Theodorus or that of Rabbula and Acacius. The accusation of the Armenians was to this effect[2]; "There was a pestilential "man, or rather a wild beast under the diabolical form of a

XXXVII. The Armenians send deputies to Proclus. [9] Liberat. c. 10. [1 libellis] [2] Conc. t. v. p. 463.

[b] The language of Liberatus is ambiguous, but he seems to mean the custom of inferior synods determining nothing *de fide*, without communicating with their Patriarch: v. Garner. in l.

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"man, falsely named Theodorus," which in Greek means the gift of GOD, "who had the title and habit of a Bishop, "lurking in a corner of the world, in a place of no note, "Mopsuestia, a contemptible town of the second Cilicia: he "derived his extraction mainly from Paul of Samosata, though "he availed himself of the words of Photinus and other here-"siarchs, in his book on the Incarnation. So subtle was he, "and so bold withal, that he designed to slay all men by "his tongue, which was like the sting of a serpent and had "beneath it the venom of asps." They then quoted several passages from Theodorus, accused him of being the parent of the Nestorian heresy, and concluded by entreating Proclus, that as the Council of Ephesus had condemned Nestorius by name, so he would condemn in an equally specific way both Theodorus and all who followed his doctrine in Syria and Cilicia. The title of this document states that it was presented by the Priests and Deacons whom the Bishops, Priests, Monks, and others in Great Armenia, Persia, and other nations, had sent to Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople.

Proclus, having received these papers and given them a careful examination, wrote a long letter[1], which was called 'the volume to the Armenians[2].' In some of the Latin editions it is dated in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth of Valentinian, or A.D. 435[3]. It is directed to the Bishops, Priests, and Archimandrites of all Armenia. Proclus gives in it a clear exposition of the faith respecting the Incarnation, asserting the unity of person co-ordinately with the distinction of natures. He says that "one of the Trinity "was incarnate[4];" an expression which was afterwards much noted. He does not mention Theodorus of Mopsuestia by name; he was content that the man should escape, so long as the error was dragged to light. His advice to Theodorus his Deacon, and Maximus, (the two whom he employed to take his volume to John of Antioch) was, that they should comply in every thing with John's wishes, and not disturb the peace of the Churches. He appended to his volume some articles that had been put forth, which he considered heretical[5]; no author's name was affixed, but he requested John to aid him in upholding the Faith by signing his volume and rejecting the articles[6]. The deputies attached

[1] Conc. t. iii. p. 1217.

[2] volumen ad Armenios. Facund. p. 60. B.]

[3] p. 1232. E.

[4] p. 1226. D. [ὁμολογοῦντες τὸν Θεὸν λόγον τὸν ἕνα τῆς τριάδος σεσαρκῶσθαι]

[5] Liberat. c. 10.

[6] Facund. 8. c. 2.

to the articles the names of Theodorus of Mopsuestia and some others whom they wished to have anathematized[1]. John of Antioch, and the Eastern Bishops who had assembled with him, read the volume of Proclus, approved it, and subscribed it; but on coming to the articles with the authors' names appended they refused to condemn them, and, taking it for granted that the deputies had acted in conformity with their instructions, they wrote a synodical letter complaining that Proclus wished to condemn Theodorus who had died in the peace of the Church. A. D. 436. CH. XXXVII. [1] c. l.

Proclus disapproved what his deputies had done, and enjoined Maximus to obey John in all things. John, on his part, wrote to St. Cyril[2] that the troubles had again broken out; that there was ground for alarm lest some who had left the errors of Nestorius should relapse into them; that people had gone to Constantinople with the design of soliciting the Emperor to decree that the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and even his person, should be anathematized; that the name of Theodorus was universally revered in the East, and his writings highly esteemed; so much so, that the Easterns would sooner be burnt alive than condemn them. St. Cyril addressed a letter to Proclus. "After a long "struggle," he says, "we have at last brought the Churches "every where to reject the falsehoods of Nestorius; yet there "are some in the East who are sadly chagrined at this; for "distempered minds are not easily cured. In the mean time, "all is at present peaceable; why then should we rekindle "the flame which was extinguished? I know that there are "many things in Theodorus's writings to find fault with; "but I fear that men would make this a handle for resuming "their defence of Nestorius. I ought to mention that at the "Council of Ephesus a worthless exposition of faith, imputed "to Theodorus, was presented; the Council condemned it, "but without mentioning him or anathematizing him by "name; and this was done discreetly[3], for there was a "danger that some might be led by their respect for him to "leave the Church. Let us use the same discretion; the "errors of Nestorius have been condemned, and this con-"demnation virtually includes in it that of all errors of a "kindred character." [2] Cyril. Epist. ap. Conc. t. v. p. 486. [3] dispensativé

A. D. 436. CH. XXXVIII. Before long, however, a Deacon named Basil came to Alexandria, bringing with him the volume of Proclus, the memorial sent by the Armenians, and some other documents, which he placed before St. Cyril. St. Cyril, finding that his forbearance was abused and made subservient to the propagation of Theodorus's errors, felt it necessary to write against him and treat him openly as a heretic[1]. As soon as the Deacon Basil had returned to Constantinople, he drew up a memorial which he presented to Proclus along with what he had presented to St. Cyril; and seeing that Proclus had already sent his volume to the Armenians, he wrote a tract in which he said that the books of Theodorus deserved to be rejected as much as those of Arius and Eunomius. Some Armenian monks[c] came to Constantinople on this occasion, bringing a list of propositions which they said they had extracted from the books of Theodorus and of other Fathers who wrote about the same time against Apollinarius. They talked to various persons about them, and created great excitement in Constantinople, their aim being to procure from the Emperor an order that the propositions should be anathematized[2]. They afterwards made a tour of all the cities and monasteries in the East, saying that the propositions ought to be condemned together with the authors of them, since their sense was plainly Nestorian. Being protected by some persons in power, they intimidated the clergy and people by their threats, and disturbed the peace of the monks.

[1] Facund. 3. c. 3. Conc. t. v. p. 487. B.

[2] Facund. 3. p. 136. A.

XXXVIII. Council of Antioch in behalf of Theodorus. At this crisis the Council of all the provinces of the East, being assembled at Antioch with John, wrote three synodal letters; to the Emperor, to Proclus, and to St. Cyril. In the letter to St. Cyril[3], they express their approbation of the volume of Proclus to the Armenians; "But," they add, "there was no need of it, since, thanks be to GOD, we are "all agreed in opinion. Sometimes even things which appear "necessary serve only to create fresh difficulties, if they are "done at an unseasonable time. Another volume, too, has

[3] Coll. Baluz. p. 944. Facund. 8. c. 4.

[c] According to Liberatus (c. 10) they were Apollinarians. Baronius (a. 435. § 9) supposes, without any ground, that he received his information from a Nestorian; but Garnier (in l.) thinks the allegation not unlikely, and ascribes the perversion of Eutyches to these monks. They are afterwards said to have been patronised "by persons in "power;" and Chrysaphius the godson of Eutyches was at this time all-powerful at Court.

" been presented to us, containing extracts from the works A. D. 436.
" of Theodorus, late Bishop of Mopsuestia, and it is requested CH. XXXVIII.
" that we should anathematize them. Now we admit that
" there are doubtful expressions in these extracts, which are
" capable of being understood in a different sense from what
" was intended, but the great majority of them are plain and
" clear. As to those which are thought obscure, we find
" some not very different from them in the old Fathers, so
" that we can hardly condemn the one without seeming to
" impeach the other; and what a door shall we open to con-
" fusion, if we allow the opinions of the Fathers, who are now
" no more, to be opposed and censured! It is one thing to
" disapprove some of their opinions, and a very different
" thing to anathematize them, even though the anathema
" should not extend to their persons. Then what an advan-
" tage is it giving the partizans of Nestorius, if we enable
" them to represent Bishops of so high a character as
" sharing in the condemnation of their chief! None of us,
" surely, can be ignorant that Theodorus was compelled to
" speak as he did, by the struggles which he had constantly
" to maintain against heresy, as the common defender of all
" the East."

The letter to Proclus[1] sets out with approving and eulogizing his volume to the Armenians. It then proceeds to complain of those who disturb the Church, who leave their own country and go to Constantinople to calumniate their Bishops. "They " are not satisfied," it adds, "with falsely accusing us who " are alive, but they must also attack the blessed Theodorus, " now deceased; they must malign him who was eminent as " a teacher for the space of forty-five years, the successful " opponent of all heresies, of whom, during his life-time, the " orthodox never spoke but with respect, and who was ap- " proved by Bishops, Emperors, and nations." And lower down; "We have found in the ancient doctors of the Church " a thousand things like those which have been maliciously " extracted from Theodorus's writings, and presented to you " [apart from the context]." They mention St. Ignatius the Martyr, St. Eustachius of Antioch, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, the two Gregories, (of Nazianzus and Nyssa,) Flavian, Diodorus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, Amphilochius, and

[1] Baluz. p. 946.

A. D. 436. CH. XXXVIII. Atticus. They conclude thus: "It is not for us to pass sen-
"tence on those who have finished their course with honour;
"this belongs only to the Judge of quick and dead." The
[1] Fac. 2. c. 2. [p. 62.] letter to the Emperor is much to the same purpose[1]; it commends Theodorus, "who was honoured by all the Bishops,
"and moreover," say they, "by the Emperor Theodosius
"your grandfather, who, wishing to see the man, went to
"his church, and was delighted both with his preaching and
"his conversation. He was the disciple of Flavian, Bishop
"of Antioch, and the companion of John of Constantinople,
"whose memory you have revived to the great honour of
"your reign." This had been brought about by Nestorius
[2] Supr. 24. 55. in the beginning of his Pontificate[2].

St. Cyril, in his reply to John and the Council of Antioch, first commends the volume of Proclus, and then
[3] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 44. p. 1207. says[3]: "As to the opinion of Diodorus, Theodorus, and some
"others, who have assailed the glory of CHRIST with all their
"force, let no one, I pray you, ascribe them to the holy
"Fathers Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Theophilus, and the
"rest, lest an occasion of stumbling be put in the ignorant
"brother's way. We would have every one attend to his
"own affairs, without renewing those troubles in the Churches
"which have lately, by the grace of CHRIST and the vigilance
[4 τῶν ἁπάντων ἀρχιερέων μυσταγωγῶν] "of all the Bishops[4], been set at rest. They who renounce
"the errors of Nestorius should be received without any re-
"proaches on the score of the past; otherwise some who
"might wish to become converts will be deterred. Admonish
"your clergy to utter nothing in the churches which is not
"agreeable to the Faith, and to avoid speaking on these
"topics unless they are obliged to it. Should any clerks or
"monks be accused of retaining the errors of Nestorius,
"though nominally in communion with the Church, let
"them be judged in the Churches; it is both anomalous
"and inexpedient to have ecclesiastical causes referred to
[5 Supr. 18. 29. note o. 19. 5. note l.] "the secular tribunals[5]."

[6] Facund. 8. c. 2. and c. 5. p. 345. Proclus replied to John and the Council of Antioch[6], that he had nowhere proposed to anathematize Theodorus or any other of the dead; and that he had given no such orders to his Deacon Theodorus. The Emperor also sent an answer
[7 c. 3. p. 329.] to John and his Council[7]. He exhorts them to maintain

peace and unity, disregarding such as attempted to disturb it; and desires that they, with the whole Church, would make it a rule never to assail the memory of those who have died in the communion of the Church[d]. A. D. 435. CH. XXXIX.

XXXIX. Jurisdiction of the Pope in Illyricum.

Pope Sixtus, in the mean time, was engaged in maintaining his jurisdiction over Illyricum, as we gather from three of his letters, two written to Councils held in Illyricum, and one to Proclus. The first[1] is dated on 'the eighth of the ides of 'July, in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth 'of Valentinian,' or July the eighth, A.D. 435. It is addressed to the Council which was to meet at Thessalonica, and exhorts the Bishops to adhere to the laws of the Church rather than to those of Princes. This was aimed, no doubt, at the law of Theodosius, which bears date July the fourteenth, 421, and which had been repealed at the solicitation of Pope Boniface[2]. He gives Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, the same authority which his predecessors had enjoyed under the former Popes[e], and which amounted to this, that every Metropolitan should hold ordinations in his own province, but always with the consent of the Bishop of Thessalonica, who was to be communicated with previously to

[1] Conc. Rom. III. ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1711. n. 15.

[2] Supr. 24. 31.

[d] We shall see in the sequel that he *was* anathematized by the fifth general Council (infr. xxxiii. 47); following the precedent of Theophilus (Socr. vii. 45) and the warrant of St. Augustine, Ep. 185. (al. 50) t. i. p. 644. and Ep. 141. (al. 152) p. 456.

[e] The Bishop of Thessalonica possessed a high rank from a very early period. Tertullian, when speaking of the apostolical sees (de Præscript, c. 20. 26), gives as instances "in Achaia, "Corinth; in Macedonia, Philippi and "*Thessalonica;* in Asia, Ephesus; and "in Italy, Rome." At the Council of Nice, Hosius of Cordova was commissioned to take the Acts to the western parts, Athanasius to Egypt and Libya, and Alexander of *Thessalonica* to Thrace, Illyria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, and Hellas. (Phot. Bibl. cod. 256.) Its fame as an ecclesiastical metropolis is shewn by what Aëtius says in Conc. Sardic. can. 16. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 640.) When East Illyricum was politically severed from the Western empire (in 479, v. supr. xviii. 22, note x), the Bishops of that province still wished themselves to be considered as belonging to the Western Church; their reluctance to join the Eastern probably arising from the fact (noticed by Gieseler, vol. i. p. 264) that they, in common with all the West, had remained firm in their adherence to the Council of Nicæa, while the nations to the east of Macedonia were deeply tainted with Arianism. (Sozom. vii. 4. writing of the year 380. Cf. Conc. Aquil. A.D. 381. Labbe, t. ii. p. 1000. B.) Shortly after this, the founding of the new Patriarchate of Constantinople made the position of the Bishop of Thessalonica very critical, and he was fain to shelter himself (in some degree at the expense of his ancient dignity) under the protection of the Roman Pontiffs, who, pursuing their usual policy (Baluz. ap. de Marca, de Concord. lib. v. c. 19. § 2), made him their Vicar. However, this privilege was of a local, not a personal, nature (Baluz. c. 22. § 2. sqq. et ibid. Bœhmer, obs. 17. p. 762. t. ii. ed. 1788), though confirmed by each of the Popes in succession, supr. xviii. 22; xxiv. 31. infr. c. 56. Traces of the contest still occur in A.D 531; v. infr. xxxii. 24.

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every ordination; that no man should be raised to the episcopate until he had been examined and approved by him; that the more important causes should be referred to him; that he should select from among the Bishops some who should act with him as assessors, or even try cases themselves, if he gave them a commission. The Bishop of Corinth was specially admonished not to lay claim to independence. For information on other points the Pope referred them to his envoys who attended the Council.

[1] n. 17.

The second letter[1], also addressed to a Council of Illyricum, was conveyed by the Priest Artemius; it is dated on 'the fifteenth of the calends of January, in the Consulate of Aëtius and Sigisvultus,' i. e. the eighteenth of December, 437. The substance of it is, that all the proceedings of each particular Bishop in Illyricum are to be reported to the Bishop of Thessalonica; that he shall assemble the Council whenever he shall think the emergency requires it; and that the apostolic see, on receiving his report of what the Council has decided, shall confirm their acts. "Do not think," he adds, "that "you are bound by those decisions of the Eastern Council[f] "which were made in opposition to our advice, but only by "that part of them which relates to the Faith, and which "had our consent." He alludes to the third canon of the Council of Constantinople (381), which gives the second rank to the Bishop of Constantinople[2]. He declares Anastasius to be Vicar of the Apostolic See, as Rufus his predecessor had been, and exhorts the Bishops to unity and concord. The third letter[3] bears the same date, and is addressed to Proclus; it exhorts him to maintain the Bishop of Thessalonica in his rights, and not to receive any of the Bishops of that province without formal letters[4] from their

[2] Supr. 18. 7.

[3] n. 16.

[4] sine epistolis atque *formatâ*, v. supr. 20. 31.]

[f] It was long before the Western Bishops would acknowledge this Council to be Œcumenic, (supr. xviii. 18, note i.) See Innocent's letter in Sozomen, viii. 26, where he says that no canons but those of Nicæa were binding on the Church Catholic. We shall see that Leo resisted the canon of Constantinople, after it had been confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon, on the same ground: infr. xxviii. 33, and de Marca, de Constant. Patriarch. (de Concord. t. iv. p. 163.) In the time of Gregory the Great (who said that he revered the *four* Councils as he did the four Gospels, lib. ii. Ep. 24), three of the canons of Constantinople, including that which gave precedency to the Bishop of Constantinople, had been long received: De Marca, (Baluz.) lib. v. c. 25. § 14.

Superior; this, the Pope says, was the rule he himself observed. The letter teems with expressions of his esteem for Proclus and of the confidence which he can repose in him. The Pope remarks to him, that he had recently confirmed his sentence concerning Idduas. It is conjectured[1] that this Idduas was the Bishop of Smyrna who assisted at the Council of Ephesus, and that, having been condemned by Proclus, he had appealed to the Pope. The Asiatic Bishops were very reluctant to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople.

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[1] v. not. Holstein. [Labbe, t. iv. p. 1732.]

XL. Translation of the reliques of St. Chrysostom.

At the opening of the following year, Proclus brought back to Constantinople the reliques of St. John Chrysostom, whose memory had been already restored nine years before, (428.) Proclus was pronouncing his eloge[2] as usual on his Festival-day, which was the twenty-sixth of September, when the people interrupted him with acclamations, demanding that the Bishop John should be restored to them. Proclus, too, thought that it might be the means of bringing back to the Church many who had left it on account of St. Chrysostom's expulsion, and who still held separate assemblies[3]. He mentioned it therefore to the Emperor, and persuaded him to order the body of the holy Bishop to be brought from Comana in Pontus, where it had been interred[4]. This was done; the people went out to meet it; the whole of the Bosphorus was covered with boats and illuminated with lamps[5], as it had been on his recall from his first banishment[6]. The Emperor touched the shrine with his eyes and forehead, and implored pardon for his father and mother, who had offended the Saint, not knowing what they did. The reliques were carried publicly through the streets of Constantinople, with great respect, and deposited in the church of the Apostles; and those were once more re-united to the Church who had separated on account of St. Chrysostom. This translation was performed thirty-five years after his first deposition, on the twenty-seventh of January[7], in the sixteenth Consulate of Theodosius, or the year 438; and on this day St. Chrysostom is honoured by the Latin Church. On the fifteenth of February in this same year, the Theodosian Code was published; it is a collection of the constitutions of the Christian Emperors, compiled by order of

[2] ap. Baron. ann. 438. § 3. [*it.* Galland. t. ix. p. 678.]

[3] Socr. 7. 45.

[4] Supr. 22. 13.

[5] Theodoret. 5. 36.

[6] Supr. 21. 22.

[7] Socr. *u. s.* Marcell. Chron. [p. 285.] Theod. Lect. *in fine.* [p. 585. The two last say Jan. 28.]

A. D. 438. CH. XLI. Theodosius the Younger, the last book containing only those laws which relate to religion[g].

XLI. Other translations.

It was in the pontificate of Proclus, also, that they discovered at Constantinople the reliques of the forty Martyrs, who had suffered under Licinius at Sebastia in Armenia[1]. They were revealed to St. Pulcheria by the Martyr St. Thyrsus[2], who appeared three times to her, and ordered her to translate these reliques, which were concealed under ground, and deposit them near his; the forty Martyrs themselves, too, appeared, clad in white mantles. Their reliques were actually found under the ambon[h], or pulpit, of the church of St. Thyrsus; a table of marble was placed above the coffin, and there was a small opening, which corresponded to the place where the reliques stood in two silver urns surrounded by a mass of perfumes. The use of the opening was to admit linen cloths to touch the reliques. The Empress Pulcheria had the reliques of the forty Martyrs inclosed in a very rich shrine, and placed near that of St. Thyrsus, and the translation was celebrated with great solemnity, like a public festival. Such is the account of the historian Sozomen, who was present.

[1] Fleury, 10. 22.

[2] Sozom. 9. 2.

The Emperor Theodosius, wishing to return thanks to GOD for the many blessings he had received, performed some vows which he had made; and sent his wife the Empress Eudocia to Jerusalem, in fulfilment of a vow she had herself made, if she should live to see her daughter married[3]. Now her daughter Eudocia married the Emperor Valentinian[4], who came for this purpose to Constantinople, on the twenty-first of October A.D. 437, when Aëtius and Sigisvultus were Consuls[5]. Eudocia set out on her journey in the year following, (438,) and made large presents to the churches at Jerusalem and in all the cities of the East, both as she went and

[3] Socr. 7. 47.

[4] Ibid. c. 44.

[5] Prosp. Ch. [p. 659.] Marcell. Chr. *u. s.* Chron. Pasch. [p. 315.]

[g] Besides edicts and rescripts, it contains letters, orations, Acts of Consistories, instructions given to provincial magistrates, any thing, in fact, in which a legal decision was involved.

[h] Sozomen explains the word as "the Readers' Desk," (*βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν.*) Socr. vi. 5. mentions it as an unusual thing that St. Chrysostom delivered his homilies from the Ambon; the customary place being the steps leading to the Altar (or chancel); v. Vales. in h. l. In Russian, "the Ambon "ordinarily means the projecting part "in front of the Solea" (v. Suicer. s. v. *σωλέας*), "on which the Deacon stands "to bid the Ectenciæ" or litanies; though sometimes it "is used for the "episcopal dais or platform in the "middle of the nave." Mouravieff's H. of Russ. Ch., p. 360.

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as she returned[1]. In Palestine she erected some monasteries and Lavras[2], and rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem. She returned in the year 439[3], bringing back to Constantinople some reliques of St. Stephen, which were placed in the church of St. Laurence, with some reliques of that Saint and of St. Agnes[4].

On the last day of January in this year, (439,) Theodosius published a law[5] against the Jews and Samaritans, which incapacitates them for holding any public office, even that of jailor; and forbids their building any new synagogue[6], or perverting any Christian. It also prohibits the pagans from offering any sacrifice, on pain of death[i]; and revives all the penalties against the Manicheans[7] and other heretics of those times.

There were still some pagans at the head of the Roman armies[k]. Littorius, who commanded the auxiliary Huns in Gaul[8], relying on the promises of the aruspices and the oracular responses of evil spirits, was vanquished by the Goths, who trusted in GOD, and whose King up to the day of battle had given himself to prayer, lying wrapped in a hair cloth[9]. This defeat took place in the same year, 439. In Africa, Cyrus, who was a pagan, was Master of the Soldiery,—a dignity which he owed to the Empress Eudocia, with whom he had ingratiated himself by his skill in versifying; he afterwards rose to be Consul for the year 441, Præfect of the Prætorium, Præfect of Constantinople, and a patrician[l]; but while Eudocia was at Jerusalem, he was assailed by the artifices of his enemies and fell into disgrace. He made use

[1] Evagr. l. 20, 21, 22.
[2] φροντιστήρια καὶ τὰς καλουμένας Λαύρας]
[3] Theodosio xvii. et Festo Coss.
[4] Marcellin. *u. s.* Theod. Lect. in fine.
[5] Novell. Theod. tit. iii.]
[6] Supr. 24. 30.]
[7] Supr. 18. 9. o.]

XLII. Carthage taken by the Vandals.

[8] Prosp. Chr. [p. 662.]
[9] Salvian. de gubern. p. 161, 162. [cilicio.]

[1] Suid. *Cyrus.*

[i] On the laws against the pagans, v. supr. xviii. 9, 38; xix. 32, &c. Gieseler, vol. i. § 76. The soldiers of the cross had now for some time been so successful that the *pagani*, or those who refused allegiance to Christ (Christi sacramentum), existed only in remote and obscure villages (Prudent. c. Symm. i. v. 610. sqq., and Oros. Præf. Hist.); so that the word had reverted to its old application (*paysan, peasant*), see Gibbon, c. 21. note 173. In the law passed A.D. 423 (supr. xxiv. 30), Theodosius says, that he renews the enactments against the pagans although he does not suppose that any at that time survived. This last, however, must be understood of the Eastern empire, for in the West paganism still retained considerable power.

[k] For "the highest ranks of society "were most strongly attached to Pa"ganism;" Gieseler, t. i. p. 182. Cf. Mosheim, Cent. iv. pt. i. c. 1. § 16.

[l] "When Constantine ascended the "throne little more was left than a vague "tradition that the patricians had once "been the first of the Romans. He "revived the title, though only as a "personal, not an hereditary, distinc"tion" (Gibbon, c. 17), thus resembling the *Orders* of modern Europe. The Patricians were superior to all the great officers of state except the Consuls.

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of the opportunity to turn Christian, and eventually became a Bishop[1]. It was during his command in Africa that Carthage was taken by the Vandals[2]. The Romans had made peace with them in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth of Valentinian, that is, in the year 435, by assigning them a part of Africa for their occupation[3]. Two years after this, (437,) their King Genseric, wishing to establish Arianism and extirpate the Catholic religion in the districts over which he ruled, persecuted several Bishops, of whom the most illustrious were Possidius, Novatus, and Severinus. He deprived them of their churches, and even expelled them from their cities, because they resisted his threats with invincible constancy. He attempted to seduce four Spaniards whom he held in high esteem, and who had won his affection by their fidelity and accomplishments; their names were Arcadius, Probus, Paschasius, and Eutychius[4]. He ordered them to embrace Arianism; they unflinchingly refused; and Genseric, irritated to madness, proscribed them, banished them, and at last, after inflicting the most cruel tortures, put them to different kinds of death; and so they gained the crown of martyrdom. Eutychius and Paschasius had a young brother named Paulillus, whose beauty and wit had made him a great favourite with the King; but finding that all his threats availed nothing to make him renounce the Catholic Faith, he had him severely beaten with sticks, and condemned him to the lowest kind of slavery; being unwilling, it is thought, to put him to death, lest he should seem to have been vanquished by the constancy of a child.

[1] Niceph. 14. 46.

[2] Evagr. 1. 19.

[3] Prosp. Chr. [p. 659.]

[4] al. Eutychianus.] Ibid. p. 662.

Many were the treatises written to support the Catholics under this persecution. A letter from Antoninus Honoratus[5], Bishop of Constantina, to Arcadius one of these four Martyrs, written to comfort and encourage him in his exile, is still extant[6]. It exhorts him not to set any value on his riches, and not to allow himself to be tempted by the friendship of the King or softened by his affection for his wife. Victor, Bishop of Cartennæ in Mauritania, composed a large work against the Arians, which he presented to Genseric himself[7]. We also find a short abstract of the Faith in opposition to the Arians, written about this time by an author whose name

[5] Gennad. de Script. c. 95.

[6] ap. Baron. an. 437. [§ 3.] et Ruinart. Hist. persec. p. 439.

[7] Gennad. c. 79.

is not known; it is an exposition of the passages relating to the Trinity, in opposition to Varimadus an Arian Deacon, and the author lived at Naples[1]. Cerealis, Bishop of Castellum in Mauritania, Voconius, Bishop of Castellanum in the same province, and another African Bishop called Asclepius, also wrote against the Arians[2]. A. D. 429. CH. XLIII.

[1] ap. Vig. Thaps. p. 357.

[2] Gennad. c. 96. 80. 75.

When Genseric saw that the Romans had their attention directed elsewhere, and especially that their ablest general, Aëtius, was occupied with the affairs of Gaul, he took Carthage by surprise, in the midst of peace and while every one felt secure of his friendliness to Rome[3]. He made his entry on the fourteenth of the calends of November, in the seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius, or October the nineteenth A.D. 439. He gave up all their wealth to pillage, and tortured the citizens who attempted to conceal any of their treasures[m]. He stripped the churches of their ornaments, and after having turned out the Priests and seized on the sacred vessels, he lodged his men in them. He exercised great cruelty on the whole people, but he declared himself, in especial, the enemy of the nobility and clergy; and in pursuance of his scheme for spreading Arianism throughout all Africa, he ejected the Bishops from their churches and caused many to suffer martyrdom.

[3] Victor. Vitens. l. 4. Prosp. Chr. [p. 663.] Isid. Hist. Vand. era 467.

XLIII. *Writings of Salvian.*

A contemporary writer, Salvian, a Priest of Marseilles, refers to this taking of Carthage as a striking instance of Divine vengeance[4]. This great city had plunged into every kind of vice; it seemed as if the inhabitants had been seized with frenzy; every where you saw drunkards crowned with flowers and perfumed; every street was filled with snares against chastity and dens of infamy; adulteries and the most horrible impurities were matters of ordinary occurrence, and were openly practised without attempt at concealment. Men were seen in the streets painted and habited like women. The orphan and the widow were oppressed; the poor, reduced to despair, prayed in the bitterness of their soul that GOD would give the city over to the barbarians. Blasphemy and impiety reigned in it; many, though exter-

[4] *Salv. de Gubern. lib. 7. p. 170.* ed. Baluz. 1669.

[m] Herodian (vii. 6) says that Carthage stood next to Rome for wealth, population, and size, in all which its claims to the second place were unrivalled except by Alexandria. Cf. Gibbon, c. 33.

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nally Christians, were pagans at heart, adored the goddess Cœlestis[1][n], bound themselves to her by vows, and, at the conclusion of the pagan sacrifices, went to church and approached the holy Altar. In these impieties the greatest and most powerful were foremost. But all the people had the most rooted aversion and contempt for the monks, however holy they might be. In all the cities of Africa, though most of all at Carthage, whenever they saw a man of pale complexion, with his hair shorn close, habited in the monk's cloak[2], they discharged at him a volley of insult and curses. If a monk from Egypt or Jerusalem came to Carthage for some work of piety, the moment he appeared in public he was assailed with loud laughs, or hissed at, or loaded with reviling. The Vandals put a stop to these disorders, and made all the prostitutes marry; for unchastity, so common among the Romans, was with them, as with the Goths, an object of horror[3].

[1] Ibid. l. 8. p. 187.

[2] palliatum et pallidum et... usque ad cutem tonsum.] l. 8. p. 190.

[3] l. 7. p. 177. 180. 156.

The work in which Salvian speaks thus is addressed to the Bishop Salonius his disciple, the son of St. Eucherius. Its aim is to justify the ways of Providence, and to shew how little reason people had to be offended, as many were[4], at the misery which the Christians suffered during the fall of the Roman Empire, when contrasted with the prosperity of the heretical or pagan barbarians[5]. This obliges him to enlarge on the vices of the Romans[6], and to shew that there were still many remnants of idolatry among them[o]; that the greater part were Christians only in name, and worse than the barbarians[7], whose vices he thus describes. "The Saxons," he says, "are savage, the Franks and Goths treacherous, the "Gepidæ inhuman, the Huns and Alans unchaste." But

[4] l. 3. p. 42; l. 4. p. 82.

[5] p. 84.

[6] l. 3. p. 58.

[7] l. 4. p. 85; l. 5. p. 104. 116.

[n] Elsewhere called Urania, as in Herodian, v. 6, who says that the Phœnicians called her Astroarche, evidently a corruption of Astarte or Ashtaroth (akin to ἀστὴρ, *star*, German *stern*, Persian *starah*; v. Gesen. Thes. Heb. *s. v.*), the favourite and tutelary deity of the Carthaginians. Sanchoniathon (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. i. 10) says she was the same as Ἀφροδίτη; and St. Ambrose (Ep. c. Relat. Symm. t. ii. p. 840) identifies the Cœlestis of Africa and Mitra of Persia with Venus. In her attributes she rather resembled Cybele (Eckhel de Doctr. Numm. t. vii. p. 184) as also in the degrading character of her worship (Aug. de Civ. Dei, ii. 3). See Münter, Relig. der Carthager, s. 75—82, and Gesenius in Gruber's Encycl. Sect. xxi. p. 97.

[o] Especially those to which a political importance was attached. "Are "not fowls still fed in the Gentile "fashion, are not auguries taken from "flying birds, is not the whole code of "the frivolous ceremonies of paganism "still retained,—and all for the sake of "the Consuls?" Salvian, l. vi. p. 122.

he commends the Franks for their hospitality, the Goths, Vandals, and Saxons for their chastity[1] [p]. He particularly declaims against the impurity of the Romans[2], and their passion for the theatre, even while surrounded by the horrors of war and public calamities[3] [q]. He inveighs against the injustice of the rich and powerful, and their oppression of the poor[4], which made these prefer the dominion of the barbarians to that of the Romans[5]. Salvian wrote another treatise, in four books, addressed to the Catholic Church, in which, under the assumed name of Timotheus, he attacks the avarice of the Christians. In the third book[6] he complains that parents left nothing to such of their children as consecrated themselves to GOD, and thus deprived them of the merit of voluntary poverty. Besides these he wrote other works which are no longer extant; his reputation was so great that Gennadius, who lived about the same time, calls him 'the Master of Bishops[7].'

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[1] l. 7. p. 157. 169; l. 4. p. 87. [2] p. 169. [3] l. 6. p. 123; l. 7. p. 150. [4] l. 4. p. 70, sqq. [5] l. 5. p. 104. 109. [6] p. 270, sqq. [7] in Catal. c. 69. [Episcoporum Magister.]

XLIV. Council of Riès.

A Council was held this year (439) at Riès in Provence, on the following occasion. On the demise of the Bishop of Embrun, the see remained vacant for twenty months, owing to the violence of some laymen, who prevented the canonical election which the clergy desired. At length, two Bishops who took it into their heads to go thither, having neither authority from the Metropolitan nor letters from the comprovincial Bishops, consecrated a young man called Armentarius, who had been brought up in the fear of GOD, but fell beneath this temptation. He afterwards held an ordination, at which he admitted certain excommunicate persons to be Clerks. As this was altogether irregular, the neighbouring Bishops assembled at Riès on the twenty-ninth of November, 439[8]. St. Hilary of Arles presided at this Council, and was assisted by eleven other Bishops, some of whom belonged to that part of the province of Vienne which bordered on the province of Arles, others to the second province of Narbonne, and others to that of the maritime Alps, of which

[8] 3 Kal. Decemb. Theodosio XVII. Cons.

[p] All three belonged to the great Teutonic stem, to whose singular chastity Tacitus bore witness. (De Germ. c. 18, 19.) The Huns and Alans belonged to an entirely different family of nations—the (Calmuc) Tartar.

[q] "One might think," he says, "that the whole Roman people had gorged "itself with Sardonic herbs. The "ghastliness of death is on it, and it "laughs; and so in every part of the "world our laughter is pioneer to "weeping." (p. 150.) Cf. August. de Civ. Dei, lib. i. c. 33.

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Embrun was the capital, though it was not yet the ecclesiastical metropolis[1]. Among the names of these Bishops we recognise those of Auspicius of Vaison, Valerian of Cémèle, and Maximus of Riès. Besides the twelve Bishops, there was a Priest named Vincentius, who subscribed as proxy for Constantine, Bishop of Gap.

[1] v. not. posth. Sirm. [ap. Labbe, t. iii. p. 1491.]

The Council declared the ordination of Armentarius to be void, and ordered a canonical election to be proceeded with[2]. To punish the two Bishops who were the prime movers in this illicit transaction, they prohibited them, according to the Council of Turin[3], from assisting at any ordination or any ordinary Council as long as they lived[4]. They shewed some indulgence to Armentarius, and permitted any of the Bishops, whose charity might lead him to do so, to assign him a church in his diocese, where he might have the title of Chorepiscopus, or might only be admitted to stranger communion[5 r], which is to be understood in case the church were not given him as a title. In deciding thus they say that they "follow the decree "of the Nicene Council respecting certain schismatics;" which refers to what the eighth canon of Nicæa says about the Novatians[6]. But the Council of Riès limits this indulgence, in the case of Armentarius, by several restrictions. "He "shall not be received," they say[7], "in the province of the "maritime Alps, where he had intruded; he shall not have "a church allowed him in a city, but only in the country; "he shall never offer the Oblation in cities, even in the

[2] can. 2. [Conc. t. iii. p. 1285.]

[3] Taurin. can. 3. t. ii. Conc. p. 1156. D.

[4] C. Regens. can. 1.

[5] can. 3.

[6] Fleury, II. 22.

[7] can. 3.

[r] *Peregrinâ*, ut aiunt, *communione*. This is the first instance of the phrase that is known. It is next mentioned in the Council of Agde (ann. 506) can. 5, and especially can. 2 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1383), which provides that if any of the clergy neglect their duties they shall be reduced to stranger-communion: but that on repentance they may have their names again inserted in the matricula or clergy-roll. It is again mentioned in the Council of Lerida (ann. 539). In all three it relates to the clergy.

It was clearly not the same as lay-communion, since this involved a total and perpetual degradation from clerical orders (Bingh. 17. 2. § 3). Much less was it communion in one kind, as Bellarmine (de Euchar., lib. iv. c. 24. t. iii. p. 188) took lay-communion to mean;—his opinion is discarded by Bona, Rerum Liturg., lib. ii. 19. 3.

Communion in the ancient Church was used not only of participating in the Eucharist, or Communion of the Altar, but also of receiving the Church's charity. (Bingh. 17. 3. § 7.) Hence *communio peregrina* meant the hospitable entertainment afforded to such as travelled without *litteræ formatæ*, and who could, therefore, not be admitted to the Eucharist; and, when applied to the clergy, it meant that they lost their right to a full proportion of the Church's revenues and received only a charitable subsistence, being at the same time excluded from administering, and, in some cases, from partaking of the Sacrament. So it is explained by Baronius, Ann. 400. § 67. Ann. 407. § 40. and Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 19. § 6.

A. D. 439. CH. XLIV.

"absence of the Bishops; in his own church he shall not "ordain the lowest order of clergy; he shall exercise no "episcopal function, save only that he shall confirm the "neophytes, offer before the Priests, consecrate virgins, and "bless the people in the church[1]. He shall have the govern- "ment of but one Church, and shall not be allowed to accept "a second until he has renounced his claim to the former[2];" in other words, he was to have the title rather than the power of Chorepiscopus[a], and while he was more than Priest, was to be less than Bishop. As to the clergy whom he had ordained, those who had been previously excommunicated were to be deposed; those whose character was unspotted might, at the option of the Bishop of Embrun, either be retained in his Church, or sent to Armentarius[3].

[1] can. 4, 5.
[2] can. 3.
[3] can. 4.

The Council takes occasion to add some general rules. "Every Priest may give the benediction in families, in the "country, and in private houses, but not in the church[4];" in the East they gave the benediction even in public. "When "a Bishop dies, no one except the neighbouring Bishop shall "come to the vacant church during the time of the funeral[5]. "He shall perform the office of visitor there, and shall employ "the interval, i. e. until the seventh day after the Bishop's "death[6], in taking an inventory of the goods of the church; "he shall then return home, and wait like the other Bishops

[4] can. 5. v. not. Sirm.
[5] can. 6. [exequiarum tempore]
[6] can. 7.

[a] For the Chorepiscopi in general were allowed to ordain the inferior clergy (supr. xviii. 25. note h), not limited to one church, and authorized to offer in the city church in the absence of the Bishop. (Can. 13. Conc. Neocæs. Fleury, x. 17.) No mention of the name occurs in the *Latin* Church before the one in this Council; Thorndike, Orig. Eccl. c. 20 (p. 361. ed. 1674.) In 803 they were declared by Charlemagne, acting under the sanction of Leo III. and the Councils of Ratisbon and Aix-la-Chapelle, to be only Presbyters, (Fleury, xlv. 25.) Nicolas I. determined that they had Episcopal power (li. 8). They existed so late as A. D. 936 (lv. 17).

The case of Armentarius suggests the question; "How can the ministry "conferred by an uncanonical ordina- "tion come to be considered valid?" Thornd. *u. s.* p. 362, whose answer may be summed up thus:—In ordination there are two things: the authority of the Church, and the rite of consecration; but the former is of so much greater moment than the latter, that if a duly consecrated Bishop deprives himself of the Church's authority, *e. g.* by schism, his functions become null, he can no longer communicate the grace of the Holy Spirit: ἐπέλιπε γὰρ ἡ μετάδοσις τῷ διακοπῆναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν. (Basil. ad Amphil. c. 1.) If, then, by the withdrawal of the Church's authority a legitimate consecration becomes invalid; we cannot wonder that an uncanonical consecration (the rite having been administered but without the Church's authority) should, by the superaddition of that authority become valid to such purposes as the Church ordains, (ad id ad quod valere eam vult accedens autoritas Ecclesiæ.)

A. D. 440. CH. XLV.

"for the mandate of the Metropolitan, without which no one "shall come to the vacant church, lest it should seem as if "he had courted the violence of the people[1]. Two Councils "shall be held every year[2], according to the old rule[3], in "time of peace;" the last clause being added on account of the wars and public calamities, which frequently hindered the meeting of Councils.

[1 vim pati voluisse videatur]
[2 can. 8.
[3 C. Nicæn. can. 5.

XLV. Death of St. Sixtus. St. Leo Pope.

Julian of Æculanum, the famous Pelagian, eagerly desirous of recovering his see, endeavoured to procure his re-admission to the communion of the Church; he pretended that he was a convert, and set afloat divers artifices to persuade St. Sixtus that he really was so; but the Pope, following the good advice of his Archdeacon, was prudently on his guard against him, which caused great joy to all the Catholics[4]. Pope St. Sixtus died shortly after, on the twenty-eighth of March, A.D. 440[5], having occupied the see nearly eight years[6]. He held his ordinations at Rome in December, and ordained twenty-eight Priests, twelve Deacons, and fifty-two Bishops to different places[7].

[4 Prosp. Chr. [p. 663.]
[5 5 Kal. April. Valentiniano V. et Anatolio Coss.
[6 Supr. c. 15.
[7 Lib. Pontific. [p. 25. ed. Paris., et ap. Corp. Byz. H. t. xix. p. 14.]

He restored the Basilica of St. Mary[8], formerly that of Liberius, and presented to it a silver Altar of three hundred pounds' weight, (by which I understand the holy table,) and gave several other silver vessels to it, amounting to 1,165 pounds' weight, besides a vessel of gold of fifty pounds' weight, and twenty-four copper candelabra[9] weighing fifteen pounds each. He gave in lands and houses a yearly revenue of 729 sols of gold. He gave to the baptistery of St. Mary all the necessary vessels in silver, among others a stag, from which the water issued, weighing thirty pounds. He decorated the confessional of St. Peter with an ornament of silver, weighing four hundred pounds. He adorned the confessional of St. Laurence with pillars of porphyry and silver: he also gave to it an Altar of fifty pounds' weight, a balustrade[1] of three hundred pounds' weight, and above it the apsis, or semi-dome terminating the chancel-roof[2], with a statue of St. Laurence, of two hundred pounds' weight. He built the whole Basilica which is named after this Saint, and presented it with a large number of silver-vessels, and a vessel of gold richly set with pearl and weighing ten pounds. All the silver given by Pope St. Sixtus to these two churches, of which the

[8 S. Maria Maggiore.]
[9 Canthara cerostrota orichalcea]
[1 cancelli]
[2 Fleury; *tour de la voute*]

weight is assigned, amounts to 2,611 Roman pounds[1], or above three thousand marks. A. D. 440. CH. XLV.

[1 About 7785*l.* sterl. v. Supr. c. 15. 2.]

The Emperor Valentinian, at his request, offered a figure wrought in gold, having twelve gates, with the twelve Apostles and our Saviour, the whole adorned with precious stones; it was placed over the confessional of St. Peter. To the Basilica of the Lateran[2] the Emperor gave a silver pediment[3] to supply the place of that which the Barbarians had carried off; this weighed 511[4] pounds. He decorated the confessional of St. Paul with two hundred pounds' weight of very fine gold[5]. Pope St. Sixtus also beautified the baptistery of the Lateran with porphyry columns surmounted by a marble architrave, on which he had some verses engraved, descriptive of the efficacy of Baptism, and asserting the doctrine of original sin in opposition to the Pelagians[6]. He was buried in a crypt in the Via Tiburtina, near the body of St. Laurence.

[2 Constantiniana] [3 Fastigium] [4 In Labbe (t. iii. p. 1257), 1610*lbs.*] [5 *ex argento*, Labbe.]

[6 ap. Baron. ann. 440. [§ 6.]

St. Leo, Archdeacon of the Roman Church[7], was elected his successor. He was absent at the time on a mission into Gaul, where he was employed in mediating between Aëtius and Albinus, generals of the Roman army. A public deputation was sent to him, and during the interval of forty days which elapsed before his arrival the Roman Church continued without a pastor, with extraordinary patience and unanimity[t]. St. Leo was of Tuscan origin, though apparently born at Rome, which he always calls his country. His father's name was Quintianus[8]. It is believed that it was he who was sent into Africa in 418, being at that time an Acolyte[9], to carry a letter to the Bishop Aurelius from St. Sixtus, who was then Priest and afterwards Pope, and to whom he was always very much attached. As Deacon he was of eminent service to Pope St. Cælestine, and it was he who induced Cassian to write against Nestorius.

[7 Supr. c. l. note a.]

[8 Lib. Pontif. [Labbe, p. 1290.]

[9 Supr. 23. 50.

[t] In entering upon the history of St. Leo's Pontificate we may remark, once for all, how singularly his character was adapted to the emergencies of the time in which he lived. That civilization, which, if it has not always preceded, at least always accompanies, Christianity (Grant's Bampt. Lect. Append. 5), seemed giving way under the floods of barbarism which poured in upon it. The empire was nerveless, the Church itself distracted by heresies. Humanly speaking, nothing could have sustained Christianity but what the legislative mind of St. Leo was, in so high a degree, instrumental in effecting,—the organization of the Church as an institution. "If Christianity had been as "in early times an individual belief, "sentiment, or conviction, it would "have sunk under the ruins of the "empire. It was the Christian Church "which saved Christianity." Guizot, Hist. of Civiliz., Lect. 2.

A. D. 440. CH. XLVI. XLVI. John of Antioch dies; and is succeeded by Domnus.

In this year, (440) died John, Bishop of Antioch, having occupied the see eighteen years[1]. He was succeeded by Domnus, his sister's son. Domnus had led a monastic life under the guidance of St. Euthymius, and was ordained Deacon by Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem, in the year 428, at the dedication of the Lavra[2]. When the Council of Ephesus was dismissed, he was afflicted by the intelligence that his uncle sided with Nestorius, and he entreated St. Euthymius to let him go to Antioch with a view to reclaim him[3]. St. Euthymius said to him, "Go not thither, my son; it is not "expedient for thee. The wicked have seduced him for a "short time, but GOD knows his uprightness, and will not "suffer him to be lost. As for thee, my son, if thou wilt "abide in the place to which thou art called, and wilt refuse "admittance to those reasonings which would lead thee to "forsake the desert, thou mayest advance to perfection and "receive the honour which cometh from GOD[4]. If thine ears "are closed to my warning, thou shalt succeed to the see of "thine uncle, but shalt be deprived of it by ungodly men, "who shall first seduce thee from thy better will." So spake St. Euthymius. Domnus heeded him not, but set off to Antioch without his blessing, and there every thing fell out as had been foretold by the Saint.

[1] Chronol. Niceph. [p. 315.]

[2] Supr. 24. 28.

[3] S. Euthym. vita ap. Analecta Gr. p. 31, 32.

[4] p. 41.

[4 προκόψαι ἔχεις καὶ δοξασθῆναι κατὰ Θεὸν.]

In the preceding year, Firmus, the Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, having died, the Cæsareans came to Constantinople, requesting Proclus to appoint them a Bishop[5]. As he was casting in his mind whom he should choose for them, all the Senators came one Saturday[6] to the church to see him. Among them was Thalassius, who had been Præfect of the Prætorium in Illyria; and it was said that he was going to hold the same post in the East. Proclus laid his hand upon him, and declared him Bishop of Cæsarea[u].

[5] Socr. c. ult.

[6 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτων.]

Here Socrates concludes his Ecclesiastical History, which is divided into seven books, comprising, he says, the space of 140 years, from the beginning of Constantine's reign to the seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius the younger, that is, from the year 306 to the year 439, which, however, make

[u] Socrates speaks of it as "a marvellous procedure, such as no previous Bishop had ventured upon." The *marvellous* circumstance was that a high civil officer should be ordained without the Emperor's permission: v. Vales. in l.

but 133[1] years. Sozomen brought his history down as far as the same year, 439[2], having begun with the third Consulate of Crispinus and Constantine the younger, i. e. the year 324; but the latter part of it is lost. Both these historians ought to be received with some caution on matters relating to Novatianism, to which they evince an evident leaning. A. D. 440. CH. XLVII.

[1] or rather 134]

[2] Sozom. Præf.

XLVII. Customs of the Churches.

Another point on which it is well to be forewarned is the account they both give of the different customs of the Churches[3]. They say that the fast of Lent was kept in the six weeks before Easter in Illyria, in Greece, at Alexandria, and throughout Egypt, Libya, and Palestine. At Constantinople, and in all the surrounding provinces as far as Phœnicia, they began Lent seven weeks before Easter[4]. But there were some who fasted only three of these six or seven weeks, and in each week only five days, the three weeks not being successive, but at intervals[5]. Some, as at Rome, fasted three weeks continuously, Saturday and Sunday excepted; though this is probably a mistake of Socrates, since at Rome they fasted the year round on Saturday[x]. The time of this fasting was called by all alike τεσσαρακοστή or Quadragesima[6 y]. Then again, there was a diversity in their modes of fasting; some abstained from all sorts of

[3] Socr. 5. 22. Sozom. 7. 19.

[4] Cf. supr. 20. 6.]

[5] τρεῖς μόνα σπερθημέρους ἐκ διαλημμάτων νηστέυοντες]

[6] whence the French *carême.*]

[x] Supr. xxiii. 32. St. Augustine mentions this as an instance in which "the "raiment of the King's Daughter, the "Church, is variously embroidered:" Ep. 36 (al. 86) t. ii. p. 81. and Ep. 54 (al. 118) p. 124. where he gives the answer of Ambrose, "Here (at Milan) "I do not fast on the Sabbath, at "Rome I do fast on the Sabbath." The practice of the Roman Church is also mentioned in Ep. 82 (al. 19) p. 194. Hieronym. Ep. 52 (al. 28) t. iv. pt. 2. p. 579. Cassian, de Instit. iii. 10, and Leo, Ep. 11 (al. 81) t. i. p. 436. The only exception was in the period between Easter and Pentecost, when no fasts were held (Ambros. ap. Corp. Jur. Can. Dist. 76. c. 8. Cassian, xxi. 11. 19. Leo, Serm. 4. de Jejun. Pent.), until the appointment of the Rogation-days in 468.

The difficulty, however, is that Socrates himself was aware of this, since he expressly says (l. 5. c. 22); "at Rome "they fast every Saturday," which need not mean more than 'every Saturday 'not in Lent.' On the whole it is probable that Socrates was misinformed as to the Lent-fast at Rome. Valesius, who defends him, grounds his main argument on the concluding passage of St. Leo's fourth Lent Sermon; but this clause is absent from five of the best MSS. (Quesnel. t. ii. p. 560). Cassiodore quotes the passage from Socrates without contradiction:—but he only professes to give an interesting selection from different writers without judging of their authority. We should naturally conclude from what Cassian says on this subject, Collat. xxi. 24, 27 (supr. xx. 6), that the custom of the Roman Church was to fast six days in each of six weeks. Bp. Hooper (on Lent, p. 84 and 139, quoted by Bingh. 21. 1. 3) suggests that the statement of Socrates applied to the *Novatians* at Rome.

[y] See Jer. Taylor's Duct. Dub., bk. 3. ch. 4. Rule 13.

A. D. 440. CH. XLVII.

animals, others ate fish, to which a third added fowl[z]; others abstained from fruits and eggs; some ate only dry bread, others would not allow themselves even that; some fasted only until the none, and then used any kind of food indifferently.

The times and forms of holding Ecclesiastical assemblies varied. The Holy Mysteries were every where celebrated on Saturday as well as Sunday[1], except at Rome and Alexandria. In some parts of Egypt they offered the Mysteries on Saturday, but in the evening of the day[2]; thus receiving the Communion after they had eaten, contrary to the universal practice[3]. At Alexandria, they assembled on Wednesdays and Fridays[4], to read and expound the Scriptures and to offer up their prayers, but without celebrating the Mysteries[a]. There they appointed Readers and Chaunters from among the Catechumens, whereas elsewhere none were ordained who were not in the number of the faithful. At Cæsarea in Cappadocia and in the isle of Cyprus, on Saturday and Sunday evenings after lamps were lighted[5], (that is, at the office of vespers,) the Priests and Bishops always expounded the Scriptures[b]. At Alexandria the Priests never preached, but the Bishop only[6],—a custom which had been introduced in the time of Arius,—and the Bishop did not stand up during the reading of the Gospel, as was the custom every where else. There, too, none but

[1 Supr. 20. 45. Bingh. 13. 9. 3.]

[2 Supr. 20. 8.]

[3 Supr. 20. 26; 21. 20.]

[4 τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ Παρασκευῇ.]

[5 μετὰ λυχναψίας]

[6 Cf. supr. 20. 11. f; 26. 11. s.]

z "Alleging," says Socrates, "that "according to the Mosaic account fowls "were formed from water." This looks like a trace of Marcionism: (Marcion is said, 'maris copias sanctiorem cibum 'deputâsse;' Tertull. c. Marc. c. 14.) The fathers have frequent warnings against the formalism which substituted a commutation of flesh for other food in the place of abstinence or, at least, self-mortifying temperance: v. Prosper. de Vit. Contempl. ii. c. 23 (p. 246. ed. 1609.) August. Serm. 210. de diversis (t. v. p. 931).

a In other places it was usual to receive the Eucharist on the Stations. Tertullian remonstrates with some who absented themselves from it on those days from fear of breaking their fast. (De Orat. c. 14.) Epiphanius (Exp. Fidei, ap. p. 312, pt. 2. Thomasii Inst. Theol.) says that the celebration of Synaxes on Sunday, *Wednesday*, and *Friday* (προσαββάτῳ), preceded on the two last days by fasting until three o'clock, was an Apostolic ordinance. St. Basil (Ep. 93. al. 289) mentions it as the custom of his Church to communicate on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The Stations are mentioned as fasts in Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 744. Tertull. de Jejun. c. 13 (stationum *semi*jejunia) Origen. Hom. 10. in Levit. (t. ii. p. 246. Delarue.) Petrus Alex. c. 15 (ap. Routh. Rel. Sacr. iii. 348), and in later writers frequently. See also Fleury, v. 45, and Bingh. xxi. 3.

b The Apostolic Constitutions speak of the Service of Saturday and Sunday as the same (v. 20. viii. 33), and part of it was "the preaching of the Word of Life." (ii. c. 59.) Cæsarea, it will be remembered, was the residence of St. Basil; and we accordingly find that some of his homilies were delivered at Evening Prayer, (in Hexameron, Hom. 2. 7. 9.)

the Archdeacon read the Gospel, while in some other parts the Deacons read it, in many churches the Priests, and, on the great festivals, the Bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-Day. At Rome, neither the Bishop, nor any other person, taught in the churches. This is stated by Sozomen, but it is by no means likely; it is much more credible that Sozomen, who resided at Constantinople, had been misinformed of what was the practice at Rome[1][c]. At Antioch the Altar was turned towards the west, and not towards the east as in other churches[d]. At Rome there were only seven Deacons[2], elsewhere the number was unrestricted. In Scythia, although there were many cities, there was but one Bishop; in other countries they consecrated Bishops even for villages, as in Arabia and Cyprus. In short, there was as infinite a diversity of usages and ceremonies as of places, each Church religiously adhering to its ancient customs[e].

A. D. 440. CH. XLVIII.

[1] Quesn. in S. Leon. diss. 1. an. 440. [t. ii. p. 257.]
[2] Bingh. 2. 20. § 19.]

Genseric, having taken Carthage, partitioned the provinces of Africa in the following way. He reserved Byzacena, Abaritana, Getulia, and part of Numidia to himself, and distributed Zeugitana and the proconsular province among his army[3]. The Emperor Valentinian still defended the other provinces, but they were all frightfully desolated. Genseric ordered his Vandals to strip the Bishops of all they had and expel them from their sees; or if they offered any resistance, to make them slaves for life; and this order was fulfilled to the letter on several Bishops and many laymen of high birth and distinguished rank. Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage, and a great number of the clergy, were

XLVIII. Persecution in Africa.

[3] Victor. Vitens. l. 4.

[c] Valesius again uses Cassiodore to defend Sozomen, but see above, note x. Justin M. in his Apology, (written at Rome,) says it was the custom of the Bishop (ὁ προεστὼς) to preach to the people. (Bingh. xiv. 4. 3.) Tertullian addressing Zephyrinus (A. D. 203—221) says, "Thou preachest as a good "pastor;" and St. Cyprian mentions the public discourses of the Roman Bishops: (Alt, der Christl. Cult. s. 467.) If Sozomen is correct, we may suppose, with Bingham, that a custom had grown up, in the interval, of reading homilies—as those of Ephrem Syrus (Hier. de Script. c. 115), or those in the old Lectionaria and the Roman Breviary—instead of sermons, and that Leo restored "the ancient way of "preaching which was afterwards dis- "continued for five hundred years to- "gether, till Pius V., like another Leo, "revived the practice, as we are told "by Surius (ap. Blondel. Apol. pro "Hieron. p. 58)."

[d] See Const. Apost. ii. 57. Yet in the Church of Paulinus at Tyre the πρόπυλον fronted the East. (Euseb. H. E. x. 4.)

[e] "It hath ever been seen, according "to our Anselm's rule, that the mul- "titude of different ceremonies in all "Churches doth justly commend their "unity of Faith." Bp. Hall; Epist. 2. Decad. V. (vol. vi. p. 242.)

A. D. 440. CH. XLVIII.

thus expelled, being stripped of every thing and placed on board some crazy vessels, in which, however, they succeeded in reaching Naples. Gaudiosus, Bishop of Abitina, who was one of the number, founded a monastery, in which both he and Quodvultdeus died; their reliques are still preserved at Naples, in the same monastery, which is now a convent of nuns. The Church honours St. Quodvultdeus on the twenty-sixth of October, and St. Gaudiosus on the twenty-eighth[1]. They reckon up eleven others, either Bishops or Clerks, of whom the most famous are Priscus and Castrensis, who, after having suffered various tortures in Africa, were put on board an old bark (whether on this occasion or some other is uncertain); they came to land in Campania, where they were placed over different churches. They are commemorated on the first of September[2].

[1] Martyr. R. et ib. Baron.

[2] Mart. R. et ib. Baron. Ruinart. de Persec. pt. ii. c. 9. [p. 529, sqq.]

Genseric having expelled the Bishop of Carthage and his clergy, gave to those of his own persuasion, that is, to the Arians, the church called Restituta[3], where the Bishops always resided, and took away from the Catholics all the churches within the walls, with all their wealth[4]. Outside the walls, too, he seized on any that tempted his fancy, especially the two great and magnificent churches of St. Cyprian, one built on the spot where his blood was spilt, and the other over the place of his interment, which was called Mappalia. He commanded the Catholics to bury their dead in silence, without the usual solemnity of hymns[f], and sent the remaining part of the clergy into exile.

[3] Supr. 20. 24. Baron. ann. 397. § 54.]

[4] Victor. 1. 5.

The Bishops and other persons of distinction, who had remained in the provinces which were distributed among the Vandals, presented themselves before Genseric, as he was walking by the sea-side, near Maxula in the proconsular province, and begged of him, that having lost their churches and wealth, they might at least be permitted, for the comfort and support of GOD'S people, to dwell in the provinces of which the Vandals were already masters. He sent a messenger to say to them, "I am resolved to leave

[f] Ps. cxvi. 7. xxiii. 4. and xxxii. 7. are mentioned by St. Chrysostom as sung at funerals. (Hom. 4. in Hebr. t. iv. p. 454.) The Apostolical Constitutions, after providing that the faithful dead should be carried out to burial with singing of Psalms, quote Ps. cxvi. 7, 15; Prov. x. 7; and Wisd. iii. 1; probably as being parts of the requiem; (lib. vi. c. 30.)

"none of your name or kin[1]; how then dare you make such "a request?" If he had not been restrained by the entreaties of those about him, he would have ordered them instantly to be thrown into the sea. The poor Catholics retired struck to the heart with grief, and having now no churches, they began to celebrate the Holy Mysteries where and how they could. A. D. 440. CH. XLIX.

[1 de nomine et genere vestro]

The Count Sebastian, son-in-law to Count Boniface, and like him ungraciously treated by the Romans, had at last taken refuge in Africa[2]. Genseric felt the need he had of such an adviser, and yet was afraid of him. Desiring, therefore, to put him to death, he thought he might find some pretext in his religion[3], and said to him one day, in the presence of his Bishops and domestics, "Sebastian, I know that "you have sworn faithful attachment to me, and the toils "you undergo prove the sincerity of your oath; but that "our friendship may remain ever inviolate, I wish you to "profess my religion." Sebastian with great presence of mind adopted the following mode of reply. He desired that a loaf of white bread might be brought him, and taking it in his hands he said, "To make this bread worthy of the King's "table, they first separated the bran from the meal; it was "then kneaded, and passed through water and fire; so, in "the Catholic Church, I have been ground and sifted, I have "been moistened by the water of Baptism, and made perfect[4] "by the fire of the HOLY GHOST. Let this bread be broken, "let it be steeped in water, kneaded a second time, and put "again into the oven, and if it is improved by it, I will do "what you desire." The parable was intended to shew the inefficacy of second Baptism. Genseric saw clearly what it meant, and was at a loss for an answer. He therefore sought some other excuse for putting the brave man to death; and in some Martyrologies he is found honoured as a Martyr[5].

[2] Marcell. Chron. an. 435. Prosp. an. 440.

[3] Victor.l.6.

[4 cocti. Cf. August. Serm. ad Infant. t. v. p. 1104. et p. 973.]

[5] Bolland. 27. Mart.

Two letters of St. Leo, which are without date, are supposed to have been written when Africa was thus ravaged[6]; one to the Bishops of Mauritania Cæsariensis, the other to Rusticus of Narbonne. St. Leo having been frequently informed by those who came from Mauritania, that irregular ordinations had taken place there, commissioned the Bishop Potentius, who was going from Rome to that province, to

XLIX. Letters of St. Leo to the Bishops of Mauritania.

[6] Quesn. not. [t. ii. p. 777.]

A. D. 440. CH. XLIX.

inquire into the matter, and gave him a letter to the Bishops of the province, which is lost. Potentius sent the Pope a full account of the state of these Churches, which was such as made it necessary for him to write the letter now extant[1]. In this St. Leo sets out with remarking that the troublous character of the times has given rise to those disorders, of which he proceeds to give the details. Several Bishops had been elected by the manœuvering of cabals, or by means of popular tumult. They had elected bigamists[2], laymen, and converted heretics, though order requires that those who are to be Bishops should first have been tried in the inferior orders, that men may have assurance not of their capacity merely, but of their humility[3]. He decides that the bigamists should be deposed, and excluded not only from the episcopate, but even from the priesthood and diaconate; and in the term bigamists he includes those who had married widows. "How much more," he adds, "ought he to be deposed (for "such we are told there are) who has two wives at the same "time, or who has married again after his wife has left him." As to those who had been ordained being simply laymen, the Pope allows them to continue in their Bishoprics, but would not have this dispensation to be used as a precedent, or to affect the decrees of the holy see, whether enacted by his predecessors or by himself[4]: whence, by the way, it appears that this was not the first decretal of St. Leo,—the rest may have been lost. He allows Donatus of Salicina, who had been converted along with his congregation from the heresy of the Novatians, and Maximus a converted Donatist, to retain their sees, though this last had been ordained whilst a layman; but he allows it only on condition that they each of them send him their confession of faith in writing[5]. As to Aggarus and Tiberianus, who, besides being mere laymen, had been ordained amidst the violence of a riot, he leaves their case to be decided by the local Bishops, at the same time reserving to himself the power of adjudicating upon the report they should send him[6]. There were some nuns who had been violated by the barbarians; St. Leo determines that they are innocent, but yet advises them to look upon it as a call to greater humility, and not to think themselves equal to other virgins[7].

[1] Ep. 1. (al. 87.) [t. i. p. 400.]

[2] as used in canon law =deutero-gamists; *secunda-rum uxo-rum viri*]

[2] c. 4.

[4] c. 5.

[5] c. 6.

[6] c. 7.

[7] c. 8. [cf. August., De Civ. Dei i. 28.]

Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, was the son of a Bishop named Bonosus; his mother, the sister of another Bishop named Arator[1], a very virtuous widow, took great pains with his education; and after he had studied in Gaul, which abounded with excellent schools, she sent him to complete his studies in eloquence at Rome, no expense being spared in the pursuit of this object[2]. On returning home to her, he embraced the monastic life, and about the same time he received instructions respecting his future conduct, in a famous letter from St. Jerome, who refers him to St. Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, for personal instruction[3]. Rusticus, after remaining some time in the monastery, was ordained Priest of the church of Marseilles (which seems to have been his birth-place), and was finally made Bishop of Narbonne, in the year 427[4]. A. D. 440. CH. L. L. Letter to St. Rusticus of Narbonne. [1] Inscript. ap. Quesn. p. 784. [2] Hier. Ep. 95. (al. 4.) p. 771. [3] p. 777. [4] v. not. Qu. p. 785.

When St. Leo was raised to the Pontificate, Rusticus sent his Archdeacon Hermes to consult him on divers points of discipline. In his letter he expressed a great desire to resign his see, in order to live a quiet and retired life. St. Leo dissuades him from such a step[5], and shews him that patience is just as much required to support us against the ordinary temptations of life, as it is in times of persecution for the Faith; that they who have the government of the Church committed to them ought courageously to maintain their post, and to rely not on their own strength but on the assistance of Him who has promised never to forsake them. To the questions which St. Rusticus had proposed St. Leo returns these answers: "The Priest or the Deacon who "falsely assumes the title of Bishop is not to have his claim "allowed, since those can never be accounted Bishops who "have neither been elected by the clergy, demanded[6] by the "people, nor consecrated by the comprovincial Bishops with "the consent of the Metropolitan. The ordinations made by "these pseudo-Bishops are null, unless they have been made "with the consent of those who governed the Churches to "which these Clerks belonged[7]." It is difficult to see the meaning of this limitation, unless we suppose[8] that these false Bishops really possessed the episcopal character, but that they had received it through an unlawful ordination, as in the case of Armentarius of Embrun, who was deposed by [5] Leon. Ep. 2. (al. 92.) [p. 405.] [6] expetiti] [7] Inquis. 1. [8] v. not. Quesn. [p. 787.]

A. D. 440. the Council of Riès[1]. "If a Priest or Deacon desires to be
CH. L. "enjoined penance, he must perform it in private, as it is
[1] Supr. c. 44. "contrary to the usage of the Church to impose on them
[2] Inquis. 2. "public penance[2]."

"The law of continence is as obligatory on the ministers
[[3] Supr. 19. 22. b.] "of the Altar, as on Priests and Bishops[3]. While laymen or
"readers, they might lawfully have married and had children,
"and therefore, on being preferred to a higher degree, they
"are not to leave their wives, but to live with them as if they
[4] Inquis. 3. "had none[4]." Among the ministers of the Altar on whom
continence was obligatory, St. Leo includes even the Sub-
deacons, as appears from his letter to Anastasius of Thessa-
[5] Epist. 12. (al. 84.) c. 4. lonica[5]. "A distinction is to be made between a concubine
"and a lawful wife; so that he who leaves his concubine to
"marry, does well; and she who marries him who had a
"concubine, does not ill, because he was not a married
[6] Inquis. 4, 5, 6. "man[6]." St. Leo speaks here only of those concubines who
were slaves, and not of those who were in fact lawful wives,
[7] Supr. 20. 48. Conc. Tolet. I. c. 17. though the law did not assign them the title[7].

"They who receive penance when sick, and on being re-
"stored to health fail to go through with it, are not in
"consequence to be given up; we ought to reiterate our
"admonitions, and not to despair of the salvation of any
[8] Inquis. 7. [Nemo desperandus, dum in hoc corpore constitutus est.] "one, so long as he remains in life[8]. The same patient
"forbearance is to be shewn toward those who, in the ex-
"tremity of pain, desire to be admitted to penance, but when
"the Priest is come refuse to accept it, if their pain some-
"what assuages; if after this they again desire penance, we
[9] Inquis. 9. "are not to refuse it[9]. They who receive penance in their
"last moments, and die before they have received the Com-
"munion," that is, before they have been reconciled, "ought
[1] Inquis. 8. [quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus.] "to be left to the judgment of GOD, who might have deferred
"their death. But we do not pray for them, since they died
"out of the communion of the Church[1]." In other Churches
they prayed for them notwithstanding[2]. "Penitents ought
"to abstain even from many lawful things[3]. They ought, if
"possible, not to go to law, but if they do, they should have
[2] not. Quesn. [p. 794.] "recourse to the ecclesiastical rather than to the secular
[[3] Cf. supr. 18. 34.] "judge[4]. They ought rather to suffer loss than to engage
"in traffic, which is at all times dangerous[5]; they are not
[4] Inq. 10.
[5] Inq. 11.

" permitted to resume a military life[1], nor to marry, unless A. D. 441.
" the penitent be young, and in danger of lapsing into in- CH. L.
" continence, and then it is granted him only as an in-
" dulgence[2]."

[1] Inq. 12. [sæcularis militiæ]

[2] Inq. 13. [non regulam constituimus sed quid sit tolerabilius æstimamus.

" The monk who marries or serves in the army after he
" has taken the vow, ought to be enjoined public penance[3].
" Young women who marry after they have taken upon
" them the habit of virgins are not exempt from guilt,
" although they may not have been consecrated[4]." There were two kinds of virgins[5], those who were only bound by a vow, (which was either solemn, on entering a monastery, or simple, on assuming the habit and remaining with their relations,) and those who had received consecration, which was not allowed them until they were forty years old (according to a regulation made by St. Leo himself), and then only at the hands of the Bishop on some solemn festival.

[3] Inq. 14.

[4] Inq. 15. [cf. supr. 19. 22. g.]

[5] v. Quesn. *u. s.*

" Children that have been abandoned by parents who were
" Christians, in such sort that no proof of their Baptism can
" be found, ought to be baptized, without fear of repeating
" the Sacrament[6]. They who have been taken captive in war
" so young that, although they remember that their parents
" carried them to church, they cannot tell whether they were
" baptized or not, are to be asked whether they received
" what was given to their parents," that is, the Eucharist[g];

[6] Inq. 16.

[g] Supr. c. 30. and xxiii. 28. In the Constit. Apost. viii. 13 (p. 354. Coteler.) it is ordered that children (τὰ παιδία) should receive the Communion next to the virgins and widows. St. Augustine considered the practice to be of Apostolic origin, (v. infr.) Dionysius (Pseudo-Areop., Hier. c. ult.) speaks of giving the sacred symbols (συμβόλων) to a child too young to speak, (v. Zorn. Hist. Euch. Inf. p. 76.) St. Cyprian (de Lapsis, p. 125. ed. Oxon.) brings in some infants as complaining of their parents: "*we* did not leave the bread " and the cup (cibo et poculo) of the " LORD, and hasten to idol pollutions; " it was by others' perfidy that we " perished." From another passage in this treatise (p. 132) Bossuet infers that they received it only in one kind, because the wine only is *mentioned* (Traité de la Comm., pt. ii. § 9), but the other passage seems express. Dufresne (s. v. Eucharistia) refers to various places in St. Augustine as proving that infants received in both kinds; see especially, Ep. 217 (al. 107), "Infants " will be judged according to what they " have done in the body, when they " either believed or not, were baptized " or not, ate the flesh of CHRIST or " not, and drank His blood or not." This is repeated by Anselm (of Canterbury) in Comment. ad 2 Cor. v. p. 195. Cf. the author of the Hypognostika, in St. Augustine's Works (t. x. p. 39. App.), and see Gennad. (cent. 5) de Eccl. Dogm. c. 52. J. Moschus (cent. 7), in Prat. spir. c. 29. Conc. Tolet. XI. (Ann. 675.) Charlemagne, de Imag. c. 27. Jesse of Amiens (ap. Galland. t. xiii. p. 401). Baluz (in Regino, l. 1. c. 69) quotes an old MS. Pontifical saying, " Let the infant be forthwith " confirmed and communicated by the " Bishop, who shall say, 'The body and " 'blood of Christ.'" (Bingh. 15. 4. 7.) Infant Communion continued in

A. D. 441. CH. L. [1] Inq. 17.

"but if they cannot remember that they did, there ought "to be no scruple felt at baptizing them[1]." Some people had come from Africa and Mauritania into Gaul, who could very well remember that they had been baptized, but could not tell into what sect. St. Leo decides that "they are "not to be baptized, since they have received the form of "Baptism, whatever the mode may have been[2 h]; they are "to be united to the Catholic Church only by the laying on "of hands and invocation of the HOLY GHOST[3]," that is, by Confirmation. Others had been baptized in infancy, but

[2 quoniam, quolibet modo, formam baptismatis acceperunt.] [3] Inq. 18.

France until the twelfth century. (Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 19. § 2.) It was forbidden by Conc. Burdegal. c. 5 (ann. 1255), and Conc. Bajocense, c. 16 (ann. 1300.)

St. Augustine applied John vi. 53 to the case of children; contr. 2. Ep. Pelag. i. c. 22. Serm. 8. de verb. Apost. In Ep. 186 (al. 106), he says, "No Catholic "Christian can deny or doubt that chil- "dren who have not received the grace "of regeneration of CHRIST, being with- "out the meat of His flesh and the drink "of His blood, have not life in them." In the De Peccat. Mer., i. c. 24, refuting the Pelagians, he draws an argument from "the ancient and, he thinks, Apo- "stolic tradition, that without Baptism "and the LORD'S Supper no one can "arrive at eternal life." Similarly Mercat. c. Julian. (pt. i. p. 53), Euseb. (pseudo-Emissen.), Hom. 5. de Pasch., Innocent., Ep. ad Milev. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 1288, D. Cf. Wall on Inf. Bapt. pt. ii. ch. 9 § 15). Gelas. Ep. per Picen. (t. iv. p. 1177, 8.) The same application occurs down to a late period, as in Riculf. (in Capitul. c. 8. Zorn. Hist. Euch. Inf. i. § 3.) and in Anselm. (*u. s.*) The Council of Trent decided (Sess. 21. c. 4) that the Fathers who practised Infant Communion did not believe it necessary to salvation. P. Sarpi (Hist. C. Trid. l. vi. p. 438) says that many wondered the Council should have gone out of its way to determine this question, when there were nine passages in St. Augustine which asserted the Eucharist to be necessary to infants. Bellarm., De Sacr. Euch. i. c. 7 (t. iii. Controv. p. 102), and Bossuet (Tr. de la Comm. pt. 1. § 3) deny that Augustine intended this; since he was speaking (Bona, *u. s.* ii. c. 19. p. 500) "not of "Sacramental Communion but of that "incorporation with CHRIST, which is its "effect and which is communicated in "Baptism apart from the actual recep- "tion of the Eucharist." Noris (Vind. Aug. p. 113), to the same effect, quotes Aug. tract. 26 and 27. in Joh., and De Pecc. Mer. iii. 4. But the most important passage is in Fulgentius (Ep. 12. § 26), who affirms his master's opinion to have been that "children are made "partakers of CHRIST'S body and blood, "when they are made His members in "Baptism." This passage was commonly attributed to St. Augustine himself: see Gieseler, vol. ii. § 77. note 6.

The Western Church has with one consent relinquished this usage, but it is still found in the Greek, Russo-Greek, Armenian, Jacobite, and Abyssinian Churches. (The authorities are given in Zorn. xix. § 3, and Suicer, s. v. σύναξις, V. 1. b.) Smith (De Gr. Hod. Statu) says that the Greeks ground the custom on John vi. 53, and, if any one argues with them about it, appeal to the first ages of the Church, in which they say that this dogma was almost universally deemed an article of Faith. See also his De Inf. Comm. prefixed to his Miscellanea. Bp. Bedell advocated the restoration of the practice (Bingh. 15. 4. 7), and in 1728 an Essay was published by J. Pierce (a Presbyterian) "in favour of the ancient practice of "giving the Eucharist to children."

h "To make complete the outward "substance of a Sacrament there is "required an outward *form*, which "form Sacramental elements receive "from Sacramental words." Hooker, bk. v. c. 58. § 3. Hence heresy in the minister would not destroy the efficacy of Baptism, unless it were such as implied unsoundness in the highest articles of the Christian faith; for this, by changing the form would mutilate the substance of Baptism, c. 62. § 6; and again, c. 66. § 6.

having been made captives by the pagans, had lived like them; and had come, while they were yet young, into the Roman dominions[1]. St. Rusticus asked what was to be done if they desired to receive the Communion. "If they have "only eaten of meats offered to idols[2]," says St. Leo, "they "may be purified by fasting and the laying on of hands; "but if they have adored idols, or been polluted by homicide "or fornication, they ought to be enjoined public penance." We here see a laying on of hands different from that of confirmation and public penance. These last articles lead us to place the date of this decretal at the time of the Vandal invasion.

A. D. 441. CH. LI.

[1] ad *Romaniam*]

[2] Inq. 19. [escis immolativis]

About the same time, the Bishops of Gaul held a Council in the church of Justinian, in the territory of Orange, on the sixth of the ides of November, in the Consulate of Cyrus, or November the eighth, A.D. 441[3]. St. Hilary of Arles presided; and there appear the subscriptions of sixteen other Bishops, of whom the most noted are Constantine of Gap, Auspicius of Vaison, Maximus of Riès, and St. Eucherius of Lyons, who declares that he will wait for the consent of his comprovincials. St. Eucherius had been a monk in the isle of Lerins, and was the friend of St. Honoratus and of Cassian, who addressed one of his Collations to them[4]. He had been married, and his two sons Veranus and Salonius were both Bishops[5]. He wrote several pious works[6], some of which are still extant. In this Council of Orange thirty disciplinary canons were past. The first decrees that "heretics, who "being in danger of death desire to become converts, may, "in the absence of the Bishop, receive from the Priest the "unction of chrism and the benediction," which some understand of Confirmation[7]. The second, and most remarkable, canon is couched in these terms: "None of the ministers "who have received the office of baptizing ought to go any "where without the chrism, since it has been resolved "amongst us, that the chrism should be used once for all in "Baptism[8]. If any one, from the urgency of circumstances, "did not receive the chrism at Baptism, the Bishop shall "be informed of it at Confirmation. For there is but one "benediction only of the chrism; not that the iteration "of the unction is prejudicial[9], but to the end that it may

LI. First Council of Orange.

[3] Conc. t. iii. p. 1446.

[4] Præf. Coll. xi.

[5] Genn. de Illustr. c. 64.

[6] Marcell. Chr. ann. 456.

[7] Sirmond. not. posth.

[8] semel in baptismate chrismari]

[9] non ut præjudicans quicquam]

A. D. 441. CH. LI.

"not be thought necessary," or as other copies have it, "to "the end that it may be thought necessary," omitting the negative. It is hard to say what is the sense of these words, and still more difficult to believe that Confirmation was sometimes given without the unction, as the canon seems to say when the negative is inserted. This cannot be proved from any other authority; the practice of the whole Church is against it, and the common doctrine of theologians is, that the unction is essential to Confirmation[i].

The Council of Orange says further; "The Gospel shall
[1] c. 18. "for the future be read to the catechumens[1]; they ought
[2] c. 19. "never to be admitted into the baptistery[2]; they are to be "separated as much as possible from the benediction of the "faithful, even in the family prayers, and they ought to present
[3] c. 20. "themselves for a separate benediction[3]. The catechumens "who are possessed, or the energumens[j], ought to be bap- "tized in case of necessity, or when it shall be judged con-
[4] c. 15. "venient[4]. Those energumens, who are baptized, and who "do what lies in their power to be dispossessed, ought to "receive the Communion, that they may be strengthened or
[5] c. 14. "even delivered by the efficacy of the Sacrament[5]. They "who have once been publicly agitated by the demon ought "not to be admitted to holy orders; or if they have been
[6] c. 16. "admitted they shall in no case officiate[6]. We should give
['amentibus] "to idiots[7] every thing which piety requires of us[8]. He who
[8] c. 13. "loses his speech suddenly may receive Baptism or Penance "if he indicates by signs that he wishes it, or if others testify
[9] c. 12. "that he did wish it[9]. They who die during their course of "penance, ought to receive the Communion without the "imposition of hands appointed for absolution; and this is

[i] This has reference to a later notion, —that Confirmation is a distinct sacrament, rather than the *complement* of Baptism, which was the ancient view of it. (Hooker, V. 66. § 6. Bingham, 12. 1. 4. Dr. Pusey on Baptism, p. 153. 3rd. ed.) On the chrism of Baptism, see Dr. Pusey, pp. 139—148. Respecting Confirmation as practised by the English Church, Bp. Hall's Χειροθεσία, (vol. x. p. 441. ed. Oxf.)

[j] This word is applied, *first*, to those in whom demoniac agency manifests itself visibly in the body; and *secondly*, to those who are subject to such influence spiritually. It is probably in the latter sense that they are so frequently joined with Penitents, e. g. in the Church prayers, v. Chrysost. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. Dionysius (Pseudo-Areop.) included under it all who were led by the carnal affections (οἷον τοὺς πόρνους, τοὺς φιλοθεάμονας, κ. τ. λ., Maximus, ap. Suicer. t. ii. p. 1116). Cf. Eph. ii. 2. "The spirit that now "worketh (ἐνεργοῦντος) in the children "of disobedience."

"sufficient for the consolation of the dying man, according "to the decrees of the Fathers, who called this Communion "*Viaticum*[k]. If they survive, they shall remain in the rank "of penitents, to receive, after they have accomplished their "penance, the imposition of hands and the legitimate Com-"munion[1]." This canon must be explained by the thirteenth of the Council of Nicæa[2], which allows persons at the point of death to receive even the Communion of the Eucharist, on condition that they finish their penance if they recover their health[1]. "Clerks ought not to be refused penance if they re-"quest it[3];" this may be understood of secret penance, as in the letter of St. Leo to Rusticus[4].

[1] c. 3.

[2] Fleury, 11. 21. v. Sirm. not.

[3] c. 4.

[4] Supr. c. 50.

"A Bishop who communicates with one who has been ex-"communicated by another Bishop is culpable, and the "justice of the excommunication shall be inquired into at "the Council next ensuing[5]. If a Bishop wishes to build "a church in the diocese of another he must obtain his "permission, leave the consecration of it to him, let him "ordain the clergy he wishes to have there, and commit the "entire government of this new church entirely to him. If "a secular, having built a church, procures it to be dedicated "by a stranger Bishop, this Bishop and all others who shall "have assisted at the dedication, shall be excluded from the "congregation[6]." We evidently see here the rudiments of the right of patronage[7], since the Bishop who founded the church was allowed to present to the Diocesan such Clerks as he desired for his church. "If a Bishop from ill health "loses the use of his speech, he shall send for a Bishop to "perform the episcopal functions, and shall not suffer his "Priests to exercise them[8]."

[5] c. 11.

[6] c. 10.

[7] Bingh. 4. 3. 19.]

[8] c. 30.

"If a Bishop desires to ordain a Clerk who resides else-

[k] Supr. xix. 18. x. "The holy sister "of St. Basil, and Melania, whom St. "Jerome magnifies for their sanctity, "beseech God, with great fervency, "that those envious spirits may not "hinder them in their last passage; "and devout Bernard, when he drew "near his end, sues to his friend for "his earnest prayers, that the heel of "his life might be kept safe from the "serpent, so as he might not find where "to fix his sting. Hence it is that, in "former times, good souls have been "so provident to hearten themselves "against the faint pulse of their death-"beds with that *viaticum sacrum*, the "strongest spiritual cordial of the bles-"sed Eucharist." Bp. Hall, Works, vol. viii. p. 411.

[1] Cf. Vales. in Euseb., H. E. vi. 44, and the Comments of Zonaras and Balsamon, ap. Suicer. s. v. ἐφόδιον, ii. 3. b.

A. D. 441. CH. LI. "where, he should first make it imperative on such person "to reside with him; but he ought to consult the Bishop "with whom the candidate lived previously, since he perhaps [1] c. 8. "had his reasons for not ordaining him[1]. No Deaconesses [2] c. 26. "shall be ordained[2 m]. If two Bishops forcibly ordain a third, "this last shall have the church of one of the two, and a "new Bishop shall be ordained in the place of the other; if "he received the ordination voluntarily, they shall all three [3] c. 21. "be condemned[3]. In future, no married Deacon shall be "ordained unless he promises to observe continence, on pain [4] c. 22, 23. "of being deposed[4]; if he has been already ordained, then "(as was provided by the Council of Turin) he shall not be [5] c. 24. Conc. Taur. c. 8. [Labbe, t. ii. p. 1157.] "promoted to any higher order[5]. Persons who have been "twice married may be Subdeacons, or admitted to any "of the inferior orders[6]. Widows shall profess before the [6] c. 25. "Bishop in the secret hall[7 n], and shall receive from him the [7] c. 27. [in secretario. Fl. *la salle secrète*] "habit. Penance shall be inflicted on persons of either sex [8] c. 28. "who are untrue to their vow of continence[8]. Those who "take refuge in the church are not to be delivered up; [9] c. 5. "the reverence due to the place should protect them[9]. If [1 mancipia] c. 6. "any one shall seize on the vassals[1] of the Church, in lieu of "his own who may have taken refuge there, he shall be very "severely condemned by all the Churches. Ecclesiastical "censure shall also be inflicted on any who shall attempt to "reduce those to servitude, who have been emancipated in [2 in Ecclesia manumissos] c. 7. "the Church[2] or recommended to the care of the Church by "will." At the end of these canons it is ordained, that no Council shall separate without fixing the time when the next

[m] This canon as well as those of Epaone, A. D. 517 (infr. xxxi. 30), and Orleans, A.D. 533 (infr. xxxii. 41), are to be understood as forbidding the *ordination* of Deaconesses, not as abolishing the office, (Ziegler, de Diaconis et Diaconissis; xix. § 36). They existed in the Church from the earliest times (see Rom. xvi. 1. Plin. Ep. X. 97. ad Traj.), and long survived in the East; see Conc. Chalc. can. 15 (t. iv. p. 783), and Conc. Trull. can. 14. 48 (t. vi. p. 1150, 1165), down to the twelfth century, Balsamon, ap. Jus Græco-Rom. p. 381. Their duties are mentioned above, xxi. 41. f, and Ziegl. u. s. § 7—16. The cause of the order's falling into desuetude is perhaps to be traced to the more general prevalence of Infant Baptism, when one of their principal duties (Const. Ap. iii. 15) ceased.

[n] This hardly gives a true idea of the Secretarium, which was a hall, in or near the Church, in which the Bishop assembled in Council with his clergy; and hence Synods came frequently to be held there, e. g. that of Carthage, ann. 525 (t. iv. p. 1629). It also contained a vestry and sacristy (Paulin. Ep. 32 (olim 12) ad Sever. p. 205), and sometimes rooms for the clergy: v. Dufresne, *s. v.*

shall meet[1]. The Council for the following year, (442,) is appointed to meet at Lucianum, in the diocese of Orange. A. D. 442. CH. LII.

[1] c. 29.

LII. Council of Vaison.

We have the Acts of a Council[2] held in that year, on the thirteenth of November[3], at Vaison under the Bishop Auspicius. They passed nine or ten canons to the effect that "the "Bishops of Gaul on passing from one province to another "shall not require any testimonial, provided they are not "excommunicated, for the places are so near that they may "be easily known[4]," that is to say, the formal letters were only intended for strangers[5]. "The Priests shall receive the "holy chrism from their own Bishops annually, about the "time of Easter. They shall fetch it in person, or send at "the least a Subdeacon for it[6]. Those shall be prayed for, "who die suddenly while engaged in a course of penance, "which they have been faithfully performing[7]. Those who "keep back the offerings of the deceased, or defer giving "them to the Church, shall be excommunicated as sacri-"legious and murderers of the poor[8]. Not only are those to "be avoided who have been expressly excommunicated by "the Bishop, but those, too, with whom he shews, though "not perhaps by words, that he is dissatisfied[9]. Bishops are "not lightly to accuse or excommunicate. If the fault be "small, they ought to yield readily to the intercession of "others; if it be of a more serious nature, they ought "themselves to bring a formal accusation[1]. If any one has "committed a crime known to the Bishop only, he may "require of such offender not to appear before him in the "public congregation; but so long as he is unable to sub-"stantiate the charge, he shall suffer him to remain in com-"munion with all the others[2]."

[2] Conc. t. iii. p. 1456.

[3] Id. Novemb. cons. Dioscoro.

[4] can. 1.

[5] v. Sirm. [p. 1499.]

[6] c. 3.

[7] can. 2.

[8] c. 4.

[9] c. 6.

[1] c. 7.

[2] c. 8. Conc. Carth. VII. c. 5. [Labbe, t. ii. p. 1604.]

To suppress the wicked practice which prevailed among the pagans of exposing their children, Constantine had enacted (in 331)[3], that they should belong to those who brought them up and educated them, and might be treated either as children or as slaves at the option of such persons, and that the fathers or masters should have no right to claim them back. To this Honorius added (in 412)[4], that the person who should take up a child so exposed, should, for his better security, get a certificate from witnesses, which should be signed by the Bishop. In spite of all this, to take up exposed children was to subject

Cod. can. 132.

[3] Cod. Th. lib. 5. tit. 7. l. 1.

[4] Ibid. l. 2.

A. D. 443. CH. LIII.

oneself to constant annoyance, so that few would venture to undertake the charge. This was the reason why the Council of Vaison decreed that these laws should be observed, adding that "on Sundays the Deacon shall give notice at the altar "that an exposed child has been taken up, that so, if any one "pretends to recognise it, he may claim it within ten days[1]; "otherwise he who shall afterwards claim such child shall be "subjected to ecclesiastical censure as a homicide[2]."

[1] c. 9.

[2] c. 10.

LIII. Letter from St. Leo.

Soon after the taking of Carthage, namely, in A.D. 440[3], Genseric crossed over into Sicily, and having plundered it laid siege to Palermo, which held out a long time. Maximin, the head of the Arians in Sicily, had been condemned by the Catholic Bishops; he now urged Genseric to persecute them unless they would consent to embrace his heresy, and many of them suffered martyrdom in consequence. While Sicily was labouring under this calamity, St. Leo sent relief to Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, by Silanus, Deacon of the church of Palermo, together with consolatory letters, and at the same time consulted him about the day on which Easter would fall in the following year (444); he had previously consulted St. Cyril of Alexandria. Paschasinus replied to the Pope, that after having thoroughly examined the question and made an exact computation, he had found, as Cyril had done, that Easter-Day would fall next year on Sunday the ninth of the calends of May, that is, the twenty-third of April, and he then assigns his reasons[4]. St. Paschasinus also mentions in this letter the miracle of the baptistery in Sicily, which happened in 417, under the Pontificate of Zosimus[5].

[3] Valentiniano V. et Anatolio Coss. Idat. Chr. an. 16. Valentin. Prosper ann. 440. Cassiod. an. eod.

[4] Ap. Leon. ed. Ques. t. i. p. 412.

[5] Supr. 23. 35.

In the same year, 443, St. Leo wrote a decretal to the Bishops of Campania, Picenum, Tuscany, and all the suburbicary provinces[6o]. Picenum included what is now a great part of the marches of Ancona. Three Bishops, Innocentius, Legitimus, and Segetius, were ordered to carry this decretal

[6] Ep. 3. (al. 1.)

[o] Rufinus (Hist. i. c. 6, referred to by Fleury, xi. 20) gives the Canon of Nicæa thus: "That the old custom be "preserved at Alexandria and at Rome, "the Bishop of the former place taking "charge of Egypt as the Bishop of the "latter does of the *suburbicary pro-* "*vinces.*" Some understand this to comprise the whole Western Church; Gothofred (Conject. de Suburb. Region.), and Salmasius (de Primat.), take it of the four provinces subject to the præfectus Urbi. Sirmond (Censura Conject. de Suburb.) explains it, with great probability, of the districts subject to the Vicarius Urbis, or the civil diocese of Rome: (supr. xxiii. 45. z.) See Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. not. 3.

(which seems to have been the result of a Council) into the provinces. It censures divers abuses;—slaves and people who were engaged in such a course of life as was incompatible with the service of the Church, had been raised to the highest order of priesthood, and that, frequently, against the will of their masters; bigamists had been ordained; some clergymen lent out money on usury, either in their own or in a borrowed name, although even laymen were forbidden to practise usury. The Pope orders all these abuses to be corrected, declaring all Bishops, who should contravene his decree, to be suspended and deprived of his communion; and he admonishes them to observe the decrees of St. Innocent and the rest of his predecessors. It is dated on the sixth of the ides of October in the Consulate of Maximus and Paternus, which answers to the tenth of October, 443.

A. D. 443. CH. LIV.

LIV. Manichees discovered at Rome.

Among the fugitive bands driven by the desolation of Africa and their dread of the Vandals to cross over into Italy, was a large body of Manichees who took refuge in Rome, where for some time they lay concealed[1]. But St. Leo discovered them, and warned his people against them in several of his sermons, advising them, wherever any were found, to give information of them to their Priests[2], that is, to those who served the churches in the several parts of the town. There were two marks, he said, by which they might be distinguished[3]; they fasted in honour of the sun and in contempt of the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST on Sundays, and in honour of the moon on Mondays[p]; and they took only the body of our LORD and not the blood when they received the Communion

[1] Prosper. ann. 443.

[2] Serm. 4. de Coll. c. 3. [t. 1. p. 117.]

[3] Serm. 4. in Quadr. c. 5. [p. 216.]

[p] The grounds of the honour thus paid to the sun and moon are to be sought in the Magian scheme of religion, of which Manicheism was a branch (Pococke, Spec. Hist. Ar. p. 149. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. c. 21. p. 281), a corrupt branch, containing less of primitive truth than Magism itself. The Manichees, then, held the common doctrine of Sabeism, that the heavenly bodies were the seats of high intelligences, intermediate between GOD and men. (Pococke, p. 140.) The sun, in particular, they believed to be an emission of the inaccessible glory (Aug. c. Faust. xxi. 4 (t. viii. p. 353) contr. Secund. Man. c. 16. p. 537), and made it the throne of the WORD of GOD, as the Persians made it of Mithra (explained by Plutarch as *Mediator*; Beaus., H. du Manich. t. i. p. 563). Elsewhere they assert that the sun was formed of good fire and the moon of good water (Aug., de Hær. c. 46. t. viii. p. 14), that the virtue of CHRIST resided in the sun, His wisdom in the moon (Faustus ap. August., xx. c. 2): and that good souls returning to heaven arrived first at the moon where they were partially purified by wisdom, and then at the sun where they were perfectly cleansed by virtue. (Cf. Tollius, Itinerar. Ital. p. 138.) In preparation for this they thought it necessary to purify themselves from *matter* by fasting on those days.

A. D. 443. CH. LIV. of the faithful; this last they did from an abhorrence of wine[q]. He also censures a superstition that seems to have sprung from them, which was this; many of the faithful, as they entered the Basilica of St. Peter, were in the habit of turning round on the top of the steps, and saluting the rising sun[r].

[1] Serm. 7. Nativ. c. 4. [p. 167.]

St. Leo's diligence soon produced its effects: a large number of Manichees were discovered, some of them made a public abjuration of their errors in the church, signing the same in writing, and were admitted to penance[2]. Others who continued obstinate were condemned by the secular magistrates to perpetual banishment, in accordance with the provisions of the Imperial laws[3]. That their errors and infamous deeds might be still more plainly exhibited, St. Leo instituted a judicial examination of them[4]. He assembled several Bishops and Priests, with a large number of citizens, some persons of distinction, and a part of the senate. Before this assembly he brought their *electi* and *electæ*, who were compelled to reveal many things relative to their doctrines and the ceremonies used at their festivals;

[2] Ep. 8. (al. 2.) [p. 425.]

[3] p. 426.]

[4] Serm. 5. de Jej. dec. c. 4. [p. 131.] Ep. 15. ad Turib. c. 16. [p. 457.]

[q] Resembling the Hydroparastatæ (supr. xviii. 9). This may be another trace of Magism: for Mithra had his "oblation of bread:" (Tertull. de Præsc. Hær. c. 40). Epiphanius says that the Ebionites communicated in unleavened bread, and water. (Hær. 30. 16.) This superstition is complained of by Gelasius († 496) in terms much the same as those used by St. Leo; v. Gratian. de Consecr. Dist. ii. c. 12, where he calls the division of the Sacrament "a "great sacrilege:" (divisio unius ejusdemque Mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire). Communion in both kinds was universal in the early Church, see Justin M. (Apol. ii. p. 76. ed. Sylb.), Theodoret (qu. 52. in 1 Reg. t. i. p. 253), and especially St. Chrysostom (Hom. 18. in 2 Cor.), and so it continued for full a thousand years. It had begun to give way in the time of S. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Th. pt. 3. qu. 80. art. 12), and half-communion was finally adopted in the Western Church at the Council of Constance (A. D. 1414). On its gradual introduction into Great Britain see Collier, vol. ii. p. 482. 579. 599. (ed. 1840.)

[r] "Partly," says Leo, "from ignorance, partly from the spirit of paganism." They misinterpreted the old custom of praying with the face towards the East (Tertull. Apol. c. 16, adv. Valent. c. 2; Justin M., sive Auctor Resp. ad orthod. qu. 118; Origen, Hom. v. in Num.; Athanas. quæst. ad Antioch. 16; Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 729. Voss. de Idolol. l. ii. c. 3, p. 320). St. Leo treats their obeisance as idolatrous, quoting Job. xxxi. 26—28. "The sanctuary in "which revelations were vouchsafed, "stood at the west end of the temple "(at Jerusalem), in opposition to the "heathen custom, Ezek. viii. 16 ('at "'the door of the temple of the LORD "'. . . . were . . . men, with their "'backs towards the temple of the "'LORD and their faces towards the "'east, and they worshipped towards "'the east:') and Cullen's Mexico, l. "260." p. 263, 'Notes on the Gospels,' Pickering, 1838. See also Hyde, *u. s.* p. 5. 11. on the Guebres, and p. 518 on the Yezidees. The Mohammedans and Armenian Christians of Persia still make this homage to the rising sun, though the forefathers of the latter preferred death to a sinful compliance on this point, Sozom. ii. 8—14; where 16,000 are said to have suffered martyrdom.

the infamous character of their mysteries was proved so clearly that the doubts of the incredulous and the suspicions of the calumnious were at once silenced. All the persons who had been parties to the abominable deed were present. A girl of ten years of age, two women who had brought her up and prepared her for the crime, a young man who had corrupted her, and the Manichean Bishop who had presided at the ceremony. Their confessions all tallied with each other, and were so revolting that the persons present could scarcely prevail on themselves to hear the details. An authentic account of them was drawn up. A. D. 444. CH. LIV.

St. Leo, immediately afterwards, gave his people a history of this proceeding in a sermon preached on the fast of the tenth month[1], that is, in the Ember-week of December, 443. He exhorts the women especially to flee from these heretics, and not even speak to them, lest they should fall beneath a sudden attack of curiosity and listen to their fables. He advises all persons to inform against them, and to point out where they lodge, where they teach, and whose houses they frequent, that further discoveries might be made of them. He spoke again on the same subject[2] on the day of the Epiphany, or January the sixth, A.D. 444, warning the people not to be imposed on by their outward appearance, their superstitious abstinence[3], the poorness of their dress, and their pale complexions[a]. The confessions of those who were apprehended at Rome stated who were their Doctors, their Priests, and their Bishops, and in what provinces and what cities they resided[4].

[1] dicto Serm.

[2] Serm. 4. Epiph. c. 5.

[3] discretionibus ciborum]

[4] Prosper, l. c.

Many escaped from Rome, and those, too, chiefly the most guilty. This obliged the Pope to write to all the Bishops of Italy[5], lest they should unwittingly receive some of them, and their churches be corrupted by the contagion. He informed them of what had passed at Rome, sent them copies of the evidence educed at the trial, and exhorted them to make careful inquiries and maintain a steady guard against such

[5] Ep. 8.

[a] The object of their poverty and abstinence was merely to avoid implicating themselves in matter, and had nothing moral or religious in it. "They were a monument of asceti-"cism without its privileges; in the "flesh and with arms of the flesh "warring against the flesh, witnesses "at once against the luxury and world-"liness of the world and against them-"selves." 'Libr. of the Fathers,' vol. i. p. 329.

A. D. 444. CH. LV, LVI. dangerous enemies. It is a circular letter, and bears date the thirtieth of January, A.D. 444[1]. Many of the Eastern Bishops emulated the vigilance of St. Leo on this point.

[1] 3Kal. Febr. Theodosio XVIII. et Albino Coss.

LV. Pelagians sought out.

He also prosecuted the Pelagians about the same time, especially Julian of Æculanum, who was then at their head[2]; for although several had abjured their heresy, they were again beginning to propagate it. Septimius, Bishop of Altinum in Venetia, wrote about it to St. Leo[3], informing him that in that province Priests, Deacons, and other Clerks of divers orders, who had been involved in the heresy of Pelagius, had been received into Catholic communion without any condemnation of their errors being exacted from them; and that they were even allowed to itinerate from place to place, exercising their functions in contempt of the canons, which enjoined all Clerks to continue in the churches to which they were ordained. On receiving this information, St. Leo wrote to the Bishop of Aquileia, who was Metropolitan of the province[4], ordering him to convene his Council, and there oblige all the clergy who were suspected of Pelagianism to condemn that heresy publicly and in writing, and to approve all the decrees of the Councils, as confirmed by the holy see, in such clear and express terms that no pretext might be left for evading them. He at the same time recommends that the canons which ordain the continuance of the clergy in their churches[5] should be strictly maintained, all who refused to comply being deposed and excommunicated; and this because, in general, their only motive in travelling from church to church was ambition or desire of gain.

[2] Auct. de prom. [ap. Prosperi opp. p. 162.]

[3] Phot. bibl. cod. 54. Leo. Ep. 6. (al. 86.) [p. 422.]

[4] Ep. 6.

[5] v. Bingh. 6. 4. § 4, 5.]

LVI. Vicariate of Thessalonica.

Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, sent to request St. Leo that he would confirm him in the Vicariate of Illyricum, allowing him the same authority as had been granted him by preceding Popes; to this St. Leo readily assented in a letter dated the twelfth of January, 444[6]. St. Leo says that he simply follows the example of St. Siricius, who gave the same power to Anysius; but that this power is to be used only for the maintenance of the canons. He chiefly recommends to his consideration the subject of the ordination of Bishops, in which regard is to be had only to the merit of the person, and the service he has done the Church, without any partial or interested views. "No one," he says[7], "ought

[6] Prid. Id. Jan. Theodosio XVIII. et Albino Coss. Epist. 4. [p. 417.]

[7] c. 4.

" to be ordained Bishop in those churches without consulting A. D. 444.
" you, for they will be chosen with more mature deliberation CH. LVI.
" when your examination is feared, nor shall we account any
" to be Bishops, who shall be ordained by the Metropolitan
" without communication with you. As the Metropolitans have
" the right of ordaining the Bishops of their provinces, we
" will that you ordain the Metropolitans, in selecting whom,
" as they are to have the government of others, you should
" employ the greatest caution. Let no one absent himself
" from the Council when he is summoned to it[1]. Nothing is [1] c. 5.
" of greater use for the correction of faults, and the pre-
" servation of charity than the frequent assembling of the
" Bishops. You shall transfer to our cognizance, as pre-
" scribed by ancient tradition, the more important causes
" which cannot be terminated on the spot, as also cases of
" appeal." He complains[2] that the ordinations of Priests and [2] c. 6.
Deacons were held, in opposition to the canons, on any day without distinction, and desires that they should be held on Sundays only, as those of Bishops were. This is to be understood, however, of Saturday night[3]. St. Leo wrote to [3 Bingh. 4. 6. § 7, 8.]
the Metropolitans of Illyricum a letter bearing the same date[4], in which he informs them of the power he has given [4] Ep. 5.
to Anastasius of Thessalonica, and exhorts them to submit themselves to it and observe the canons.

As Easter fell this year (444)[5] on the twenty-third of [5] Prosper. Chron. ann. 444.
April, Good-Friday coincided with the twenty-first, the day on which Rome was founded. It was customary to perform games in the circus in memory of that event; but they were now omitted out of respect to the holy day of our LORD'S passion.

END OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH BOOK.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVII.

Death of St. Cyril. His writings.

On the ninth of June in this year, (444,) died St. Cyril[1], having governed the Church of Alexandria thirty-two years[2]. He left a variety of writings; among others some homilies, which the Greek Bishops were accustomed to commit to memory and preach[3]. Those which are of most use to the historian are the Paschal Homilies, in which the first day of Lent, the first day of the Holy Week (or Monday), Saturday of the same week, and Easter-Day are marked out; the days mentioned are those of the Egyptian months, but it is easy to reduce them to the Roman; so that here we have a sure means of fixing the different years. There are twenty-nine of them, for as many successive years; the first is for the year 414, in which Easter fell on the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, i. e. the twenty-second of March; the last is for 442, in which Easter was the seventeenth of Pharmouthi, i. e. the twelfth of April.

[1] Menol. Gr. 9 Jun.
[2] Conc. Chalc. Act. iii. p. 406. D: (from the year 412; v. supr. 22. 46.)
[3] Gennad. Script. in. 56.

The other writings of St. Cyril, still extant, are the seventeen books On Worshipping in Spirit and in Truth, written in the form of dialogues between him and a person named Palladius; their object is to shew the usefulness of the old law, even since the publication of the Gospel, by virtue of the spiritual sense which it involves. The same design was contemplated in the twelve books of *Glaphyres*, which are a commentary upon the Pentateuch. *Γλαφυρὸν* signifies profound or elegant; and the way in which the mysteries of the law are unfolded in this work, fairly justifies the application of either of those epithets. There are also five books of commentaries on Isaiah, a commentary on the twelve minor Prophets, and another in ten books on St. John,

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(originally it comprised twelve books, but we have only fragments of the seventh and eighth;) a treatise on the Trinity, named *The Treasure,* nine dialogues On the Trinity and the Incarnation, besides other treatises on the Incarnation against Nestorius, which have been already mentioned in the order of time; ten books Against the Emperor Julian[1], in defence of the Christian religion, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius.

[1] Fleury, 15. 45.

St. Cyril's latest work is a book Against the Anthropomorphites; an account of it is given in a letter which is prefixed, and which thus addresses Calosirius[2]:

[2] Opp. vi. p. 363. (alt. p. s.)]

"Some persons having come to me from Mount Calamon, "I asked them how the monks of that place lived. They "told me that while many were eminently diligent in exer- "cises of piety, there were some who went to and fro, "disturbing the peace of the rest by their ignorance, and "affirming that, since Scripture says that man was made in "the image of GOD, we must believe that GOD has a human "form." St. Cyril shews the absurdity of this notion, which makes GOD corporeal and limited by space. He then adds; "I am told they maintain that the mystical eulogy," i. e. the Eucharist, "in no way conduces to sanctification, if it is kept "till the next day[a]; but this is talking at random. CHRIST "is not altered, nor His holy body changed; the efficacy of "the benediction and the enlivening grace still remain in "it. Others say that we ought to apply ourselves con- "tinually to prayer, to the exclusion of all labour. But let "them tell us, if they are better than the Apostles, who "allowed themselves time to labour, though they were em- "ployed for the Word of GOD? The Church does not ap- "prove of the conduct they prescribe. If all should follow "their example, who would provide for their support? no— "it is merely a pretext for indolence and gluttony." In conclusion, he cautions Calosirius not to allow the Catholics to

[a] The Greek is, "if what is left "remains till the next day;" instead of being burnt, as in some churches (Hesychius in c. 8. Levit. ap. Bibl. VV. PP. Colon. t. vii. p. 35. B), given to children (Evagr. iv. 36), or eaten and drunk by the clergy and faithful laity, as prescribed by Theophilus (St. Cyril's uncle), can. 7. ap. Galland. vol. vii. p. 606, and by our own Church. In the preceding century, St. Basil had remarked that the custom of the Eucharist's being reserved by private men for private use (the origin of which he refers to times of persecution) prevailed at Alexandria and throughout Egypt. (Ep. 93. al. 289. ad Cæsariam.)

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have any intercourse with the schismatical Meletians who still remained in Egypt. The treatise which follows this letter contains answers to many subtle questions propounded by these monks about the creation of man. Calosirius was Bishop of Arsinoe; he assisted at the false Council of Ephesus in 449, and afterwards at the Council of Chalcedon[1].

[1] t. iv. Conc. p. 119. A. p. 332. A.

In the Homily of the Mystical Supper St. Cyril writes against the Nestorians thus[2]: "Let them tell us what body "it is which is food to the flocks of the Church, and what "the streams by which they are refreshed? If it is the body "of a God, then is CHRIST truly GOD, and not a mere man. "If it is the blood of a God, then is the SON of GOD not only "GOD, but the WORD incarnate. If it is the flesh of CHRIST "which is meat, and His blood which is drink—that is, ac- "cording to them, the flesh and blood of a mere man—how is "it we teach that it avails to eternal life? Whence comes it "that though distributed here and every where it suffers no "diminution? A mere body is not the source of life to those "who receive it[3]." And in his Commentary on St. John he says[4]; "by receiving the Eucharist our flesh is united to that "of CHRIST, as two pieces of wax melted together, to the end "that by this union we might become one with the Divine "Person of Him who took flesh, and that the Person of the "WORD might unite us to the Father, with whom He is "consubstantial;" so that by these three mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist, we are raised to an intimate union with GOD.

[2] Opp. t. v. pt. 2. p. 378. B.

[3] ψιλὸν σῶμα οὐδαμῶς πηγάζει ζωὴν τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν.

[4] Lib. iv. c. 2. (t. iv. p. 365. A.) Lib. x. c. 2. (p. 863. B.) Lib. xi. c. 12. (p. 1001, 2.)

II. Canonical letters.

We have two letters from St. Cyril to Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, which must belong to the close of his life, since he only survived the election of Domnus four years. One of them[5] is in favour of Athanasius, Bishop of Perrha; it was afterwards read at the Council of Chalcedon. The other is in behalf of an aged Bishop named Peter, who complained that he had been condemned without a hearing, that, on the pretence of a renunciation[6], which, he said, was extorted from him, he had been ejected from his see, and, to crown the injustice, had been plundered of all his property. The charge brought against him was misappropriation of the revenues of his Church; on this point St. Cyril says, that Peter was not obliged to give an account of them, and that

[5] t. v. pt. 2. p. 209. [alt. pagg. serie.]

[6] παραιτήσεως v. Suicer. s. v.]

A. D. 445. CH. III.

all the Bishops in the world are grieved to hear any such pretension asserted; because, though they are bound to preserve the fixtures[1] and the precious vessels[2] of the Church, they have the free administration of its revenues. No regard, he adds, was due to acts of renunciation made under the influence of fear and contrary to the laws of the Church[3]. "If a Bishop be worthy of the ministry, let him continue in "it; if unworthy, let him be deposed in a judicial way."

[1 κτήσεις ἀκινήτους] [2 κειμήλια] [3 Supr. 25. 58.]

The Abbots of the Thebaid having complained of some irregular ordinations, St. Cyril wrote to the Bishops of Libya and the Pentapolis[4], enjoining them to make careful inquiries about the lives of candidates for ordination; whether they were married or not, and if so, how or when; if they had been expelled by any Bishop, or out of any monastery, that none might be ordained but such as were unmarried[5] and of an unblemished character.

[4 Ib. p. 211.]

[5 Fl. *personnes libres:* not in the Greek.]

III. St. Leo's letter to Dioscorus.

St. Cyril was succeeded in the see of Alexandria by Dioscorus his Archdeacon, who had a great reputation for virtue, and especially for modesty and humility[6]. He had never been married, and he at once gained the affections of the people of Alexandria, by lending money free from interest to the bakers and vintners, that they might furnish the people with white bread and good wine at a low price[7]. But it was alleged that, to provide funds for this expense, he had extorted large sums of money from the heirs of St. Cyril, by bringing calumnious charges against them. He sent the Priest Possidonius to Rome to inform Pope St. Leo of his ordination[8]. St. Leo sent a letter in return, dated the twenty-first of June, 445[9], in which he gives Dioscorus some instructions tending to preserve uniformity of discipline. He doubts not but that St. Mark delivered to his Church the same rules as St. Peter, whose disciple he was, had given to his; he therefore desires that at Alexandria, as at Rome, the following rules should be observed:—that ordinations of Priests and Deacons should be held on Sundays only[1], and that both they who conferred, and they who received orders, should do so fasting. He also desires, that on the great feasts, when the people crowd to church in such numbers that it cannot contain them all at once, they would feel no scruple in repeating the sacrifice so often as the church in which it is to be ad-

[6 Theod. Epist. 60. [t. iii. p. 935.]]

[7 Liberat. c. 10.]

[8 Supr. 18. 34. d.]

[9 Ep. 11. (al. 81.)]

[1 Supr. 26. 56. Ep. 4. c. 6.]

ministered shall be filled; this, he says, was the custom of the Roman Church. Hence it is evident that at Rome and Alexandria the holy Sacrifice was at this time offered only in one church, even on the greatest solemnities. St. Leo says that the Priest Possidonius was perfectly acquainted with all the customs of Rome, in consequence of his frequent visits to it; which makes it probable that he is the one who was sent by St. Cyril to Pope St. Cælestine[1].

A. D. 445. CH. IV.

[1] Supr. 25. 12.

IV. Complaints against St. Hilary of Arles.

Meanwhile there came to Rome a Gallic Bishop named Celidonius, complaining of St. Hilary of Arles, who had deposed him in a Council[2]. St. Hilary, in the course of a visitation which he made in company with St. Germain of Auxerre, arrived at the city of which Celidonius was Bishop, (apparently in the province of Vienne.) The nobles and people immediately came to them, charging Celidonius with having married a widow, and with having condemned some persons to death while he was magistrate. St. Hilary and St. Germain ordered them to produce their witnesses. Several other Bishops of high character assembled along with them. They examined the affair carefully and maturely; the accusation was declared to have been substantiated, and they passed sentence, according to the rules of Scripture, that Celidonius should of himself resign his Episcopate. It was to complain of this sentence that he appeared before St. Leo about the end of the year 444. When St. Hilary was apprised of this, he crossed over the Alps amidst all the rigour of winter, and came to Rome on foot; for this was the way in which, out of his love to poverty, he always chose to travel. After having visited the churches of the Apostles and Martyrs, he came to present himself to St. Leo with all manner of respect, beseeching him to uphold the discipline of the Churches as he was wont, and complaining that Bishops condemned in Gaul by the sentence of the magistrates were, at Rome, admitted to the holy Altars. He conjured Leo, if he approved of his remonstrance, to correct the abuse privately. "I am come," he added, "only to shew my "respect for you, not to plead my cause[3], and I inform you "of what has passed, not by way of accusation, but as a "simple recital[4]; if you are of a different way of thinking I "will not importune you further."

[2] Vita S. Hilar. c. 16, 17. [ap. Leon. opp. (ed. Quesn.) t. 1. p. 743.]

[3] se ad officia, non ad causam venisse.]

[4] protestandi ordine non accusandi.]

A. D. 445. CH. IV.

St. Leo assembled a Council to take cognizance of the affair[1], and St. Hilary occupied a seat in it like the other Bishops. The Council was not satisfied with his answers, which St. Leo thought over haughty. It appeared from the depositions of witnesses, that Celidonius was innocent of the irregularity for which he had been condemned, (i. e. of having married a widow.) He was therefore acquitted and re-established in his see. St. Hilary remained unshaken in his opinion; and in spite of all the threats with which they assailed him, nay, though he believed his life itself was in peril, he steadily refused to communicate with him whom he had condemned. Seeing that he could not persuade the Pope and his Council, he withdrew; and notwithstanding the guards they had placed over him, and the severity of the season, (for it was still winter,) he returned to his church.

[1] Leo. Ep. 10. (al. 89.) c. 3.

St. Leo and his Council next examined the complaints preferred by the Bishop Projectus[2] and a large proportion of his fellow-citizens, who seem to have belonged to the province of Narbonnensis Prima. Projectus complained that St. Hilary had come, while he was laid up with sickness, and ordained another Bishop in his place, as if the see were vacant; and this in a province out of his jurisdiction, in which none of his predecessors until the time of Patroclus had ever claimed any authority; that the ordination had been made without giving either the clergy time to make their election or the people to declare their suffrages, and with so much precipitation that Hilary was come and gone without any one's knowing any thing about it. It does not appear that there was any evidence of all this, except the letters of Projectus and his fellow-citizens. But St. Hilary had made himself obnoxious to the Roman Council by the boldness with which he had defended himself in the affair of Celidonius, and still more by his abrupt departure. The result was that the ordination he had made was declared null, and Projectus re-established in his see. They further accused St. Hilary of "claiming authority to regulate all the churches of the "Gauls[3]," by which we are probably to understand those districts which had formerly made up the old province of Narbonnensis. They accused him of "going through these "districts accompanied by a troop of armed men[4], to appoint

[2] c. 4.

[3] c. 2.

[4] c. 6, 7.

A. D. 445. CH. V.

"Bishops to the vacant churches, to fix the meeting of "Councils, and to interfere with the rights of the Metro- "politans." Perhaps he found it necessary to have an escort in countries occupied by the barbarians and infested with war.

V. St. Leo's letter against St. Hilary.

The Council of Rome forbade him to encroach on the rights of others; deprived him even of the authority which he had over the province of Vienne; prohibited him from being present at any ordination; declared him cut off from the communion of the holy see; and represented it as an act of grace that he was left in his Church and not deposed[1]. [1] c. 7.

This we gather from a letter of St. Leo to the Bishops of the province of Vienne[2], in which he first extols the primacy of St. Peter and the authority of the Roman Church, and relates the complaints against Hilary, whom he treats as the disturber of the union of the Churches, as presumptuous and encroaching. He gives these rules concerning ordinations; that they should be reserved for the Metropolitans alone[3]; that they should be conducted in peace and quiet; that the subscription of the clergy, the testimony of the magistrates, with the consent of the senate and people, should be held requisite[4], and that they should be held on Sundays[5]. He adds, that each province ought to be content with its own Council[6], and that no one should be excommunicated on slight grounds[7]. He declares to the Bishops of the Gauls that he does not wish to lay claim to the government of their provinces, but to preserve the rights and privileges of each, and to keep them in union[8]. Lastly, he proposes to appoint for their Primate, if they approve of him, the Bishop Leontius, who was recommended both by his merit and his great age, without prejudice to the rights of the Metropolitans. It is thought[9] that this Leontius was Bishop of Frejus, and that St. Leo's intention was to introduce the African discipline into Gaul, by giving the primacy to the oldest Bishop for the time being, not to a particular see[1]. But the Gauls did not accept this proposal.

[2] Ep. 10.
[3] c. 5.
[4] [Bingh. 4. 2. and 17. 5.]
[5] c. 6.
[6] c. 7.
[7] c. 8.
[8] c. 9.
[9] v. not. Quesn.
[1] [Bingh. 2. 16. § 6.]

St. Leo, wishing to back up his decision by the authority of the Emperor Valentinian who was then at Rome, obtained a rescript directed to the Patrician Aëtius, who was general of the Gallic troops[2]. It contains for the most part the same

[2] Novell. Theod. tit. 24.

A. D. 445. CH. VI.

complaints against St. Hilary, whom it treats as an encroaching, seditious, person, who had offended against the majesty of the empire and the respect due to the holy see. "For the "future, therefore," adds the Emperor, "we forbid Hilary, "or any other person, to make use of arms in ecclesiastical "affairs; and we ordain that the Bishops of Gaul and the "other provinces undertake nothing at variance with ancient "custom without authority from the Pope[1]; that his injunc- "tions have the force of laws; and that every Bishop who, "on being cited to his Court, shall neglect to appear, be "compelled to it by the governor of the province." This rescript is dated the sixth of June, 445.[2]

[1 Papæ æternæ urbis.]

[2] 8 Id. Jun. Valentiniano vi. Cos.

On the nineteenth of the same month[3], the Emperor Valentinian issued another edict against the Manicheans, who had been so fully convicted at Rome about eighteen months before. It is directed to Albinus Præfect of the Prætorium[4], and enforces all the ancient penalties against them, ordering that they should be prosecuted wherever they are found, and permitting all persons to accuse them. The Emperor was at Ravenna the year before[5], when the Manichees were convicted; and the Pope seems to have taken advantage of his presence at Rome, to procure this edict.

[3] 13 Kal. Jul.

[4] Nov. Valent. lib. ii. tit. 2.

[5] Ibid. tit. 1.

Two years after, the Emperor Valentinian being again at Rome, made a law[6] in which the ancient penalties were enforced against those who dug into sepulchres to obtain marble or other things still more valuable from them. Even the clergy were charged with this crime, and the Emperor decides that they deserved to be punished with greater rigour than others. He ordains that they should immediately lose the name of Clerks; that they should be proscribed and banished for life; and that no exception should be made even in the case of Bishops. The law is directed to Albinus, Præfect of the Prætorium and Patrician, and is dated the thirteenth of March, 447.[7]

[6] Ibid. tit. 5.

[7] 3 Id. Martias Callypio Cos.

VI. The virtues of St. Hilary of Arles.

St. Hilary on his return to Arles, directed all his efforts to appease St. Leo, and wrote several letters on the subject[8]. He sent first the Priest Ravennius, (who was his successor,) then the Bishops Nectarius and Constantius. Auxiliaris, the Præfect of Gaul, being at that time at Rome, received them

[8] Vit. Hilar. c. 17.

with great respect, and often conversed with them on the virtues of St. Hilary, his constancy, and contempt of human things. He also spoke with Pope St. Leo, as he testifies in a letter to St. Hilary, adding, "Men will scarcely endure us "to speak with that boldness which an honest conscience "would prompt us to make use of; and the ears of the "Romans are somewhat delicate[1]. If you would humour "them a little, you would gain a great deal without losing "any thing. Comply with me thus much, and disperse these "little clouds by a slight change in your position." After this answer, St. Hilary returned to his pastoral functions and his exercises of piety[2], as if he had but just begun them, and during the three or four years he survived, (up to the year 449,) these formed his sole occupation[b].

A. D. 445. CH. VI.

[1] Aures Romanorum quâdam teneritudine plus trahuntur.]

[2] c. 18.

[b] The consistency shewn by St. Hilary was worthy of the friend of SS. Honoratus, Eucherius, Germain, Lupus, and Vincentius. Unwilling to provoke his brother into the assertion of unjustifiable claims, he yet never receded from his rights, but continued in the exercise of his office to the end of his life, apparently with the approbation of the Bishops of his province, who, on the election of his successor, sent a letter to St. Leo, vindicating the precedency of Arles, (infr. c. 45.) Nor was he wanting in the respect due to his primate; but he knew that the prerogative of a primate in respect of inferior Bishops is otiose, so long as these obey the canons. (v. Greg. M. l. ix. Ep. 59. olim vii. 65. Quesnel. Diss. v. p. 527.)

Since this is an important incident in the history of the Roman Patriarchate, the following remarks may not be misplaced. I. As to Celidonius: St. Leo never even intimates a defect of jurisdiction on the part of St. Hilary, or any invasion of Metropolitical rights, —which he was not slow to do in the case of Projectus;—he owns that had the charge against Celidonius been substantiated, the sentence itself was valid. He reversed the sentence. Two questions therefore arise: (1) of the *decision*; were St. Hilary, St. Germain, and a Council examining witnesses on the spot, or was St. Leo, hearing the cause at Rome, in the best position for ascertaining the truth? Doubtless the former. (2) Of the *prerogative*; had the Bishop of Rome power to reverse the decision of a Gallic Synod? The Bishops of Gaul held, with those of Africa (Quesn. p. 486), that the Episcopate was one and undivided, and held by the whole body of Bishops in common (supr. xxv. 47. b.): in the assigned portions of Christ's flock, therefore, each Bishop had power to judge offenders without appeal, except to a provincial or higher Synod; to appeal to another Bishop was to violate episcopal unity. This applied whether a Presbyter were judged by a Bishop, or a Bishop by his Metropolitan; v. Ep. Afr. Episc. ad Cæl. (supr. 24. 35), and cf. De Marca, de Conc. vii. c. 2 and 6. The canons of Sardica indeed committed to the Roman Bishop the power—not of deciding on appeal, but—of ordering a provincial Synod to hear, or rehear, a cause. (De Marca, vii. 3.) But not even thus much was allowed by the African Church (supr. xxi. 6), who inherited their views from St. Cyprian, nor by the Easterns, who never placed the Sardican canons in their collections. (De Marca, vii. c. 4.) St. Hilary then might well complain, when Celidonius was received at Rome as a communicant (contrary to the canons, Nicæn. 5. Eliber. 53. Arelat. I. c. 16, etc.), and when St. Leo set aside the sentence of a judicial Synod on one lawfully tried and convicted. II. As to Projectus, it is not so clear that St. Hilary did not transgress his jurisdiction. But indeed we know nothing of the facts, not even to what province Projectus belonged, (Quesnel's conjectures, in Apol. pro S. Hilar., are very precarious,) and we

A. D. 445. CH. VI.

From the commencement of his episcopate he never ceased to practise the same poverty and mortification which he had maintained as a monk, wearing but one coat (a hair cloth) winter and summer, going always bare-foot, and working with his own hands[1]. He had a table placed before him with a book and some nets[2]; a notary, with his writing implements, sat by his side. He read and dictated from time to time, still keeping his hands in constant motion, as he knotted his cords and wove his nets. He also laboured in cultivating the ground[3], more so indeed than his strength would bear[c], for he had been educated in a way that corresponded with the dignity of his family. He always had something read to him at

[1] c. 8. 14. supr. 24. 58.
[2] c. 12.
[3] Gennad. c. 71.

should bear in mind that Leo had only *ex parte* evidence before him. Baronius (a. 464. § 8.) reminds us how hard it was for one who had so many important interests to attend to, as the Bishop of Rome had, to preserve himself from being unfairly prepossessed by designing men. III. As to Hilary's wishing to regulate all the Churches of the Roman Province in Gaul. The few facts, still remaining, which bear on this point, tend to shew that Arles was of old the ecclesiastical metropolis, —from the time of Trophimus (infr. c. 45), downward. So early as A.D. 255, the *litteræ formatæ* of travellers in Gaul were addressed to the Bishop of Arles (Cypr. Ep. 68. ad Steph.). Its ecclesiastical pre-eminence would not be weakened by the civil importance attached to it by Constantine (supr. xxi. 52), nor does it appear that it was ever disputed until the close of the fourth century. The causes of its being then questioned were manifold, but chiefly two, (1) the subdivision of old Narbonensis (into Narbonensis, Viennensis, Alpes Grajæ, and Alpes Maritimæ); for the ecclesiastical distribution had always a *tendency* to follow the civil, however really independent of it (Innoc. Ep. 18. ad Alex. supr. xxiii. 26); (2) the unsettled state of France, (omnia sus deque acta, says Honorius, in Constit. ann. 418,) owing to the influx of the barbarians and the usurpations of tyrants, during which Valentinian says (Constit. de Eccl. Cap., ann. 425) that the Churches and clergy lost many of their privileges. It was at this crisis that (α) Vienne asserted its rights to be a metropolis (Conc. Taurin. a. 404. supr. 21. 52), and that (β) Proculus claimed a presidency over Narbonensis Secunda (recently detached from Viennensis). Respecting (α), Pope Zosimus, who appears to have studied the subject more attentively than any other, calls the primacy of Arles *vetus privilegium* (Ep. 5. ad Univ. Ep. Gall.), and in Ep. 8. ad Narbon., he frequently presses this consideration: "vetus consuetudo—prisca "institutio—antiqua consuetudo," are his phrases. His decision was acted upon by Patroclus, Honoratus, and Hilary; by the last two probably not without the advice of St. Germain and St. Lupus. The case (β) is sufficiently determined by the fact that, on the death of Proculus, Narbonensis reverted to Arles, and so remained in the time of Pope Symmachus, A.D. 514 (Ep. 9). IV. St. Leo states his aim to be, not to interfere with the internal arrangements of the Gallic Churches, but only to confirm their union with the Roman Church. St. Hilary, though desirous of maintaining communion with the mother Church, sought to maintain the integrity of the Episcopate, which he thought in danger. Thus the failings, if so be, of good men serve only to make their goodness more evident. Qui non zelat, non amat; their jealousy on behalf of the Church was a proof of their love for it. However, it would ill become us to scan their conduct as if we were their judges; but "quia tantorum virorum," to use the words of Honoratus, "*præsertim jam ad* "*supernam gloriam vocatorum* nec in "narratione audeo judicia ventilare, "hæc breviter tetigisse sufficiat."

[c] See Bloomf. Rec. Syn. on St. Luke xvi. 3. "I have not strength (οὐκ ἰσχύω) "to dig."

his meals, and he introduced this custom into the cities. On Sundays he rose at midnight, walked on foot thirty miles, (or ten leagues,) and assisted at Divine Service, after which he preached; this lasted to the seventh hour, or an hour after mid-day. He lived in one common house with his clergy, having only his cell like the others. He had such loving affection for the poor, that, to provide funds for the redemption of captives, he sold all the plate that was in the churches, even to the sacred vessels, and reduced himself to patens and chalices of glass. A. D. 445. CH. VII.

For the times he lived in, he was very eloquent; a specimen of his style still survives in his eloge of St. Honoratus his predecessor[1]. On fast-days he kept the people together by his discourses from mid-day to four o'clock[2]. If he had only a rustic congregation to listen to him, he accommodated himself to their capacity by a plain way of speaking; but he rose into a style of singular grace and dignity if men of superior education happened to come in, so perfect a command had he over his language. He had frequently in private admonished the person who was at that time Præfect[3] touching the injustice he committed in his decisions; but all to no purpose. One day he came to church, accompanied by his officers, while St. Hilary was in the middle of a sermon. The holy Bishop broke off, saying that the Præfect was unworthy of receiving the heavenly nourishment after neglecting the advice which he had given him for his soul's health. The Præfect retired in confusion, and St. Hilary pursued his discourse. Such was this holy Bishop; but he wasted himself so much by his fastings and labours, that he died in his forty-eighth year. His life was written by Honoratus, Bishop of Marseilles, his disciple[4]; who states that he left behind him homilies on all the festivals of the year, an exposition of the Creed[5], and a great number of letters.

[1] ap. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 752.]
[2] c. 11.
[3] c. 10.
[4] Gennad. c. 99. Martyr. R. 5 Mai. v. ibi Baron. [5 Supr. 26. 23. m.]

He was an intimate friend of St. Germain of Auxerre, whom he called his father and respected as an Apostle. For St. Germain was obliged to go to Arles, to intercede with Auxiliaris, Præfect of Gaul, in behalf of his native city of Auxerre, which, on his return from Great Britain, he had found laden with extraordinary imposts[6]. In all the places he passed through, on this journey, the people went out in crowds

VII. St. Germain's second journey into Britain.

[6] Vita S. Germ. per Const. l. i. c. 29. [Boll. t. xxxii. p. 214.]

A. D. 445. CH. VII. with their wives and children, to meet him and receive his benediction. At Alise[1], Nectariola, the wife of a Priest named Senator, kept some of the straw which she had used for the holy Bishop's bed, and a possessed person being bound upon it was healed. As he drew near to Arles, the Præfect Auxiliaris, contrary to custom, went a considerable distance to meet him[2]. He was struck with his gracefulness, his politeness, and the authority of his conversation, and found that he even exceeded his reputation. He made him some valuable presents, and requested him to heal his wife, who had been long suffering under a quartan-fever. He obtained his request, and granted St. Germain the immunity which he had asked for his people.

[1] c. 32.

[2] c. 34.

St. Germain, after his return home, was invited a second time into Great Britain[3], to assist the Church against the Pelagian heresy, which was again beginning to spread itself there. St. Germain took for his companion on this journey[4] St. Severus, Bishop of Treves, disciple of St. Lupus of Troyes. They set out in the year 446. In their journey to Paris, St. Germain inquired after St. Genevieve[5], and understood that her reputation was violently assailed by divers calumnies. He, who knew her perfectly, went to her house, and saluted her with so much humility that every body was surprised. He spoke to the people in her justification, and for a proof of her virtue shewed, in the place where she lay, the ground wet with her tears[d]. Having convinced all of her innocence, he continued his journey, and passed safely over into Britain.

[3] l. ii. c. 1.

[4] c. 2.

[5] Supr. 25. 16.

The evil spirits bruited the news of his arrival throughout the island[6], so that one named Elaphius, the chief of the country, without any other information, came to meet the holy Bishop, bringing with him his son, yet in the flower of his youth, who had his ham contracted and his leg withered. A great number of people followed them, and as St. Germain knew that most of them had preserved the Catholic faith, and that the heresy was taught by comparatively few, he sought these out, found them, and condemned them. In

[6] c. 3.

[d] Homer makes his pure Penelope say,

ἦτοι ἐγὼν ὑπερῶιον εἰσαναβᾶσα
Λίξομαι εἰς εὐνὴν, ἣ μοι στονόεσσα τέτυκται
Αἰεὶ δάκρυσ' ἐμοῖσι πεφυρμένη.
Odyss. P. 101.

the mean time[1] Elaphius presented his son to him. St. Germain made him sit down, and, touching his ham and leg, healed him in the presence of the multitude. The miracle confirmed the people in the Catholic Faith, and St. Germain exhorted them to banish error from among them. All were unanimous in the resolve to expel the heretics from the whole Church; they brought them to the two Bishops, in order to have them sent into the remotest parts of Gaul[2]: so Britain was delivered and retained the purity of the Faith. A. D. 445. CH. VIII. [1] c. 4. [2] ad mediterranea]

Scarcely had St. Germain returned home[3] before he was called by a deputation to the coast of Armorica, now Bretagne. Aëtius, who at that time commanded in Gaul, wishing to punish these rebellious tribes, had sent Eocharich, King of the Alemans[4], a proud and cruel idolater, to reduce them to submission. St. Germain immediately set out, and found the barbarian chieftain already in the country with numerous cavalry. He advanced on his way until he fell in with him; when, addressing him by means of an interpreter, he humbly supplicated him to proceed no farther. On his refusal, he rebuked him, and at last seizing the bridle of his horse, stopped him, and with him the whole army. The barbarian astonished at his hardihood, listened to his proposals of peace, and returned to his post, agreeing not to ravage the province, provided they could obtain their pardon from either the Emperor or Aëtius. [3] c. 5. [4] So Surius: in the MSS. *Alanorum*.]

VIII. The death of St. Germain.

With this view St. Germain undertook to travel into Italy[5], and visit the Emperor at Ravenna. Stopping on the road at the house of his friend Senator the Priest, he healed a young woman who had been dumb twenty years. He told Senator that they would never see each other again in this world. At Autun he healed a girl whose hand was contracted so that the nails had grown into the flesh. He arrived at Milan one day when several Bishops had assembled to celebrate the feast of some saints[6]; he entered church during the time of mass without being expected or known by any. But one who was possessed cried out from the midst of the people, "Germain, why dost thou come to seek us in Italy? "Let it suffice thee to have driven us out of Gaul, and to "have vanquished the Ocean and us by thy prayer." The people inquired wonderingly who this Germain was. At [5] c. 6. [6] c. 10.

A. D. 445. CH. VIII. length, in spite of the meanness of his dress, they recognised him by the majesty of his countenance. He owned who he was; the Bishops saluted him with respect, and entreated him to deliver the possessed. He complied, took him aside into the vestry[1], and brought him back healed.

[1 secretario]

He did many other miracles during the remainder of his journey, so that he was in every one's mouth at Ravenna[2], where the Court was residing and looking forward to his arrival with impatience. He entered the town by night for the sake of privacy; but the people were looking out for him. He was received with great joy[3] by the Bishop St. Peter Chrysologus, by the young Emperor Valentinian, and his mother Placidia. She sent to his lodgings a large silver dish full of dainties, but without any mixture of flesh; St. Germain, on his part, sent her a barley-loaf on a wooden tray. The Empress ordered it to be enchased with gold, and kept the loaf, which performed several wondrous cures. The Saint worked many miracles at Ravenna[4], where six Bishops continually attended him. The son of Volusian[5], Chancellor (or Secretary) to the Patrician Sigisvultus, was in the crisis of a virulent fever. At the desire of his parents and of the Bishops, the Saint went to see him. They were met by one who told them that they were giving themselves trouble in vain, for that the youth was dead. The Bishops entreated St. Germain to proceed. They found the young man dead and cold, and having prayed for the repose of his soul, they were beginning to return. The people immediately raised a shout, and importuned the Saint to pray to GOD for the life of the young man; he reluctantly complied, and, having put them all out, he prostrated himself near the corpse, and prayed weeping. The dead man began to stir; he opened his eyes, he moved his fingers. St. Germain raised him, he sat up and revived little by little till he was in perfect health. St. Germain could have easily procured pardon for the people of Armorica[6], (which was the object of his journey,) if they had not themselves prevented it by a new revolt.

[2] c. 13.

[3] c. 13, 14.

[4] c. 15, 16.

[5] c. 17.

[6] c. 18.

[7] c. 19.

One day after matins[7], as he was talking with the Bishops on religious matters, he said to them, "My dear brethren, "I commend my passage to you. Methought I this night "saw our Saviour, who gave me provision for a journey,

" and told me it was to go to my native country and receive " eternal rest." A few days after this he fell sick. The whole city was alarmed; the Empress went to see him[1], and he desired of her as a favour that she would send his corpse back to his own country; which she granted much against her will. He died at Ravenna on the seventh day of his sickness, which was the last of July. St. Peter Chrysologus took his cowl and hair shirt[2], the six other Bishops parted the rest of his clothes amongst them. The Eunuch Acholius[3], Præfect of the Emperor's chamber, one of whose servants he had healed, had the corpse embalmed[4]; the Empress clothed it with rich vests, and gave a coffin of cypress; the Emperor furnished the carriages, and defrayed the expense of the journey, including the pay of the officers who attended it: the Bishops provided that religious reverence[5] should be paid to it at Ravenna and in the whole course of the journey. The funeral train thus became very magnificent[6]; the number of lights was so great that they shone even at broad day. Every where, as it passed, the people came out to meet it, and paid it every kind of respect. Some levelled the roads or repaired the bridges, others bore the corpse or, at the least, sang psalms. The Priest Saturnus, one of the Saint's disciples, who had by his order remained at Auxerre, was there informed of his death by revelation, and communicated the tidings to the people. He set out along with a great multitude to go as far as the Alps, to meet the procession. At Vienne the body was deposited in the church of St. Stephen, which had just been built at the entrance of the city by the care of Priest Severus, on the site of a heathen temple in which the pagans worshipped a hundred gods. Severus was an Indian by birth, and famous for his miracles[7]. St. Germain had promised him, as he passed, that he would come to the dedication of his church; and so it was, that the corpse arrived on the very day of the dedication, before the service had begun. It reached Auxerre fifty days after his death; and having been exposed ten days to the veneration of the people, it was interred on the first of October, in the oratory of St. Maurice, which he had founded[8] on the spot where at present the famous abbey stands which bears his name. St. Germain held the see of Auxerre thirty years and twenty-

A. D. 445. CH. VIII.

[1] c. 20.
[2] c. 21.
[3] c. 22.
[4] Hist. Episc. Antiss. c. 7. [p. 417.]
[5] religionis obsequium]
[6] c. 24.
[7] Ado. Chron. Æt. 6. [ap. fol. 499. Hist. Christ. De la Barre.]
[8] Heric. i. c. 24. Bolland. u. s. p. 262.]

A. D. 445. CH. IX. five days; he died therefore in the year 448[1]. The see was vacant four years, which is apparently to be attributed to the desolation of Gaul by the barbarians.

[1] Supr. 23. 46.

IX. Priscillianists in Spain.

There were still Priscillianists in Spain. St. Turibius, Bishop of Astorga in Gallicia, having discovered some of them in his city, convicted them in a judicial process, in which the Bishop Idacius assisted him; they sent the Acts to Antoninus, Bishop of Merida[2]. St. Turibius gave an account of them to Idatius and Ceponius, who seem to have been the two principal Bishops of Gallicia. He writes thus[3]:

[2] Idat. Fast. an. 21. Valent. p. 30. t. ii. Roncal.

[3] Ep. Turib. post 15. Leon. [p. 459.]

"I have travelled through many provinces, and have every "where found one and the same faith; but on returning "to my own country I perceive with grief that the errors "which the Catholic Church has condemned long ago, and "which I had thought extirpated, are again daily sending "out fresh shoots, taking advantage of the disorder of the "times, which has put a stop to the holding of Councils. "Hence the people come to the same altar, but attaching "different senses to their Creed; for when these heretics are "pressed, they deny their errors and make their dishonesty "a cloak to their heterodoxy. They have a great many "apocryphal books, which they prefer to the canonical "Scriptures [under the notion of their being esoteric]; yet "they teach things which are not found in those books (so "far as I have had access to them), whether it is that they "derive their doctrines from them by interpretation, or that "these really are contained in more private books. In the "Acts which bear the name of St. Thomas, it is stated that "he did not baptize with water, but only with oil; and this "is the custom of the Manichees[4], though not of our heretics. "They have, moreover, the pretended Acts of St. Andrew, "those of St. John composed by Leucius, and the book en- "titled, The Memoir of the Apostles, in which, among other "blasphemies, they make our Saviour speak against the Old "Testament. There is no doubt that the Apostles could "have done the miracles contained in these books; but it "is certain that the discourses have been inserted by the "heretics. I have extracted from them several passages full "of blasphemy, which I have ranged under certain heads, "and have answered according to my ability. I thought

[4] Fleury, 8. 12.

"myself bound to inform you thus much, that no body may "keep or read these books under pretence of not knowing "them. It is for you to examine the whole, and, with your "brethren, to condemn whatever you shall find contrary to "the Faith." This letter was accompanied by a memoir, which is not extant. A. D. 445. CH. X.

X. St. Leo's letter to Turibius.

St. Turibius sent a similar letter and memoir to St. Leo, by a Deacon of his church named Pervincus; and St. Leo answered him in a long letter dated[1] the twelfth of the calends of August, in the Consulate of Calipius and Ardaburis, i. e. July the twenty-first, 447. He there takes notice of the punishments inflicted on the first Priscillianists[2], and adds, "Though the Church eschews all sanguinary means of "avenging itself, it is nevertheless assisted by the laws of "Christian princes; and the fear of corporal punishment "sometimes makes men betake themselves to the spiritual "remedy. But now that the incursions of our enemies pre- "vent the laws from being executed and the difficulty of "travelling has made Councils uncommon, the lurking error "has found freedom amidst the public calamities. One may "imagine how many of the people are infected by it, when "there are even Bishops who teach it."

[1] Leo. Ep. 15. (al. 93.)

[2] Supr. 18. 30.

St. Leo then gives answers to sixteen articles which St. Turibius had sent him, and which contained the same errors that I mentioned in my account of the rise of this heresy[3]. St. Leo's answers on each article are precise and theological, and the errors are all confronted with express authorities of Scripture. The Priscillianists, besides using certain apocryphal books, corrupted those of the canon[4]. St. Leo therefore ordains, that no one should make use of these spurious copies and that the apocryphal writings should be entirely suppressed; because, although they had a show of piety in them, they drew men aside into error by the fabulous wonders which they related. As there were some who kept the sermons of Dictynnius[5], though full of these errors, under the pretence that he died in the communion of the Church, St. Leo prohibits them as well as the others. Dictynnius had been Bishop of Astorga before St. Turibius, and had abjured Priscillianism[6] at the Council of Toledo, A.D. 400.

[3] Fleury, 17. 56.

[4] c. 15.

[5] c. 16.

[6] Supr. 20. 48.

St. Leo notices in this letter the similarity there was be-

A. D. 445. CH. XI.

tween the Priscillianists and the Manichees, and he sends St. Turibius the Acts of the proceedings he had instituted against the latter at Rome[1]. In conclusion he orders them to hold a Council, in which they should examine whether there were any Bishops infected with the heresy, that all such, unless they condemned their errors, might be deprived of communion. He desires that it may be a general Council of the provinces of Tarracona, Carthagena, Lusitania, and Gallicia; if this could not be done he requests that at least the Bishops of Gallicia should be assembled by the diligence of Idatius, Ceponius, and Turibius. These letters of St. Leo, as well to St. Turibius as to the other Bishops of Spain, were carried by the Deacon Pervincus[2], and some in Gallicia submitted to his decisions, though it was only in appearance.

[1] Supr. 26. 54.

[2] Idat. Chr. 23. Valent. [p. 31.]

It happened, as St. Leo had foreseen, that the Bishops of Spain could not meet in a general Council. The provinces were too completely divided; Rechila, King of the Sueves, being master of Gallicia, and the rest being occupied by the Goths. However, they held two Councils; one in Gallicia, the other from the four provinces of Tarracona, Carthagena, Lusitania, and Bœtica[3]. St. Leo wrote to the Council of Gallicia, by a notary of the Roman Church, also named Turibius; and the Council of the four provinces drew up a confession of faith against the Priscillianists, and sent it to Balconius, Bishop of Braga, at that time the metropolis of Gallicia. This confession, followed by eighteen articles of anathemas, is still extant[4]; it closely resembles the one which bears the name of St. Augustine in an old book of the canons of the Roman Church[5]. The Church honours the memory of the holy Bishop Turibius on the sixteenth of April[6].

[3] Conc. Brac. II. t. v. p. 837 A.

[4] t. ii. Conc. p. 1227.

[5] v. Quesn. Diss. 14. [p. 722.]

[6] Martyr. R. Apr. 16.

XI. Letter to the Bishops of Sicily.

The Bishops of Sicily baptized not only at Easter and Whitsuntide, but also on the Epiphany, in honour of the day on which they believed that Christ received Baptism. St. Leo being informed of this, wrote to them telling them to correct this abuse, and exhorting them to follow the discipline of the holy see, from which they received their episcopal consecration[7]. This shews that in the suburbicary provinces, i. e. in the southern part of Italy and Sicily, none but the Pope consecrated Bishops. "The whole life of CHRIST," says St. Leo, "was one succession of miracles and mysteries; but the

[7] Ep. 16. (al. 4.) v. not. Quesn.

"Church not being able to honour them all at once, has "apportioned the commemoration of them to various days. "Now Baptism derives its efficacy chiefly from His death "and His resurrection, both which are more expressly re- "presented in that Sacrament[1]. His death is there expressed "by the abolishing of sin; the three days of His burial by "the three immersions; His resurrection by the rising out "of the water. The solemnity of Pentecost follows, because "the descent of the HOLY GHOST was the consequence of "our Saviour's resurrection; and it holds out the hand of "assisting grace to those who were prevented from being "baptized at Easter, whether by sickness or travelling or "any other impediment. We see too, that St. Peter bap- "tized three thousand persons on the day of Pentecost[2]. "Baptism, therefore, should be administered only on these "two days[3], and then to none but such as shall be elected, "after having been exorcised, examined, sanctified by fast- "ings, and prepared by frequent instructions[4]. These two "are the only legitimate days for those who are in health "and at liberty; but Baptism may be administered at any "time in cases of necessity, as, in peril of death, during a "siege, in time of persecution, or, in danger of shipwreck[e]."

A. D. 445. CH. XI.

[1] c. 3.

[2] Acts 11. 37.

[3] c. 5.

[4] c. 6.

As to the argument drawn from our SAVIOUR's Baptism, St. Leo observes first, that it is not certain that He received it on the day of Epiphany, "some," he says only, were of that opinion[f]. Besides, "CHRIST received only the Baptism

[e] On the stated times of Baptism, cf. supr. xxv. 18. b. "At first," says St. Ambrose, "all taught, all baptized, "on any day, at any time; but when "the Church had absorbed the nations "into itself, churches were built, rulers "appointed over them, and the different "orders received distinct offices; so "that now Baptism is not administered "by the inferior clergy or the laity, "nor except on fixed days." Comm. in Eph. iv. As to the reasons for restricting Baptism to Easter and Pentecost, besides the one drawn from the connection of the events commemorated in those festivals with the parts of baptisms, there were others (of less intrinsic value), as, the greater publicity of the Catechumen's reception into the Church at a high feast, and the more methodical attention that would be given to his instruction in Lent and Easter-tide. On the other hand, however, there was danger lest some might stifle their convictions with the excuse of putting off their Baptism till Easter; see Basil. Hom. 13. Chrys. Hom. 1. in Act. t. ix. p. 13. ed. Montf. Cf. Tertull. de Bapt. c. 19. Greg. Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt.

When Infant-Baptism became general, the custom grew out of use: yet the rubric of our Baptismal Service, as it stood prior to 1661, stated that it was "thought good to follow the same, as "near as conveniently might be." s. Wheatley, ch. vii. § 1.

[f] v. Greg. Naz. Orat. 40; Vales. in Theodoret. ii. 27; Mosch. Prat. Sp. c. 214; Victor de Persec. Vand., lib. ii., referred to by Bing. xi. 6. § 7.

A. D. 445. CH. XII.

" of John, and that to fulfil all righteousness, and to set an " example; just as He was circumcised and practised the legal " ceremonies. But He instituted the Sacrament of Baptism " at His death, by the water which flowed from His side with " the blood." For the better preservation of uniformity in discipline, St. Leo directs them to send three Bishops annually from Sicily to Rome on the twentieth of September, to assist at one of the two Councils, which, according to the canons, were to be held every year. This letter was conveyed by the Bishops Bacillus and Paschasinus, who were to send an account to the Pope of their execution of his orders. It is dated[1] the twenty-first of October, 447.

[1] 12 Kal. Nov. Alipio et Ardabure Coss.

At the commencement of the preceding year, he had written to Senecio and the other Metropolitans of Achaia, who were six in number, with a view to maintain them firm in their obedience to the Bishop of Thessalonica. They had declared themselves very well satisfied with St. Leo's appointment of Anastasius of Thessalonica to be his Vicar for Illyricum. One of these Bishops, however, had frequently made unlawful ordinations, besides ordaining to the town of Thespia a Bishop who was entirely a stranger to the place. St. Leo exhorts them all to come, when summoned, to the general Council of Illyricum[2], that is, to send two or three Bishops to it from out of each province; and he declares that a Metropolitan has no power to ordain a Bishop merely of his own will, without the consent of the clergy and people. This letter is dated the sixth of January, 446.

[2] Ep 13. [p. 444.]

XII. Death of Proclus. Flavian his successor.

Proclus died on the twenty-fourth of October, 447, having held the see of Constantinople thirteen years and three months[3]. He was succeeded by Flavian, Priest and Treasurer of that church. This ordination was distasteful to the Eunuch Chrysaphius, Præfect of the Chamber, who had conceived some prejudice against Flavian. He urged the Emperor to demand of Flavian eulogies for his ordination. Flavian sent him some white bread, as a symbol of his blessing. Chrysaphius aimed at something very different, and sent him word that he must make a present of gold. The Bishop answered that he had none, unless it were the consecrated vessels; but that the goods of the Church belonged to GOD, and were designed for the poor. From that time Chrysaphius

[3] Menol. Gr. Niceph. Chr. Supr. 26. 27. Niceph. Hist. 14. 47. v. Garn. Diss. 2. de libr. Th. [Auct. Th. p. 108, sqq.]

resolved to spare no pains to procure Flavian's deposition; but as he was supported by Pulcheria, who in fact ruled all by her authority, he proposed to begin by removing her from the position she then occupied. He therefore prevailed on the Emperor, by means of his wife Eudocia, to demand of Flavian that he should ordain Pulcheria deaconess. The Emperor sent for him and made the proposition to him in private. Flavian was grieved when he heard it, but, without manifesting his concern to the Emperor, he wrote secretly to Pulcheria, telling her not to appear before him, lest he should be obliged to do something which might not be agreeable either to her or to himself. She conjectured what the design against her was, and withdrew to Hebdomon[g]. The Emperor Theodosius and the Empress Eudocia were highly incensed against Flavian for having discovered their secret; and thus the foundation was laid for his after disgrace.

A. D. 445. CH. XIII.

XIII. Theodoret banished.

When Theodoret heard of the ordination of Flavian, he wrote him a complimentary letter[1], hoping to find in him a protector; for it was now two years since he had received the Emperor's orders to retire to his diocese of Cyrus, with a strict injunction to confine himself to it. The time is ascertained from the letter to the Consul Nomus[2], whose Consulate fell on the year 445. He was accused of having preached a sermon at Antioch, after the death of St. Cyril, in the presence of Domnus, in which, it was alleged, he had spoken thus[3]: "No one is now any longer forced to blas- "pheme. Where are those who say that it is GOD who was "crucified? GOD is not crucified; it was a man, even JESUS "CHRIST, who was crucified. There is now no more dis- "pute; Egypt and the East are under one yoke; envy is "dead, and heresy is buried with it." He was further accused of having ordained to the see of Tyre the Count Irenæus, who had been twice married, and who had displayed so much ardour at the Council of Ephesus in the

[1] Ep. 11. [t. iii. p. 904.]

[2] Ep. 81. [p. 952.]

[3] Conc. V. coll. 5. tom. v. p. 503. D.

[g] A large meadow or common extending from the walls of the city to the seventh milestone at the head of the Golden Horn. Constantine had built a palace in it, to which his successors retired to recreate their jaded spirits. (Ruffinus, l. 3. de Vit. Patr. n. 19.) See Dufresne, CP. Chr. lib. ii. p. 173, sqq., and his Disq. ad Zonar. Ann. p. 126. ed. Par., (reprinted at the end of the CP. Chr. ed. Venet.)

A. D. 445. CH. XIII. cause of Nestorius. Lastly, Theodoret was charged with disturbing the Church by the Councils which he was continually assembling at Antioch[1]; and this is the only reason specified in the Emperor's letter. He obeyed, and left Antioch without bidding any one farewell, that he might escape the importunity of some who would gladly have detained him there.

[1] Ep. 80. 79.

But he complained to divers persons of the injustice of being thus branded and condemned without any judicial examination. He wrote about it to the Patrician Anatolius, to the Præfect Eutrechius, to the Consul Nomus, to Eusebius Bishop of Ancyra[2]. "It is not," he says[3], "that I am dis-
"satisfied with living at Cyrus; I can truly say, I love it
"better than the most celebrated cities, because GOD has
"been pleased to cast my lot in it; but it is surely a painful
"thing[4] to be tied down to it of necessity, not of choice.
"This measure strengthens the wicked and makes them
"more untoward." And again[5]; "The cities are all open to
"heretics, to pagans, to Jews; and I who fight for the doc-
"trine of the Gospel am expelled from all the cities. But it
"is said that I hold wrong opinions. Let a Council then be
"called: let me explain myself in the presence of the Bishops
"and magistrates, and let the judges state which opinion is
"conformable to the doctrine of the Apostles." And afterwards: "I never came of my own accord to Antioch, neither
"under Theodotus, nor under John, nor under Domnus; I
"yielded a constrained obedience, after being summoned five
"or six times, and then only out of deference to the canons,
"which denounce those who refuse to attend the Councils."

[2] Ep. 79, 80, 81, 82.
[3] Ep. 79. [p. 950. B.]
[4] ἀνιαρόν. v. Arist. Metaph. iv. 5.]
[5] Ep. 81. [p. 953. B.]

He remarks in these two letters that he had now been Bishop twenty-five years[6]; that during the whole of that time he had never accused any one, nor been himself accused; and that none of his clergy had ever appeared before the tribunals. He also recounts, in self-justification, the benefits temporal and spiritual which he had conferred on his diocese.

[6] Supr. 25. 30.

In the letter to Eusebius of Ancyra[7], he says, "Those who
"are reviving the heresy of Marcion and of the other Docetæ,
"enraged at my open refutation of them, have endeavoured
"to circumvent the Emperor, treating me as a heretic, and
"charging me with dividing into two sons our LORD JESUS

[7] Ep. 82.

"CHRIST. But they have not succeeded, for the order A. D. 445.
"which has been issued against me contains no accusation CH. XIV.
"of heresy." Afterwards; "So far am I from embracing so
"detestable an opinion, that it grieves me to have found some
"of the Fathers of the Council of Nicæa, who, whilst writing
"against the Arians, have pushed the division of the hu-
"manity and the Divinity too far. That it may not be
"thought that fear leads me to speak thus for the nonce,
"you may read what I wrote previously to the Council of
"Ephesus, and afterwards twelve years ago. For, by the
"grace of GOD, I have explained all the Prophets, the Psalms,
"and St. Paul. I wrote long since against the Arians, Mace-
"donians, Apollinarians, and Marcionites. I have composed
"a mystical book, a book on Providence, another on the
"Questions of the Magi, the Life of the Saints, and many [1 v. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. ed. Harles. t. viii. pp. 277—309.]
"more[1]. I defy my accusers and judges to point out in them
"any opinion that I have not found in Holy Scripture."

XIV. Theodoret's writings.

Of the works here mentioned by Theodoret, the first, against the heretics, are lost, unless they lie concealed under the name of some other author[2]. Neither are the mystical book and the answers to the Magi now extant. But we have his Commentaries on the Prophets, the Psalms, and St. Paul[3]. The Life of the Saints is the *Philotheus*, otherwise called The Religious History[4], which contains the lives of thirty hermits whom Theodoret had known, beginning with St. James of Nisibis and ending with St. Domninus. But besides the works which he enumerates in the letter to Eusebius, he had at that time composed a large treatise On the diseases of the Grecians[5], that is, on the errors of the pagans; it is divided into twelve books, and contains ample stores of erudition. Above a hundred ancient authors are quoted in it. He had also written a commentary on Solomon's Song[6].

[2 v. Garn. Diss. p. 259.
[3 t. i, ii, iii.
[4 t. iii. [p. 757.]
[5 t. iv. [p. 461.]
[6 t. i. [p. 983.]

It is thought that it was during this forced retirement that he wrote his Eranistes or Polymorphus[7], so called because he maintained that the error which he assailed in it was a mere cento of several old heresies. It was the opinion held by those who[8], carried away by their extreme zeal against the Nestorians, fell into the opposite heresy, affirming that there was but one nature in CHRIST. The work is divided into three dialogues; the title of the first is *Immutable*, because

[7 t. iv.
[8 Præf. in Eran.

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the author there shews that the WORD making Himself flesh suffered no change; of the second, *Inconfusible*, where he shews that the Incarnation took place without confusion of the two natures; of the third, *Impassible*[1]. He refers to Theophilus of Alexandria and St. Cyril, as among the orthodox Fathers[2], and quotes Latin Fathers as well as Greek[3]. He gives several syllogisms, in an appendix, in proof of the same three truths, that the WORD is immutable, incapable of mixture, and impassible.

[1 ἄτρεπτος, ἀσύγχυτος, ἀπαθής.]

[2 Dial. 2. p. 101. 110.

[3 Dial. 3. p. 167.

XV. Theodoret's letter to Dioscorus.

Those whom he attacks in this work were, he says, obscure persons, who had no other means of attaining celebrity than by their crimes. This may refer to certain Eastern Monks, or, as he elsewhere says, certain clerks of Orrhoene[4], who came to Alexandria, and accused Theodoret of having divided CHRIST into two Sons, in the discourses which he delivered at Antioch[5]; they also charged the Bishops of Cilicia with the same error. Dioscorus of Alexandria wrote about it to Domnus of Antioch, complaining more particularly of Theodoret. The latter wrote to Dioscorus justifying himself, and appealing to the many thousands[6] who heard him at Antioch, whilst his accusers, he says, numbered but fifteen at most. "I taught six years," he proceeds, "under Theodotus of "blessed memory; thirteen years under the blessed John, "who was so delighted with my discourses, that he often "rose up and clapped his hands[7]. This is now the seventh "year of the holy Bishop Domnus; and, hitherto, none "either of the Bishops or the clergy have found any fault "with aught that I have said." The seventh year of Domnus falls on the year 447.[8]

[4 Ep. 87. [p. 965.]

[5 Ep. 83. ad Diosc. [p. 957.]

[6 πολλαὶ μυριάδες.]

[7 v. Supr. 25. 30.]

[8 Supr. 26. 46.

Theodoret then protests that he is desirous of following in the steps of the Fathers and of preserving the Faith of Nicæa. He explains his belief respecting the Incarnation, which is the same as the Catholic. He refers to the book in which he had made use of the authority of Theophilus and St. Cyril, that is, to the Eranistes. Then he adds[9], "I believe you are well "aware that St. Cyril, of blessed memory, frequently wrote to "me. And when he sent his books against Julian, and the "Treatise on the Scape-goat, to Antioch, he desired the "blessed John of Antioch to shew them to the most cele- "brated doctors of the East. John sent them to me; I read

[9 p. 960. B.]

"them with admiration; I wrote my opinion of them to A. D. 447. CH. XVI.
"St. Cyril, and he sent me an answer, bearing witness to
"my accuracy and affection. I still possess these letters."
He finishes with this profession of faith; "If any one denies
"that the holy Virgin is the Mother of GOD; or if he says
"that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is a mere man; or if he
"divides into two sons[1] the only-begotten SON and first-born [1 εἰς δύο υἱοὺς μερίζει]
"of every creature, let him be deprived of the hope which is
"in CHRIST."

Theodoret wrote, at the same time, a circular letter to the Bishops of the two Cilicias[2], in which he informs them that [2] Ep. 84, 85.
the widely-spread slander against them took its rise, as he was told, "from some few people, who divide the Incarnate
"WORD into two persons[3]." He refers to the passages of Scripture which are most express for the Unity of Person: those two of St. Paul[4], "There is but one LORD JESUS CHRIST;" and again, "One LORD, one Faith, one Baptism:" and those of the Gospel[5], "No man hath ascended up into heaven, but
"He that came down from heaven, the SON of Man who
"is in Heaven;" and again; "If ye see the SON of Man
"ascend up where He was before." Theodoret exhorts the Bishops to repress those who oppose this doctrine out of ignorance or contentiousness: "if indeed there be any
"such," he adds, "and the charge against them be not as
"calumnious as the one against us."

[3 εἰς δύο πρόσωπα διαιρούντων]
[4] 1 Cor. 8. 6; Eph. 4. 5.
[5] John 3. 13; 6. 62.

Dioscorus paid little regard to Theodoret's letter[6]. On the contrary, he permitted his accusers to pronounce a public anathema against him in the church of Alexandria, and he himself rose up from his seat and joined in the cry of 'anathema.' He went still further; he sent Bishops to Constantinople to accuse Theodoret and the Easterns. Theodoret complained of this to Flavian of Constantinople. "I sent one
"of our Priests," he says, "with a synodal letter to Dio-
"scorus, to inform him that we abide by the reconciliation
"made under Cyril of blessed memory; that we approve of
"St. Cyril's letter, and cheerfully[7] admit St. Athanasius's
"letter to Epictetus and the Creed of Nicæa. The clergy
"whom he sent here satisfied themselves, by experience, that
"none of the Eastern Bishops hold opinions contrary to the
"apostolic doctrine." He then shews the injustice of the

XVI. Theodoret's letter to Flavian.
[6] Ep. 86.
[7 ἀσπασίως]

A. D. 447. CH. XVII.

anathema pronounced against him, urging that the Council of Constantinople, agreeably to that of Nicæa, had divided the jurisdiction of provinces[1] in such sort that the Bishop of Alexandria had no right to diocesan power out of Egypt. "He is ever vaunting," he adds, "of the chair of St. Mark; "though he knows very well that Antioch possesses the chair "of St. Peter, who was not only the teacher of St. Mark, but "the first and chiefest of the Apostles[h]." And afterwards; "Know, my lord, that his displeasure against us dates "from the time when, in conformity with the canons, we "gave our assent to the synodal letter which you drew up "under Proclus of blessed memory. He has once and again "complained to us about it, as if we had betrayed the rights "of the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria." This synodal letter of Proclus is probably[2] the one which was afterwards produced at the Council of Chalcedon, relating to Athanasius, Bishop of Perrha in Syria. Dioscorus pretended that the Easterns, by receiving this letter, had acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople over the Bishop of Antioch; who, up to that time, had been the third Bishop in the world, those of Rome and Alexandria alone taking precedence of him.

[1] τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν

[2] v. Garn. ad Ep. Theod. 86. [Auct. p. 223.] Infr. 28. 28.

XVII. Deputation from Syria to Constantinople.

To defend Theodoret, and the Eastern Bishops generally, against the calumnies of the clergy of Orrhoene and of others who had gained the ear of Dioscorus, Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, sent Bishops to Constantinople on his part, as Dioscorus had on his. The Bishops of Syria set out in the depth of winter[3], (at the end, that is, of the year 447,) and Theodoret gave them several letters. Two and twenty of these are still extant[4], comprising communications to thirteen great officers, most of whom had been Consuls[5]; to some of the clergy of Constantinople[6]; and to three Bishops,—Flavian of Constantinople[7], to whom Theodoret took this opportunity

[3] Ep. 94. 101.

[4] Ep. 100, 101, etc.

[5] Ep. 88, 89, sqq.

[6] Ep. 105—108.

[7] Ep. 104.

[h] Τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρῶτος καὶ κορυφαῖος. So, too, Dionys. de Eccl. Hier. c. 5. § 5, Cyril Alex. l. 12. in Johan. (t. iv. p. 1118), and S. Chrys. t. iii. p. 4. E; vi. p. 282. E; ix. 48. A. and in perhaps a dozen other places. It is (not 'a hyperbolical flash or flourish' as Barrow thinks, vol. vii. p. 150, but) a very exact and expressive phrase. The Coryphæus of the Greek chorus was, to be sure, not of a higher rank than the rest, but in him the whole was united and personified, so that the chorus always spoke and was addressed through him as one integer: (S. Ambr. in Psal. 38. Quod Petro dicitur, Apostolis dicitur; and S. August. de Agon. Christ. 30. Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas.) Cf. supr. xxv. 48. c.

of sending a second letter; Basil of Seleucia[1], who was then at Constantinople; and Eusebius of Ancyra[2], whom they were to visit on their route. In the letter to Flavian, he gives a doctrinal exposition of his belief, and notes down the various heresies respecting the Incarnation. Simon, Basilides, Valentinus, Bardesanes, Marcion[1], and Manes, acknowledge CHRIST only as GOD, attributing humanity to Him in appearance only. The Arians [and Eunomians] say that the WORD assumed a body only, to which He supplies the place of a soul. Apollinarius says that He took a body that was animated[3] indeed, but not by a reasonable soul. On the other hand, Photinus, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Samosata say that He is a mere man. To the last, therefore, we must oppose those passages which prove the Divinity of CHRIST, to the first those which prove His humanity.

A. D. 447. CH. XVIII.

[1] Ep. 102.
[2] Ep. 109.
[3 ἔμψυχον]

XVIII. Ireneæus of Tyre deposed.

In the mean time, Theodoret heard from Constantinople that there was an Emperor's order for deposing Irenæus, whom he had ordained Bishop of Tyre. He wrote about it to Domnus, and stated the reasons for supporting that ordination. "I did it," he says[4], "out of deference to the votes "of all the Bishops of Phœnicia, and because I knew his "zeal, his magnanimity, his love of the poor[5], and other "virtues. Besides, I do not know that he ever refused to "call the holy Virgin 'Mother of GOD,' or maintained any "other opinion contrary to the Faith. As to the question "of bigamy, I followed the examples of our predecessors. "Alexander of Antioch, assisted by Acacius of Berrhæa, or"dained Diogenes, who had been twice married; Prälius "of Jerusalem ordained Domninus of Cæsarea, who had "been twice married; nay, Proclus of Constantinople ap"proved of this very ordination of Irenæus, as also did the "principal Bishops of Pontus, and all those of Palestine."

[4] Ep. 110.
[5 φιλοπτωχία]

The first impulse of Irenæus, on being apprised of this order, was at once to withdraw. However, he consulted Theodoret[6], who advised him to wait till he was forced to do so, and not voluntarily to abandon his flock. The subject of consultation was concealed beneath this parable. An impious judge allowed two Martyrs to choose whether they would sacrifice to idols, or throw themselves into the sea: one of

[6] Ep. 3. [p. 899.]

[1] On these Gnostic leaders, see Neander, vol. ii. pp. 54. 70. 96. 119. (E. Tr. 1841.)

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them at once rushed into the waves; the other chose neither part of the alternative, but waited until he was thrown in by force. Theodoret approves of the conduct of the latter.

The order against Irenæus was executed; he was deposed, and Photius ordained Bishop of Tyre in his stead. Irenæus is comprehended in a law of Theodosius[1], which declares, first, that all the writings of Porphyry against the Christian religion shall be burnt: and secondly, that the Nestorians, if Bishops or Clerks, shall be expelled from their churches; if laymen, excommunicated; and permission is given to all Catholics to lodge an information against them. If any books maintain a doctrine not conformable to that of the Council of Nicæa, of the Council of Ephesus, and of St. Cyril, they are to be burnt; all persons whatsoever being prohibited from reading or keeping them, on pain of capital punishment. This article seems to be aimed at the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia. Lastly, the law provides that Irenæus, who had incurred the high displeasure of the Emperor as being a Nestorian, and, after that, had been ordained contrary to the canons [since he had been twice married], should be ejected from the Church of Tyre, and should not leave his country but remain there in quiet, without either the name or the dress of a Bishop. This law was published in the church of the monks of Egypt, on the three and twentieth of Pharmouthi, in the first indiction, in the year of Diocletian 164; that is, the eighteenth of April 448. Photius however had been installed Bishop of Tyre in the preceding February.

[1] C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 47. [p. 1215.]

XIX. Proceedings against Ibas.

This is evident from an assembly which was held there, relative to the affair of Ibas or Ihiba[2], Bishop of Edessa. He was the successor of Rabbula, but held the very reverse of his opinions; for Rabbula had steadily adhered to St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus[3], whilst Ibas had belonged to the party of Nestorius and the Easterns, down to the re-union effected by Paul of Emesa. The clergy of Edessa were divided, several being opposed to Ibas. Four Priests belonging to this party were stimulated by Uranius[4], Bishop of Himeria in Orrhoene, who held a correspondence with Eutyches, an Abbot of Constantinople, a very zealous man against the Nestorians. These four Priests, whose names were Samuel,

[2] Assem. B. O. t. iii. pt. 1. p. 85.]

[3] Supr. 26. 36.

[4] Conc. Calch. Act. 9. p. 626. E. [p. 627. D.]

Cyrus, Eulogius, and Maras, preferred bills against Ibas to Domnus, Bishop of Antioch[1], who summoned Ibas to appear before him; but as it was Lent (apparently in the year 446) the convention was not appointed to meet until after the holy-days. In the mean time Domnus enjoined Ibas to remove the excommunication, which he had pronounced against these Priests. Ibas committed the whole matter to the judgment of Domnus, who, out of respect for the festival, released them from their excommunication, on condition that they should not leave Antioch before the affair was definitively arranged; failing in this condition, they were to be deposed. In spite of this, before Ibas arrived at Antioch, Samuel and Cyrus left Antioch for Constantinople[2]; and Maras and Eulogius alone remained behind.

A. D. 446. CH. XIX.

[1] Act. 10. p. 640. E.

[2] εἰς τὸ κομητάτον]

Domnus assembled a numerous Council at Antioch, at which Uranius of Himeria was present[3]. The bills against Ibas were ordered to be read; and as the names of four accusers were mentioned and only two were forthcoming, the Council asked what had become of the others[4]. The answer was, that they had withdrawn; "we have heard," it was added, "that they are gone to Constantinople." The Council pronounced them guilty of default, and, as such, to have incurred the penalty of deposition. The Bishop Uranius, with the Priests Eulogius and Maras, accompanied the other accusers of Ibas to Constantinople, where they joined Samuel and Cyrus, and presented a petition to the Emperor, requesting that, as they had reason to suspect Domnus, they might have other judges allowed them. They eventually obtained letters by which Uranius himself was commissioned, jointly with Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, to take cognizance of the accusation entered against Ibas by Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, and Eulogius[5]. The bearer of this order was Damascius, Tribune and Notary of the Emperor, whose special commission was dated at Constantinople, on the seventh of the calends of November[6], that is, the twenty-sixth of October; the year must have been 447[k]. He brought with him the Bishop Uranius, a Deacon

[3] p. 645. C.

[4] p. 642. E.

[5] C. Calch. Act. 9. p. 628. C.

[6] p. 637.

[k] The chronology of these events is doubtful. Fleury has followed Baronius (a. 448. § 57), who disposed of the date assigned in the Acts of Tyre, "after the Consulate of Zeno, &c.," by the summary process of correction. Baluze (not. in C. Calch. ap. Mansi, t. vii. p. 197) thinks that "post con-

A. D. 448. CH. XX. of Constantinople named Eulogius, (who was sent by the Bishop Flavian,) and the accusers of Ibas, namely, the four [1 p.635.D.] Priests of Mesopotamia, and some monks[1].

XX. The arbitration of Tyre.

When they came to Tyre, Photius and Eustathius opened the Emperor's commission, and the adversaries of Ibas preferred various articles of indictment, the most heinous being one relating to the Faith. For they alleged that Ibas was a Nestorian, and that he had said publicly in the church, "I "do not envy CHRIST's becoming GOD." Ibas denied it on oath, and protested that he was Catholic. The accusers produced against him only three witnesses, against whom he [2 p.635.E.] excepted, because they had lived with his accusers[2]. As they made a great noise and filled the city of Tyre with confusion and scandal, Photius procured their removal out of it; and finding nothing of substance in their accusations, he and Eustathius quitted their character of judges to assume that of mediators, and induced the parties to agree to a treaty; the acts of which were drawn up on the fifth of the calends of [3 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν] March, in the consulate[3] of Zeno and Postumian, in the first indiction, according to the Macedonians the 574th year from [4 p. 628.] Alexander, the tenth of the month Perithius[4], that is, February the twenty-fifth, A.D. 448.

This treaty purports that Ibas produced a confession of faith in writing, to which he promised to conform himself in preaching in his church, and that he undertook to anathematize distinctly both Nestorius and those who made use of his books and discourses. "He has declared that his belief "is conformable to the letters which contain the terms of the "union negotiated by Paul of Emesa between John of An- "tioch and St. Cyril; that he receives all the decrees of the "Council of Ephesus as of a Council inspired by the HOLY "GHOST, and esteems it equal in all respects to the Council "of Nicæa. He has followed up this confession by a pro- "mise to forget all that has passed, and to look on his ac- "cusers as his children, while they on their part promise "to assemble in church with Ibas, acknowledging him for

"sulatum" may mean "post initum con- "sulatum." Noris (Diss. iv. de Epoch. t. ii. oper.) and Pagi (A. 448. § 9) place the commission of Damascius in 448, and the two Councils in 449. Tillemont agrees with Noris as to the year, but makes the trial at Berytus to have preceded that at Tyre; see note 13. t. xv. p. 897. He is followed by Walch, Ketzerh. th. vi. p. 70.

"their father, and shewing him all manner of affection. A. D. 448.
"That if in future he should think he has reason to CH. XXI.
"complain of Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, or Eulogius, he will
"not punish them by his own single authority, but only
"after and with the advice of Archbishop Domnus. And
"whereas Ibas is accused of misapplying the revenues and
"offerings of the Church; he agrees to follow the usage of
"the Church of Antioch, and to have the revenues of his
"Church managed by stewards[1] whom he is to choose from
"among the clergy." After this agreement[2] Ibas and the four Priests communicated together in the sacred gifts in the cathedral[3] of Tyre.

[1 Supr. 26. l. a.]
[2 p. 637. A.]
[3 ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ]

The hollowness of this reconciliation soon shewed itself: the same Priests renewed their prosecution of Ibas, and further accused along with him Daniel, Bishop of Carrhæ, his nephew, and John Bishop of Batna[4]. The four Priests were joined by five new accusers, Ablabius[5], John, Anatolius, Caïumas, and Abib, all Clerks. They came to Constantinople and addressed themselves to the Emperor Theodosius and the Archbishop Flavian, who referred the trial to the same Bishops as he had nominated on the former occasion, (that is, Photius of Tyre, Eustathius of Berytus, and Uranius of Himeria,) as appears from those letters of Flavian with which Eulogius, Deacon of Constantinople, was entrusted. The Emperor also sent letters to the same effect, and, as before, charged the Tribune Damascius with the execution of them.

[4 So Baronius, § 60. In the concilia it is Theodosiopolis.]
[5 Fl. *Alanius.*]

XXI. The trial at Berytus.

But this second time the assembly was held at Berytus[6] on the first of September in the same year, 448. The three judges, the Tribune Damascius, the three Bishops who were impeached, and the nine accusers, were all there. The judges, wishing to be thoroughly informed, in the outset, of the position in which the two parties stood to each other, asked Ibas what had passed at the Council of Antioch. Samuel, one of the accusers, rose and said: "We beg that what is spoken "may be explained in Syriac to the Bishop Uranius; for "he is throughly acquainted with what was written by the "Archbishop Domnus to the Archbishop Flavian relative to "our case; he was at Constantinople." They gave him an interpreter named Maras, because they spoke Greek, which

[6 C. Calch. Act. 10. p. 637. E.]

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Uranius, who was a Mesopotamian, did not understand. Ibas, in answer to the demand of the judges, gave a sketch of the proceedings at Antioch; and as two of his accusers had absented themselves, they read the Acts of the Council, which he held in his hand.

Next in order came the reading of the bill of indictment which had been presented the day before; and the accusers, on being asked severally whether they yet stood to it, declared they did. The articles of accusation were then read, being in number eighteen. Those which concerned Ibas may be reduced to three main heads:—that he was a Nestorian, and had spoken of St. Cyril as a heretic[1]:—that he had ordained unfit persons[2], among others, his nephew Daniel[3], whom he had made Bishop in a city of the pagans, which required a pastor of most exemplary life, whereas this was a young man of unsettled and even profligate habits:—that he was greedy of lucre, making his ordinations a source of income[4], and turning the revenues of the Church, and the donations which were made to it, out of their proper course, for the sake of enriching his nephew and relations[5]. Against Daniel they urged, that[6] he had a criminal conversation with a married woman of the city of Edessa named Challoa; that he carried her about with him to various places; that he had enriched her at the expense of the Church, so that[7] she who before was worth nothing was now able to lend two or three hundred sols of gold[8]; and that Daniel had in his will left her and her children the wealth he had amassed [out of the ecclesiastical property[9]:] that besides this he had given her the inheritance of the estate of a rich Deacon[1], and [had cut down timber for her in] the woods belonging to the Church[2]. They also accused Daniel of ordaining the companions of his revels[3], and of accepting gifts[4] for absolving the crime of idolatry[5].

[1] art. 11.
[2] 4. 5.
[3] 6.
[4] 3.
[5] 1. 2. 7, 8, 9. 13.
[6] 6.
[7] 15.
[8] νομισμάτων]
[9] 14.
[1] 16.
[2] 18.
[3] 12.]
[4] σπόρτουλα]
[5] 17.

The judges said that they must begin with the count which spoke of a violation of the Faith, as this was the most heinous[6]. Maras said, "He (Ibas) said in a discourse, 'I do "'not envy CHRIST's becoming GOD; for I am become so "'no less than He!'" The Bishops asked Ibas if he had

[6] p. 651. D.

[1] This charge, if substantiated, would have proved Ibas to be, not, as the indictment says, a Nestorian, but rather a Samosatenian. Though he so strongly

spoken thus: he answered, "Anathema to him who said it A. D. 448.
"and to the author of this calumny, for I never uttered it; CH. XXI.
"GOD forbid I should." Samuel said, "We have witnesses
"of it here, we pray you to call them, and let them depose
"with their own mouths, if they did not hear him say this."
Ibas said, "I would rather die ten thousand deaths than
"speak these words. GOD forbid that I should even have
"imagined them." The Bishops said, "Do you mean to
"say that Ibas spoke this in the church?" Samuel said, "It
"is a custom of the Church, that on Easter-Day or Easter-
"Eve the Bishop should give some presents with his own
"hand to the clergy; before doing this, he usually delivers
"an address; and it was on one of these occasions that he
"made use of the words in question before all the clergy.
"We can prove this by some of their number, now present,
"who heard him say them." The Bishops said, "How long
"is it since, as you assert, Ibas said this?" Samuel answered,
"Rather more than three years. He has also said other
"things which we are ready to prove, if you order it."

The Bishops said, "Who are your witnesses?" Samuel answered, "We have three of them here, but if you order it, "we will give you the names of others whom we will pro-"duce." Ibas said, "Our clergy consists of two hundred "persons, more or less. They have given you their testi-"mony as to whether I am heretical or orthodox; and have "sent their declarations on the subject, in writing, to the "Archbishop Domnus and to your holiness. It is for you "to examine whether their testimony is compatible with that "of these three who went with my accusers to Constantinople, "and are still with them." Samuel said, "The proof lies "with us, not with the Bishop Ibas; no one ever thinks of "proving a negative." The Bishops ordered them to name their witnesses. Samuel said, "There is the Deacon David, "who has been Treasurer; the Deacon Maras, who recites "the writings of St. Ephrem and is the most learned man "among the Syrians." Ibas said, "Maras was with them "at Antioch; he presented the libels[1] along with them, and

[1] λιβέλλους

repudiated these words, he was still represented as having made use of them by later writers, e. g. in the letter of Simeon of Beth-Arsama, in Assem. B.O., t. i. p. 350.

A. D. 448. CH. XXI.

"went with them to Constantinople. But, in fact, he is ex-
"communicated—not by me, but by his own Archdeacon,
"for having insulted a Priest, and they, finding him irritated
"in consequence, welcomed him as an assistant in the work
[1] p. 655. "of accusing me." The Bishops represented[1], that as the blasphemy of which Ibas was accused had been uttered, as
[2 ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου.] they alleged, in the hall of the Bishop's house[2], before the whole of the clergy, there could be no lack of witnesses. To this Eulogius replied, that the greater part were deterred from giving evidence by their dread of Ibas; but the Bishops were not satisfied with this answer, and said, "We do not
"receive the deposition of the three witnesses whom you
"produce; especially as they are persons suspected by the
"Bishop Ibas."

[2] p. 657. E. They now asked him a second time[3], if he had really said what they laid to his charge. Ibas answered, "I not only
"never said it, but I anathematize him who said it, whoever
"he be. I do not believe a devil would utter such words."
Maras said, "Did you not call the blessed Cyril a heretic?"
[4] p. 659. "In truth," said Ibas[4], "I do not remember it; if I did call
"him so, since the Council of the East had anathematized
[5 ἐξάρχῳ] "him as such, I did but follow my Patriarch[5]." Maras added, "Did you not say, that unless he had anathematized
"his articles, you would not have received him?" Ibas re-
[6 ἑαυτὸν ἠρμήνευσε.] plied, "I said that if he had not explained himself[6], the
"Council of the East would not have received him, nor I
"either." The Bishops said to the accusers, "State whether
"you are prepared to prove that he called Cyril a heretic
"after the re-union with John." Ibas said, "So far was I
"from anathematizing him after he had explained his articles,
"that I received and answered his letters, and we were in
"communion with each other." The Bishops said, "Shew
"if since the death of the blessed Cyril the Bishop Ibas has
"called him a heretic." Maras said, "We will do so," and
he produced a letter from Ibas to a Christian of Persia named
[7 p. 662. B.] Maris[m], which was read aloud[7].

[m] Simeon Beth-Arsam. (Assem. t. i. p. 204) says, "Maris, of the city of "Ardaschir, received the Nestorian "error from Ibas; and thence the "whole of Persia began to be infected "both from the letters of Ibas and the "writings of his masters," i. e. Diodorus and Theodorus. He afterwards

A. D. 448. CH. XXII. XXII. Letter of Ibas to Maris.

It contained a complete history of the division which had occurred between Nestorius and St. Cyril. Ibas accuses St. Cyril in it of having fallen into the heresy of Apollinarius, and adds that his Twelve Articles were full of all sort of impiety. He then gives an account of what had passed at Ephesus, always taking care to side with the Easterns against St. Cyril. He inveighs against Rabbula his predecessor, though without expressly naming him; he styles him tyrant, and accuses him of having persecuted not the living only but the dead, especially Theodorus of Mopsuestia, whom he had anathematized publicly in the Church. In conclusion he speaks of the reconciliation mediated by Paul of Emesa between John of Antioch and St. Cyril, the acts of which he sent to Maris, adding, "The dispute is over, there "is no more schism, the Church is in peace as before. You "will see this by the Acts, which we send you in order that "you may inform all of this good news. The middle wall[1] "of hatred is removed, and those who, in violation of all "order, attacked the living and the dead, are confounded, "being obliged to defend themselves and to teach the re- "verse of what they taught formerly: for no one dares now "affirm that there is but one nature of the Divinity and the "humanity, but they confess that the temple and He who "dwells therein is one only Son, JESUS CHRIST." Such is the famous letter of Ibas to Maris.

[1 μεσότοιχον Eph. ii. 14.]

Ibas on his part demanded that they should read a letter, which had been written in his favour in the name of all the clergy of Edessa; it was addressed to the Bishops Photius and Eustathius, his judges[2]. After noticing the blasphemy of which he was accused, they protest that they had never heard any such words from him or from any other person. It ended thus: "We beg and pray that you will send us back "our Bishop as soon as possible, especially seeing that the "festival of Easter is approaching, when his presence is re- "quired for catechising and baptizing." Hence we conclude that the letter was intended for the assembly at Tyre. It was subscribed by sixty-one clerks; namely, thirteen Priests,

[2] p. 668.

informs us that "at Edessa was a Per- "sian school, in which many natives "of Persia were trained to learning;" and so Theodor. Lect., lib. ii. n. 5. p. 572.

A. D. 448. CH. XXIII. six and thirty Deacons, eleven Sub-deacons, and a Reader. Several of the subscriptions are stated by the document to have been made in Syriac[n]; shewing that the two languages, Greek and Syriac, were both used in that Church. On the ground of this declaration taken in connection with the rest, Ibas received his acquittal at Berytus; but the sequel of the acts of this assembly are not extant.

XXIII. The commencement of Eutyches. [1 Conc. t. iv. p. 275.] Liberat. Br. c. 11. Eutyches, who had acted in concert with Uranius in the prosecution of Ibas, was himself the originator of a heresy opposed to that of Nestorius[o]. He was Priest and Archimandrite of a monastery of three hundred monks[1] near Constantinople. He had been one of the most zealous opponents of Nestorius, and the friends of St. Cyril looked upon him as likely to be a useful auxiliary in defending the Faith[2]. This very year the Pope St. Leo, on being informed by him that Nestorianism was recruiting its forces, had sent him a letter in reply, commending his zeal and encouraging him to persevere. St. Leo's letter is dated[3] the first of June, A.D. 448. But the Nestorians, of whom Eutyches complained, were in fact Catholics, as we learn from a synodal letter written by Domnus of Antioch to the Emperor Theodosius[4]. He there accuses Eutyches of reviving the heresy of Apollinarius, by

[2] Synodic. c. 203. ap. N. C. Baluz. [p. 909.] Supr. 26. 20.

[3] Posthumiano et Zenone Coss. Leon. Epist. 19. (al. 6.)

[4] Facund. 8. c. 5. [p. 338.]

[n] The Syriac was spoken vernacularly over most of Syria and Mesopotamia up to the invasion of Mohammed. (Walton, Proleg. xiii.) The author of the life of Alexander the Acœmete, in Bolland, Jan. 15. p. 1023, says, "In that city "(Edessa) were many schools of the "Syrian tongue erected for the benefit "of the neighbouring cities;" which seems to imply that the surrounding country was more purely Syrian than Edessa, at which, as the centre of commerce (supr. xxv. 27. n.) as well as of learning, Greek might be expected to have become naturalized.

[o] Most men who have considered the course which church-history takes, have in some stage of their progress felt pain, if not misgiving, at the rapidity with which one heresy seems to follow upon another.—To minds in this state we may suggest, *first*, that as wars occupy a wide space on the page of civil history, though often affording scarcely any criterion of the aggregate happiness of a nation, so ecclesiastical history is often compelled to dwell on the life of a single heretic, while thousands and tens of thousands are passing to their heavenly inheritance unnoticed and unknown. *Secondly*, that from the disproportionate time spent in examining heresies we are apt to think too slightly of the periods of rest, those "intervals of sunshine between storm and "storm" in which it "is GOD's will "to gather in His elect by little and little." *Lastly*, that heresy is overruled to several of the best ends,—to promote humility—to try our faith (1 Cor. ii. 19. Supr. xxvi. 23)—to rouse the careless to an attentive study, and the religious to a more earnest realization of the Christian verities—and to subserve the evolution of these verities in a dogmatic form. Some of these ends are frequently insisted on by St. Augustine: as in the interesting passages collected by Möhler, Einheit in der Kirche, Zus. xi. (S. 295, ed. 1843), especially De Verâ Relig. c. 15 (t. i. p. 753.)

asserting that the Divinity of the SON of GOD and His humanity are only one nature, and by attributing His sufferings to the Divinity; he also complains of his having anathematized Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, who had defended the Faith against Apollinarius. A. D. 448. CH. XXIV.

Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum in Phrygia, had also been one of the most zealous adversaries of Nestorius; it was he who had put forth a protest against him at Constantinople, being at that time only a layman and advocate[1]. Similarity of opinion had united him very closely in friendship with Eutyches, but he afterwards discovered, by his conversation, that he pushed matters too far and ran into the opposite heresy. For a long time he endeavoured to reclaim him; but finding him fixed in his opinion he not only renounced his friendship, but on learning that thirty Bishops, who happened to be collected at Constantinople, had met in Synod[p] (to decide a difference between Florentius of Sardis, Metropolitan of Lydia, and two Bishops of that province,) he took this opportunity of becoming his accuser.

[1] in A. D. 429. Supr. 25. 2.

XXIV. The Council of Constantinople; first and second sessions.

On the sixth of the ides of November, in the consulate of Zeno and Postumian[2], (i. e. November the eighth, A.D. 448,) the Council being assembled in the Council-chamber of the cathedral church[3] of Constantinople, and Flavian presiding in it; after the affair of Lydia had been settled, Eusebius of Dorylæum, one of the assisting Bishops, rose and presented a bill to the Council, conjuring the Fathers that it might be read and inserted in the Acts. Flavian ordered it to be read by Asterius, Priest and notary; it set forth, that Eutyches was incessantly uttering blasphemies against CHRIST; that he spoke of the clergy with contempt, and accused Eusebius himself of being a heretic; he therefore begged that the Council would summon Eutyches to answer the charges brought against him. Flavian said, "I am surprised at such "a complaint against Eutyches; take the trouble to visit and "converse with him, and if you really find that his opinions "are wrong, the Council will then call upon him to make "his defence." Eusebius replied, "I was formerly his

[2] [ἐν τῷ σηκρήτῳ τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου.]

[3] C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 150. E.

[p] Συνόδου τῆς ἐνδημούσης ἐν τῇ μεγαλοπόλει occurs in the title. This does not mean (as some have taken it) that it was stationary there; it was, in fact, composed of Bishops who were constantly coming and going. Evagrius (i. c. 9) calls it μερικὴν σύνοδον.

A. D. 448. CH. XXIV.

"friend, and have spoken with him on this subject, not "once or twice, but several times, since he was perverted. "I have admonished him, I have instructed him; but he "still persists in saying things contrary to the Faith. This "I can prove by several witnesses who were present and "heard it. I conjure you therefore to send for him, since "he is corrupting a large portion of the people." Flavian said, "Be at the trouble to go once more to his monastery, "and speak to him words of peace, that no new disturbance "may arise in the Churches." Eusebius answered, "Having "been so many times without success, it is impossible for me "to go any more to hear his blasphemies." The Council, finding that he persevered, ordered that his libel should be received and inserted in the Acts, and that Eutyches should [1 ἔκδικος] be summoned by John, Priest and Defender[1], accompanied by the Deacon Andrew, who should read to him the libel and summon him before the Council to make his defence.

[2] p. 156. Six days after this, being the twelfth of November[2], at the request of Eusebius of Dorylæum, they ordered the two principal letters of St. Cyril on the Incarnation to be read; [3] p. 157. D. the first to Nestorius[3], approved by the Council of Ephesus; [4] p. 164.] the second to John of Antioch on the re-union[4]. After these [5] p. 176.] had been read, Eusebius declared[5] that they contained his faith, on which he meant to take his stand in convicting his adversaries, and he desired the Council to make the same declaration. Flavian said, "This is my faith; that our "LORD JESUS CHRIST is perfect GOD and perfect man, "composed of a reasonable soul and a body, consubstantial "with the Father as touching His GODHEAD and with His "mother as to His manhood; and that from the two natures, "united in one hypostasis and one person, there results "since the Incarnation one CHRIST." He then invited each of the Bishops to declare his opinion; and this they all did, to the same effect though in different words. They were Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, Seleucus of Amasia in Pontus, Saturninus of Marcianopolis in Mæsia, all three [6] p. 181, 184. [7] p. 188. Metropolitans[6]; Julian Bishop of Cos[7], the Pope St. Leo's deputy for managing the affairs of the Roman Church at Constantinople; and others, amounting to seventeen in all.

[8] p. 190. D. This done, Eusebius said[8], "Some of the Bishops who are in

" the city have not appeared, either because they are unwell, A. D. 448.
" or because they were not aware of the convoking of this CH. XXV.
" Council; I desire, therefore, that they may be served with
" notices." Archbishop Flavian gave directions accordingly.

XXV. The third session; citations of Eutyches.

The third session was held in the same place, on Monday the fifteenth of November[1]. Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that those who had been sent to Eutyches should report his answer. Flavian directed the notaries to name the persons who had been sent; the notaries said that they were John, Priest and Defender, and the Deacon Andrew, both of whom were present. They were ordered to stand before the Council; and the Priest John said, " When we came to the Abbot Eu-
" tyches in his monastery, we read to him the libel, and gave
" him a copy of it; we told him who was his accuser, and
" read the citation requiring him to appear before you and
" make his defence. This he refused to do, saying that from
" the first he had made a resolute determination never to
" stir out, but to remain in his monastery as if, in some sort,
" in his grave. But he desired us to tell you, that the Bishop
" Eusebius has been long his enemy and instituted these
" proceedings against him only for the sake of doing him an
" injury; that for his part he is ready to subscribe the ex-
" positions of Faith drawn up by the Fathers of Nicæa and
" of Ephesus; that if they were mistaken in any chance ex-
" pressions[2], he does not wish either to censure or to receive
" them, but studies only the Scriptures, as being more sure
" than the exposition of the Fathers; that since the Incar-
" nation he adores one only nature of GOD incarnate. He
" produced a little book out of which he read to this effect:
" adding, 'When they make me say that the WORD brought
" 'His flesh from heaven, it is a mere calumny, I am inno-
" 'cent of it; but that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was made of
" 'two natures united in hypostasis[3],—I have not met with
" 'it in the expositions of the Fathers, nor, if I should have
" 'any thing of the kind read to me, would I receive it, for
" 'the Holy Scriptures are of more value than the teaching
" 'of the Fathers.' However, he admitted that He who was
" born of the Virgin Mary, is perfect GOD and perfect man;
" but not that His flesh is consubstantial[4] with ours." The
Deacon Andrew deposed to having likewise heard all this;

[1] p. 191.

[2] εἰ τύχοι τι ἓν τισι λέξεσιν ἢ διασφαλθὲν ἢ διαπλανηθέν]

[3] ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἑνωθεισῶν καθ' ὑπόστασιν]

[4] ὁμοούσιον]

A. D. 448. CH. XXV. and as the Priest John said that the Deacon of Basil of Seleucia was present at this conversation, Flavian examined him, and he too declared that he had heard the same.

Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that Eutyches should be summoned a second time[1]. Flavian said, "GOD grant that "he may come and acknowledge his fault. Wherefore let "the Priests Mamas and Theophilus go to summon him "once more, and give him our letter of citation," which was then read to the Council: it mentioned that this was the second summons. While they were waiting for the return of the two Priests, and listening to the expositions of the Fathers concerning the Faith, which were being read to them, Eusebius rose and said: "I find that Eutyches has "sent a volume round to the monasteries to stir up the "monks to sedition; I desire that the Priest of Hebdomon, "who is here present, may declare what it is." Flavian ordered him to come forward, and asked him his name. He answered, "Abraham." "What rank do you hold?" "I am "Priest in Hebdomon under your holiness." "Have you "heard what the Bishop Eusebius has deposed?" "Yes," replied Abraham; "Manuel, the Priest and Archimandrite, "sent me to the Priest Asterius, bidding him inform your "holiness that Eutyches had sent him a treatise relating to "the Faith, with a request that he would sign it." Eusebius desired that they would send to the other monasteries, to know whether the treatise had been sent to them. Flavian consented, and said[2], "The Priest Peter and the Deacon "Patricius shall go to the monasteries of the city; the "Priest Rhetorius and the Deacon Eutropius to those of "Sycai[3]; the Priests Paul and John to those of Chalcedon." Sycai was the suburb of Constantinople now called Pera; it received its old name from the fig-trees growing in it[4].

[1] p. 195. B.

[2] p. 199.

[3] εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν ἐν Συκαῖς]

[4] Cang. CP. lib. i. c. 22. p. 67.

While Flavian was speaking, Aëtius, Deacon and notary, announced the return of the Priests Mamas and Theophilus. Flavian ordered them to make their report. Mamas said, "When we reached the monastery of Eutyches, we found "some monks standing before the gateway. We went in "with them, and said to them, 'Announce us to the Archi-"'mandrite, for we have somewhat to say to him on the part "'of the Archbishop and the whole Council.' They said,

" 'The Archimandrite is sick and unable to see you; what A. D. 448.
" 'is your pleasure? Tell it to us.' We said, 'We were sent CH. XXVI.
" 'to him personally with a citation in writing, which we
" 'now hold in our hands.' They went in and came back,
" bringing with them a monk named Eleusinius, and saying,
" 'The Archimandrite has sent this monk in his stead, to
" 'receive your orders.' We answered, 'If he will not admit
" 'us, tell us so.' We saw they were perplexed, for they
" whispered to each other, and muttered that the citation
" was in writing. We said, 'What is it that troubles you?
" 'We will tell you the contents of the citation. The Council
" 'summons him a second time to appear and answer to the
" 'charge laid against him by the Bishop Eusebius.'

" They again went in and we were presently admitted.
" We gave Eutyches the citation; he had it read in our
" presence, and then said, 'I have made a resolution not to
" 'stir out of my monastery till death obliges me; the Arch-
" 'bishop and the Council see that I am old and falling to
" 'pieces[1] [q]; they may do what they please; only I beg that [1] p. 201. [γέρων καὶ σαθρός. f. σαπρός. v. Aristoph. Pac. 700.]
" 'no one may have the trouble of bringing a third citation;
" 'I look on it as already brought.' He pressed us to take
" charge of a certain paper, but we refused, adding, 'if you
" 'have aught to say, come and say it yourself.' We would
" not even hear it read. He subscribed it, and as we were
" taking our departure, told us that he would send it to the
" Council." The Priest Theophilus confirmed this report of Mamas, and the Council ordered that Eutyches should be cited a third time by Memnon, Priest and Treasurer, Epiphanius, Priest, and Germanus, Deacon; and a citation in writing was delivered to them, requiring him to be present [2] p. 204. [τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, i. e. Wednesday.] on the ensuing fourth day[2], that is, the seventeenth of November.

XXVI. The fourth and fifth sessions.

On the day after the third session, that is, on the sixteenth of November, a fourth session was held. Asclepiades, Deacon and notary, said, "Some monks from Eutyches, and "the Archimandrite Abraham, desire admittance." Flavian said, "Let them come in;" and on his inquiring what was the occasion of their visit, Abraham said that Eutyches had

[q] From his letter to St. Leo (infr. c. 31) it appears that he was at least seventy years old. He had been Archimandrite above thirty years (infr. c. 40).

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sent them because he was sick; he added, "In truth he has "been sleepless the whole night, and has done nothing but "moan. I, too, have had no rest, for he sent for me last "night, and gave me a message to deliver to you." Flavian said, "We do not press him, it is for GOD to restore him to "health, but for us to wait till he is better, we are not in- "human[1]. GOD has placed us here to exercise humanity[2]." Abraham said, "He gave me a message, which I will deliver "if you will ask me." Flavian said, "How is it possible, "I pray you, when a man is accused, that another should "answer for him? We do not press him; if he comes here, "he will find fathers and brethren: he is not a stranger to "us, we still preserve some friendship for him. If he came "formerly to maintain the truth against Nestorius, how much "rather should he now come to defend it in his own behalf? "We are but human: many great men have been mistaken. "There is no shame in repenting, the shame is in continuing "in the sin. Let him come and confess his error, and assure "us that for the future he will conform to the expositions of "the Fathers, and not teach [nor converse about] his private "opinions, and we forgive what is past. He must do it. I "have known him longer than you." After the Council had "risen, Flavian added, "You know the zeal of the accuser; "fire itself appears cold to him; GOD knows how much I "have entreated him to abate his warmth; but failing in "this, what could I do? Seek I your dispersion[3]? GOD "forbid! I would much rather gather you."

[1 ἀπανθρωπίας τέκνα]

[2 p. 205.

[3 σκορπισμὸν ὑμῶν]

On the next day, the seventeenth of November, a fifth session was held. The Priest Memnon, who had been entrusted with the third citation, made his report thus[4]: "Eu- "tyches said, 'I sent the Archimandrite Abraham to con- "'sent, in my name, to all that was declared by the Fathers "'of Nicæa and Ephesus, and by the blessed Cyril.'" Eusebius of Dorylæum, fearing that if the Council were satisfied with this declaration, he should pass for a slanderer, interrupted the Priest Memnon in his report, and said, "Comes he now to consent? I have not accused him about "the future, but the past. If an exposition is now offered "to him, and he subscribe it from compulsion, do I in con- "sequence lose my cause?" Flavian said, "No one holds

[4 p. 208.

"you released from the duty of making good your charge, "or him from the duty of clearing up the past." Eusebius said, "I beg that this message may not prejudice my case; "for I have good witnesses. Otherwise, say to thieves in "prison, 'Steal no more henceforward,' and they will all "promise it." Memnon, continuing his report, said that Eutyches asked for the remainder of the week to be granted him, undertaking to present himself before the Council on the Monday following.

They now called in those who had been sent to the monasteries to gather information about the treatise of Eutyches[1]. The Priest Peter said, "We have been to the "monastery of Martin, Priest and Archimandrite; and in "answer to our inquiries, he said, 'On Friday last, the "'twelfth of this month of November, Eutyches sent his "'treatise to me by a Deacon named Constantine, desiring "'me to subscribe it. I refused, adding, that it was not for "'me, but only for Bishops to subscribe.' He insisted on "it, saying, 'If you do not join me now, the Bishop will "'crush me, and afterwards fall upon you.' After that we "went to seek the Priest and Archimandrite Faustus." Flavian, interrupting him, asked, "What did the Archiman-"drite Martin say about the contents of the treatise which "he refused to subscribe?" Peter said, "He told us that it "was the doctrine of the Council of Ephesus, and of St. Cyril; "that there was a subscription to the volume, which subscrip-"tion however was concealed. Similarly the Abbot Faustus "said, that Constantine and Eleusinius had brought the "volume to him for subscription; and on his asking what it "contained, they told him it was the exposition of Nicæa and "Ephesus; that he said[2], 'we have copies of that by us, let "'me have it to examine and see that there is no addition;' "but this they refused to do, and went their way. Faustus "added, 'We are the sons of the Church, and, after GOD, "'have no other father than the Archbishop.' Job said "that the treatise had not been sent to him; but he had "received a message, that a volume was to come from the "Archbishop in a few days to be subscribed, 'which,' said "he, 'they warned us not to do.' We saw Manuel, who "told us that no book had been sent him, and Abraham

[1] p. 209.

[2] p. 212.

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"gave us the same answer." After this report, Eusebius of Dorylæum demanded that Eutyches should be judged according to the canons, alleging that they had already sufficient proofs against him. Flavian agreed with him in this, but yet, to avoid even the appearance of wrong, he granted Eutyches the delay he had asked for, namely, till the Monday following, being the twenty-second of November.

XXVII. The sixth session.

The sixth session was held on Saturday the twentieth[1]. Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that certain persons, who would be required for the substantiation of his charge, might be summoned to appear on the Monday following; they were the Priest Narses, who was Syncellus[2] to Eutyches, the Archimandrite Maximus, who was his friend, the Deacon Constantine, his Apocrisiary[3], and Eleusinius, another Deacon of his monastery. Flavian ordered them to be summoned. Eusebius then said, "I have been informed that the Priests "Mamas and Theophilus, who were sent to Eutyches with "the second citation, heard something from him which they "did not depose, and which would be of great service in "shewing what his opinions are; I demand, therefore, that "they declare it before the Holy Gospels." Mamas was absent; Theophilus being present was called upon to give evidence, and said, "Eutyches asked the Priest Mamas and "myself in presence of the Priest Narses, the Archimandrite "Maximus, and some other monks, in what part of Scripture "we found two natures mentioned; and afterwards, which of "the holy Fathers affirmed that the WORD has two natures. "We said to him, 'Do you, too, shew us in what part of "'Scripture the consubstantiality is mentioned[4].' Eutyches "said, 'It is not in Scripture, but in the exposition of the "'Fathers.' Mamas said, 'The same holds good as to the "'two natures.' I added," said Theophilus, "'Is the WORD "'perfect GOD, or not?' Eutyches said, 'He is perfect.' "I said, 'Being incarnate, is He perfect man, or not?' He "answered, 'He is perfect.' I proceeded; 'If then the two "'perfects, the perfect GOD and perfect man, make one only "'SON, what prevents us from affirming that He is of two "'natures?' Eutyches said, 'GOD forbid that I should affirm "'CHRIST to be of two natures, or that I should speculate "'about the nature of my GOD[5]. Let them proceed against

[1] p. 213.

[2] Supr. 25. 5. i.]

[3] or proctor at the imperial court; v. supr. 25. 51. f.]

[4] p. 215.

[5] φυτιολογεῖν τὸν Θεόν μου.]

" 'me as they think fit, I will die in the faith which I have A. D. 448.
" 'received.'" Flavian asked Theophilus why he had not CH. XXVIII.
mentioned this the first time. Theophilus answered, "We
" were sent only to cite Eutyches, and thought it unneces-
" sary to speak of what was not in our commission."

When Mamas came, they read to him the deposition which Theophilus had just made; after which he said, "When we
" were sent to Eutyches, we did not wish to have any con-
" versation with him, but he began a discussion about his
" dogma. We reproved him gently. He said that the in-
" carnate WORD came to raise fallen human nature. I im-
" mediately asked him '*What* nature?' He again said,
" 'Human nature.' I said to him, 'And by what nature
" 'is it raised?' 'I have never found in Scripture,' said he,
" 'that there are two natures.' I replied, 'Neither is the
" 'consubstantiality to be found in the Scriptures[1], but in [1] p. 217.
" 'the holy Fathers, who well understood them and faith-
" 'fully expounded them.' He answered, 'I do not specu-
" 'late about the nature of the Deity[2], nor do I speak of two [2 ἐγὼ θεό-
" 'natures, GOD forbid. Here I am; and if I am deposed, τητα οὐ φυ-
" 'the monastery shall be my tomb.'" σιολογῶ.]

The appointed day, Monday the twenty-second of November, having arrived, the seventh and last session was held. When the Council had assembled, Asterius, Priest and notary, said that the Bishop Eusebius was at the gate. Flavian said, "Let him come in;" and added, "Let the
" Deacons Philadelphius and Beryllus look round the church
" to see if the Abbot Eutyches has come according to his
" promise." They presently returned, and said that they had searched all the church, and could not find either him or any that belonged to him. Flavian then sent the Deacons Crispinus and Jovianus to look for him; they returned, and said that they were not able to find him, but were informed that he was coming with a large escort. The Council was still waiting when John, Priest and Defender, came to tell them that Eutyches had arrived, attended by a multitude of soldiers, monks, and officers of the Præfect of the Prætorium. "They will not suffer him," said he, "to enter the Council,
" unless we promise to restore him to them. Magnus, the
" Silentiary, is also at the gate, and desires admittance as

XXVIII. Seventh session. Appearance of Eutyches.

A. D. 448. CH. XXVIII.

"sent from the Emperor." Flavian said, "Let them enter." When they had come in, the Silentiary presented and read aloud an order from the Emperor, importing that it was his will that Florentius the Patrician should assist at the Council for the preservation of the Faith. After the reading of this, the Council made some acclamations of thanks and of prayers for the long life of the Emperor;—a sufficient proof that acclamations of this sort were merely ceremonial: for it is plain that the order could not have been agreeable to them. However, they agreed that Florentius should be present, and as Eutyches also consented, Flavian asked the Silentiary to go in quest of him.

[1 p. 219. D.]

On the arrival of Florentius[1], they made the accuser and the accused stand in the middle of the Council, and ordered Aëtius, Deacon and notary, to read the minutes of their proceedings up to that time. When they came to the passage in St. Cyril's letter to the Easterns, in which he points out the distinction of the two natures, Eusebius of Dorylæum interrupted the reading and said, "The defendant[2] does not "assent to this, he teaches the contrary." Florentius, the Patrician, said, "If it please your holiness, let the Pope[3] "Eutyches be asked whether he assents to it." Eusebius desired that the whole of the Acts should be read, saying, "I have sufficient to convict him; if he should now assent "to it, that ought not to prejudice my cause. I fear his "artifices; I am poor, he threatens me with banishment; "he is rich, and designs to have me sent to the Oasis; if "I am found a slanderer, let me lose my dignity." Flavian assured him, that whatever Eutyches might say, it should do him no prejudice.

[2 οὗτος]

[3 Bingh. 2. 2. § 7.]

He then said to Eutyches, "You have heard what your "accuser states[4]; say now if you confess a union out of two "natures[5]." Eutyches answered, "Yes; out of two natures[6]." Eusebius said, "Do you confess two natures after the In- "carnation, my Lord Archimandrite, and that CHRIST is "consubstantial with us according to the flesh, or not?" Eutyches addressing himself to Flavian, answered, "I did "not come here to dispute, but to declare my sentiments to "your holiness; they are written in this paper, order it to "be read." Flavian said, "Read it yourself." Eutyches

[4 p 224. [5 εἰ ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖς] [6 ναὶ· ἐκ δύο φύσεων.]

told him that he could not. "Why?" said Flavian, "Is A. D. 448. CH. XXVIII.
"this exposition your own, or another's? if it be yours,
"read it yourself." "It is mine," replied Eutyches, "and
"conformable to that of the holy Fathers." Flavian asked,
"What Fathers? Declare it yourself; what occasion is
"there for paper?" Eutyches said, "Thus I believe: I
"adore the FATHER with the SON, and the SON with the
"FATHER, and the HOLY GHOST with the FATHER and the
"SON. I confess that His incarnate presence[1] came from [1 τὴν ἔν-σαρκον αὐ-τοῦ παρου-σίαν]
"the flesh of the holy Virgin, and that He was made per-
"fect man for our salvation. This I confess in the presence
"of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST,
"and before your holiness."

Flavian said to him[2], "Do you confess that the same JESUS [2 p. 225.]
"CHRIST, the only SON of GOD, is consubstantial with the
"FATHER in respect of the GODHEAD, and consubstantial
"with His mother in respect of the manhood?" Eutyches
replied, "I have declared my opinion, why do you question
"me further?" Flavian said, "Do you now confess that He
"is of two natures[3]?" Eutyches replied, "Inasmuch as I [3 ἐκ δύο φύσεων]
"acknowledge Him for my GOD and the LORD of heaven
"and earth, up to this day I have not suffered myself to
"speculate upon His nature[4]; nay, I own that until now I [4 φυσιολο-γεῖν]
"never said that He is consubstantial with us." Flavian
asked, "Do you not say that He is consubstantial with the
"FATHER as regards the Divinity, and also with us as re-
"gards the humanity?" Eutyches answered, "Till this day
"I have not said that the body of the LORD our GOD is con-
"substantial with us, but I confess that the holy Virgin is
"of the same substance as we, and that our GOD was in-
"carnate of her."

Basil, Bishop of Seleucia said, "If the mother is consub-
"stantial with us, He is also; for He was called the Son
"of Man." Eutyches answered, "Since you now say so, I
"consent to every thing[5]." Florentius the Patrician said, [5 πᾶσι στοιχῶ]
"The mother being consubstantial with us, the SON is cer-
"tainly consubstantial with us too." Eutyches said, "Until
"to-day I have not said so, for, seeing that I maintain His
"body to be the body of GOD, (you observe?) I do not use
"to say that the body of GOD is the body of a man, but that

A. D. 448. CH. XXVIII. "it is a human body[1], and that the LORD was incarnate of "the Virgin. But if I must add that He is consubstantial "with us, I say that also; I never said so before; but now "since your holiness says so, I say so." Flavian replied, "It is from constraint then, not because it is your opinion, "that you confess the Faith." Eutyches said, "It is my "present disposition[2]. Up to this hour, I feared to say it, "knowing that the LORD is our GOD; I did not suffer my- "self to speculate about His nature; but since your holiness "allows me and teaches me to say so, I say so." Flavian said, "It is no innovation of ours; we only follow the faith "of our fathers." Florentius, the Patrician, said, "Tell us "whether the LORD is of two natures after the Incarnation, "or not?" Eutyches replied, "I confess that He was of two "natures before the union[3], but after the union I confess but "one."

[1 οὐκ εἶπον σῶμα ἀνθρώπου τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ σῶμα, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ σῶμα.]

[2 ἄρτι οὕτως ἔχω.]

[3 ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως]

The Council said[4], "You must make a clear confession, "and anathematize whatever is contrary to the doctrine "which has just been read." Eutyches said, "I told you that "I never said it before; since you teach it, I agree to it and "follow my fathers. But neither have I found it clearly in "Scripture, nor have the Fathers all said so. If I pronounce "this anathema, woe is me, for I anathematize my fathers." The whole Council rose, and cried aloud, saying, "Let him "be anathema." Flavian said, "Let the Council declare "what this man deserves, who will neither clearly confess "the true Faith nor submit to the opinion of the Council." Seleucus, Bishop of Amasea, said, "He deserves to be de- "posed, but it lies with you to shew him indulgence." Flavian answered, "If he would confess his fault and "anathematize his error, we might pardon him." Florentius asked him, "Do you say that there are two natures, and "that CHRIST is consubstantial with us? speak." Eutyches replied, "I have read in St. Cyril and St. Athanasius that "He is of two natures before the union; but, after the "union and Incarnation, they say no more, two natures, "but one." Florentius said, "Do you confess two natures "after the union? speak." Eutyches answered[5], "Order "St. Athanasius to be read; you will find no such thing "there." Basil of Seleucia said, "Unless you say two na-

[4] p. 228. C.

[5] p. 229.

"tures after the union, you admit a commixture and con- A. D. 448.
"fusion." Florentius said, "He that says not, 'of two na- CH. XXIX.
"tures,' and, 'two natures[1],' does not believe aright." The whole Council rose, and cried, "Faith stands not with con- "straint[2]: many years to the Emperors, many years. Our "faith is ever victorious. He does not surrender; why do "you try to persuade him?"

[1 ἐκ δύο φύσεων καὶ δύο φύσεις]

[2 μετὰ ἀνάγκης οὐκ ἔστι πίστις]

Flavian pronounced sentence in these terms: "Eutyches, "late Priest and Archimandrite, is fully convicted, both by "the evidence contained in our Acts[3] and by his own pre- "sent declarations, of maintaining the error of Valentinus "and Apollinarius, and of obstinately following their blas- "phemies; the more so because he disregards our advice "and instruction, and consents not to receive sound doc- "trine. Wherefore, with tears and groans at his utter de- "struction[4], we have determined, through our LORD JESUS "CHRIST whom he has blasphemed, that he is deprived of "all sacerdotal rank and of our communion and of the "government of his monastery; and we inform all who shall "hereafter hold converse or company with him, that they "will subject themselves to excommunication." This sentence was subscribed by two and thirty Bishops, and twenty-three Abbots, of whom eighteen were Priests, one a Deacon, and four laymen. The most eminent were Andrew, Faustus, (who seems to be the son of St. Dalmatius,) Martin, Job, Manuel, Abraham, and Marcellus, Abbot of the Acœmetes. The Bishops of chief note were Flavian of Constantinople, Saturninus of Marcianopolis, Basil of Seleucia, Seleucus of Amasea, Ætherichus of Smyrna, and Julian of Cos, St. Leo's deputy. As the Council was dispersing[5], Eutyches told the Patrician Florentius, in a low voice[6], that he appealed to the Council of Rome, of Egypt, and of Jerusalem[7]; and Florentius immediately told it Flavian, as he was going up to his apartment [in the hotel.] These words, though spoken

XXIX. The condemnation of Eutyches.

[3 τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων. Fl. ses actions passées]

[4 παντελεῖ ἀπωλείᾳ]

[5 C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 244. C. D. [alterâ pp. s.]]

[6 πρόσωπος]

[7] The omission of Antioch and insertion of Jerusalem is obviously to be assigned to the relations in which the occupants of those two sees stood to Eutyches. Juvenal took the lead in voting for Eutyches at the Latrocinium (infr. c. 40): Domnus, besides his rivalry and actual collision with Dioscorus (supr. c. 16, 17), had, not improbably, been the first to point out the heretical nature of Eutyches's teaching. This, indeed, is expressly stated by Facundus (l. viii. c. 5), who gives the letter of Domnus to Flavian. The passage is extracted in Quesnel, Opp. Leon. t. ii. p. 570.

A. D. 448. CH. XXX. stealthily, served Eutyches as a pretext for boasting that he had appealed to the Pope; to whom he did, in fact, send a letter[1].

[1] Leon. Ep. 20. (al. 8.)

XXX. St. Marcellus Abbot of the Acemetes.

St. Marcellus, Abbot of the Acemetes, was a native of Apamea in Syria, of a respectable family[2]. While he was yet in the flower of his age his parents died, leaving him a large fortune; but far from abandoning himself to pleasure, he went to Antioch and gave himself up to study and religion. He afterwards bestowed all his goods on the poor, and repaired to Ephesus, which at that time contained several persons eminent for virtue. As he wrote a good hand, he employed himself in transcribing books[3], which supplied him with the necessary means of subsistence and of almsgiving; and he then passed nearly the whole night in prayer. The reputation of St. Alexander, founder of the Acemetes, attracted him to Constantinople, and he entered himself in that community. He there made great progress towards perfection; so that foreseeing they would elect him Abbot after the death of St. Alexander, he left them and went to visit the other monasteries, to profit by what he should find best in each, and did not return to his own until after the election of the Abbot John[4], who, however, made him his partner in the cares of government.

[2] Vita ap. Sur. 29 Decemb. t. vi. p. 1020. (ed. 1575.)

[3] p. 1021.

[4] p. 1022.

The Abbot John had been presented with an estate in Bithynia, called Gomon, half a league from Constantinople; to this place he transferred his society, and built there a house, which was afterwards called the great monastery of the Acemetes; it also went by the name of *Irenaion*[5], which in Greek means peaceable, on account of the tranquillity and freedom which they enjoyed there, much greater than at Constantinople, where the novelty of their institute subjected them to much opposition and annoyance. The Abbot John was ordained Priest on the same day which saw Marcellus Deacon. He was esteemed and respected by the wisest of the society, but some accused him of vain-glory. To undeceive these, the Abbot John appointed him to take care of the asses[6]; Marcellus accepted the office in the presence of the whole community, and bound himself to it, even by writing, for the rest of his life. The envious were convinced, and conjured him to resume his former employments.

[5] v. Bolland, t. i. p. 1019. 1030.]

[6] p. 1023.

A short time after, on the death of the Abbot John, Marcellus was elected to fill his place; and so large a number of disciples resorted to him, that it became necessary to make considerable additions to the buildings of the monastery. Providence supplied the means. A very wealthy man named Pharetrius came to Marcellus, and placed at his disposal both himself and his children, who were as yet very young, and the whole of his property. Marcellus now built a larger church, an infirmary, and lodgings for strangers, and repaired the old buildings which were falling to decay. He was at the same time entirely disinterested. When his brother, who was very rich, appointed him his heir[1], he distributed all that was left him to other monasteries of men and women, which he knew to be in need of assistance, reserving nothing for his own convent. Several miracles are related of him, and, among others, this[2]:—A monk named Paul being sick, sent to request Marcellus to come and visit him. Marcellus was at that time in his monastery, engaged in conversation with the Bishop of Chalcedon on solemn points of doctrine. As soon as the conversation was ended, he set out to visit the sick man, but found him already dead. They were laying him out for burial. Marcellus was moved even to tears; but after praying for some time, he touched the dead man, who instantly rose and began to speak. Marcellus ordered the persons present not to mention it, but they could not forbear publishing this miracle. Numbers of eminent persons were taken from the monastery of Marcellus[3]; those who built churches, or founded monasteries, were always desirous of having his disciples. After giving the night and a great part of the day to prayer, he devoted the rest to the love of his neighbour[4]. First of all he received those who were troubled in mind, and gave them advice drawn from Scripture and his own experience. Then he gave audience to those who complained of suffering some wrong; and he furnished them with letters of recommendation for the judges and magistrates, and sometimes for the Emperor himself. In the third place, he went to visit the sick, providing for them every kind of assistance. He often accepted the office of arbitrator, in order to terminate differences and reconcile enemies. Such was St. Marcellus, Abbot of the

A. D. 448. CH. XXX.

[1] p. 1029.

[2] p. 1028.

[3] p. 1023.

[4] p. 1032.

A. D. 448. CH. XXXI. Acemetes, who assisted at the Council of Constantinople, and subscribed the condemnation of Eutyches.

XXXI. Letter of Eutyches to St. Leo. [1] Synodic. c. 222. (ap. N. Coll. Baluz.)

When Eutyches found himself condemned, he wrote a long letter to the Pope St. Leo[1], complaining of the accusation brought against him by Eusebius of Dorylæum. "I "hastened," he says, "to appear before the Council, though "weighed down by age and infirmities, and though aware of "the conspiracy formed against me. I presented a petition, "which contained my profession of faith, but the Bishop "Flavian would neither receive it nor order it to be read. "I declared my assent to the very words of the creed pro- "pounded by the Council of Nicæa and confirmed at "Ephesus. They demanded that I should confess two "natures and anathematize all who refused to do so. For [[2] definitio] "my part, I stood in awe of the decision[2] of the Council, "that nothing should be added to the Creed of Nicæa, "knowing that our holy Fathers Julius, Felix, Athanasius, "and Gregory rejected the expression, 'two natures;' and I "durst not reason about the nature of the Divine WORD or "anathematize those Fathers. I therefore begged that the "case should be referred to your holiness, promising my "unqualified assent to your judgment. But I could gain no "hearing: the Council broke up; a sentence of deposition "was issued against me; and even my life would have been "in danger if I had not been rescued by a body of soldiers. "They next compelled the Superiors of the other monasteries "to subscribe my deposition, a measure never resorted to "even against avowed heretics or Nestorius himself. Nay "further; when, to satisfy the people, I published my con- "fession of faith, they would not allow it to be heard, and "even tore down the placards on which it was written. Now, "therefore, I fly to you, the defender of religion, for assist- "ance, conscious that I have never innovated on the Faith "[delivered to us from the beginning]; but anathematize "Apollinarius, Valentinus, Manes, Nestorius, and those who "say that the flesh of our LORD came down from heaven, as "well as all other heresies up to Simon Magus. I beseech "you to decide about the Faith, as seems good to you, "paying no regard to what has been done against me by a "cabal, nor suffering him to be driven from among the

"Catholics, who has lived threescore and ten years in con- A. D. 449.
"tinence and all the exercises of piety. I have appended CH. XXXII.
"to this letter both petitions, that, namely, which my ac-
"cuser presented to the Council, and that which was taken
"thither by me, but was rejected; and [I have added an
"abstract of] what the holy Fathers say concerning the two
"natures." After this letter, we meet with one claiming to be from Pope Julius to a Bishop Dionysius[1]; in which, while combating the error of Paul of Samosata, he says, that only one nature is to be acknowledged in CHRIST, just as man is one nature only, though composed of body and soul, which are of different natures; but the genuineness of this letter has been doubted. The Emperor Theodosius also wrote to St. Leo, at the same time, about the troubles which beset the Church of Constantinople; he enters into no details, but simply requests him to use his influence to restore peace. Eutyches, no doubt, obtained this letter through the interest of the Eunuch Chrysaphius, his patron.

[1] c. 224.

St. Leo on receiving these letters, wrote to Flavian thus[2]: [2] Leon. Ep. 20. (al. 8.)
"I am surprised that you wrote nothing to me about this
"scandal, and that you were not the first to apprise me of it.
"Judging by the statement of Eutyches, we do not see with
"what justice he has been separated from the communion of
"the Church; but as we wish that the judgments of Bishops
"should be well matured, we cannot decide any thing without
"a knowledge of the case. Send, therefore, some suitable
"person to give us a full account of what has occurred, and
"let us know what the new error is which has raised itself to
"oppose the Faith, that we may be able, in fulfilment of the
"Emperor's intention, to extinguish this dissension. It will
"be no difficult task, for the Priest Eutyches has declared in
"his petition[3], that if any fault be found in him, he is ready
"to correct it." This letter is dated[4] the eighteenth of February, 449. The answer to the Emperor is of the first of March[5].

[3] libello]
[4] 12. Kal. Mart. Asterio et Protogene Coss.
[5] Ep. 21. (al. 7.)

The Pope's letter was delivered to Flavian by the Count Pansophius; Flavian returned an answer[6], of which the substance was, that Eutyches wished to revive the heresies of Apollinarius and Valentinus, maintaining, that before the Incarnation of CHRIST there are two natures, the Divine and

XXXII. Flavian's letter to St. Leo.

[6] Post Ep. Leon. 21. [p. 473.] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 4.

A. D. 449. CH. XXXIII.

the human, but that after the union there is only one nature; and that His body taken from Mary is not of our substance nor consubstantial with His mother, though he called it a human body. "We have condemned him," he says, "at the "instance of the Bishop Eusebius, on the evidence of the "answers which he made before the Council, in which he "revealed his heresy with his own lips, as you will see from "the Acts which accompany this letter. It is right, too, that "you should be informed that Eutyches, instead of seeking "to make his peace with God and comfort us, in the sorrow "we feel at his loss, by true penitence, is busily engaged in "troubling the Church, placarding in public what he deems "his wrongs[1], and presenting conceited petitions to the Em- "peror. We find, too, from your letter, that he has sent "you a petition filled with falsehoods; saying, that at the "time of the trial he presented us with writs of appeal to "your holiness, which is an utter falsehood, fabricated to "gain you over to his interests. All this should rouse you, "holy father, to employ in this case your usual vigour; make "the common cause your own; authorize by your writings "the condemnation which has been canonically pronounced, "and confirm the Faith of the Emperor. Nothing is now "required but that you should assist us by expressing your "agreement with us; so that peace may be established and "the Council prevented, for the rumour of it has already "got abroad, and will disturb all the Churches of the "earth." The Council, thus anticipated by rumour in the East, was a general Council, which was eventually convened at Ephesus.

[1 propositiones injuriarum publicè ponens]

XXXIII. Revision of the condemnation of Eutyches.

The petitions of Eutyches to the Emperor, of which Flavian speaks, had for their object a revision of the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, which he pretended had been unfaithfully compiled. The Emperor granted his request[2]. By his orders, a Council was held for that purpose, at Constantinople, in the Baptistery of the church, on the sixth of the ides of April in the Consulate of Protogenes[3], (i. e. April the eighth, 449;) composed of about thirty Bishops, ten or twelve of whom had sat in the former Council. Thalassius of Cæsarea presided; but Florentius, the Patrician, directed all the proceedings, and Macedonius,

[2] Liberat. Br. c. 11. [p. 66. ed. Garn.] C. Calch. p. 241.

[3] Ibid. p. 236. D.

Tribune and Notary, drew up the formal statement of the case. The letters of Pope St. Leo reached Constantinople some days before the assembly was held[1]. Eutyches did not attend in person, but sent the monks Constantine, Eleusinius, and Constantius to represent him. Eusebius of Dorylæum objected to their entrance, and said, "If Eutyches is to "defend himself by proxy, I have nothing to do but to "withdraw." Meliphthongus, Bishop of Juliopolis, supported him, and contended that as a general Council had been summoned, the whole affair should be reserved for its consideration; but the Emperor's orders were express, and the proxies of Eutyches were admitted[2]. A. D. 449. CH. XXXIII.

[1] p. 230. B. (a. p. s.)

[2] p. 240. C.

It was now proposed that the Bishops should swear to the truth of the Acts in question; but Basil of Seleucia said that up to that time no instance could be found of an oath's having been tendered to Bishops, so the Patrician did not press it. Flavian presented his notaries who had taken down the Acts of the Council, and the Patrician ordered them to produce the document. Aëtius, one of the notaries, made several remonstrances to excuse himself from doing so; on the ground that the Acts could not be suspected without an implied suspicion of the notaries. At last, by order of the Council, he produced the original Acts[3], and Constantius produced a copy of them on the part of Eutyches. They began to read them, and no difficulties arose about the two first sessions[4]. They afterwards made some unimportant objections respecting the answers of Eutyches, as reported by those who summoned him, and respecting those which he had made in person before the Council[5]. They also pretended that anathema had not been pronounced against him by the whole Council. Aëtius observed[6], "It often happens in "Councils that one Bishop says something which is written "down and understood as said by the whole Council. This "has been always the usage." The subscriptions were supposed to confirm all that preceded. On another occasion[7] he said, "The Bishops frequently say things in Councils as in "common discourse and by way of mutual consultation, "which they do not suffer to be written down."

[3] p. 246. B.

[4] p. 247. B.

[5] p. 269.

[6] p. 233. D. (a. p. s.)

[7] p. 239. C.

Constantine, one of the proxies of Eutyches, afterwards said[8], "When the sentence of deposition was being read, he appealed

[8] p. 243. B.

A. D. 449. CH. XXXIII. "to the Councils of the most holy Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica; and this is not entered "in the Acts." The Patrician said, "In the noise consequent "on the breaking up of the Council, he said to me in a low "voice that he appealed to the Council of Rome, to that of "Alexandria, and to that of Jerusalem. I thought it improper that Flavian should be ignorant of this, and therefore went and told it to him." Basil of Seleucia said, "I "speak the truth. Whilst the Council was yet assembled, "on its being proposed to him to acknowledge the two "natures without mixture or confusion, he said, 'If the "'Fathers—he of Rome and he of Alexandria,—bid me, I "'will say it.' He said this, however, not by way of appeal, "but as intimating that his respect for the Fathers prevented "him from speaking thus." Flavian said, "I did not hear "him say it, but I had it from the most noble Patrician, as "I was going up to my apartment after the Council was "ended." The Patrician asked if the other Bishops were aware that Eutyches had appealed; they declared that they had heard nothing of it.

[1] p. 256. Eutyches presented another petition to the Emperor[1], praying that Magnus the Silentiary might be heard in evidence on some points relating to the Council: this also was granted. Magnus appeared on the fifth of the calends of May; that is, the twenty-seventh of April in the same year, 449, in the [2] p. 246. presence of Ariobindus, Master of the Offices[2]; and declared that a paper containing the sentence of deposition against Eutyches had been shewn to him, written out in full, before the Council had met. Macedonius, Tribune and Notary, likewise declared that Asterius, Priest and Notary, had informed him that the other notaries had falsified the Acts. Constantine, the proxy of Eutyches, was the person at whose instance this proceeding was taken.

[3] Liberat. br. c. 11. [p. 67.] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 5. [4] ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ προσώπῳ] [5] σεσαρκωμένην καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσασαν.] They next procured an order from the Emperor, compelling Flavian to produce his confession of Faith[3]. In this he declares that he follows the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus; and that he acknowledges in CHRIST, after the Incarnation, two natures in one hypostasis and one person[4]; that he does not refuse even to say "one nature of the "Divine WORD," provided that "incarnate and made man[5]"

be added. He anathematizes all those who divide JESUS CHRIST into two, especially Nestorius. A. D. 449. CH. XXXIV.

XXXIV. Council at Ephesus convoked.

Meanwhile[1] the eunuch Chrysaphius, the patron of Eutyches, wrote to Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, promising to assist him in all his designs if he would undertake the defence of Eutyches, and attack Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylæum. He also prevailed on the Empress Eudocia to act on the same side, chiefly to spite Pulcheria. Eutyches himself entreated Dioscorus to take cognizance of the affair and examine what had been done against him. Dioscorus wrote to the Emperor that he ought to convene a universal Council; and, being seconded by the solicitations of Eudocia and Chrysaphius, he easily carried his point. The letter which convoked it is still extant; it is addressed to Dioscorus, and is dated at Constantinople on the third of the calends of April, after the Consulate of Posthumian and Zeno[2]; that is, the thirtieth of March, 449. It states, that whereas certain doubts concerning the Faith had sprung up, to the disturbance of men's minds, the Emperor orders the Bishops to assemble: "Where- "fore your holiness, too," he says to Dioscorus, "shall take "with you ten Metropolitans belonging to your diocese, and "ten other Bishops, and hasten to reach Ephesus by the first "day of August next. No more Bishops than these shall "attend the Council, since more will only prove an incum- "brance; but if any one absents himself, his absence shall "be taken as a sign of conscious guilt. As to Theodoret, "Bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before ordered to confine "himself to his Church; we ordain that he shall not come "to the Council, unless the assembled Council shall [unani- "mously] consent to his being present." The Emperor wrote in the same form to the other Bishops, directing that each Patriarch or Exarch should bring the same number of Bishops from his province.

[1] Niceph. l. 14. c. 47. Liberat. c. 12. [p. 72.]

[2] C. Calch. act. 1. p. 100.

On the fifteenth of May following, the Emperor issued another letter, addressed to Dioscorus, and to this effect[3]: "It has reached our ears that many Archimandrites of the "East, along with the orthodox laity, contend fervently "against some Bishops who are said to be Nestorians. We "therefore order, that the most pious Priest and Archiman- "drite Barsumas shall be present at Ephesus, to take his

[3] p. 103. D.

A. D. 449. CH. XXXIV. "seat with your holiness and with all the Fathers, as repre-
"sentative[1] of all the Archimandrites of the East." The
Emperor also wrote to Barsumas[2], acknowledging his great
services in behalf of the Faith, and giving him a seat and
voice in the Council. It was Eutyches and Dioscorus who
had procured him this honour; their object was to exclude
the other Abbots from the Council, as these were any thing
but favourable to their views.

[1] τὸν τόπον ἐπέχοντα.]
[2] p. 106. A.

Two laymen also were appointed to assist at the Council
as the Emperor's commissioners[3], namely, Elpidius, Count of
the Consistory, that is, counsellor of state; and Eulogius,
Tribune and Notary. They were empowered, by their com-
mission, to prevent any disorder in the Council; and in case
any one attempted to raise a tumult, they were to take him
into custody and send information to the Emperor. Those
who had condemned Eutyches were to attend the Council,
not as judges, but as parties impleaded; and no question was
to be mooted previously to that of the Faith. Proclus[4], Pro-
consul of Asia, had a special order to be ready with troops to
assist the two commissioners in preventing any disturbance
in the Council. The Emperor further wrote a letter[5] ad-
dressed to the Council in general, explaining the object of
their meeting, which was "to terminate a question of Faith
"that has arisen between Flavian and Eutyches, and to eject
"from the Church all who maintain or favour the error of
"Nestorius." His last letter, on this occasion, was one to
Dioscorus[6], appointing him president of the Council; "being
"well assured," he adds, "that the holy Archbishops Juvenal
"of Jerusalem, Thalassius, and all other ardent lovers of
"orthodoxy, will agree with your holiness." He sent a
letter of the same tenour to Juvenal of Jerusalem.

[3] Ibid. D.
[4] p. 108. C.
[5] Ibid. E.
[6] p. 110. C.

Pope St. Leo was also invited to attend the Council with
the Bishops of the West[7], but he did not receive the Emperor's
letter till the thirteenth of May[8]. There only remained two
months and a half to the first of August, when the Council
was to meet; and the greater part of that time would be spent
in making preparations for the Bishop's journey; since it
would be necessary to hold a council at Rome, to name the
deputies, and to furnish them with instructions. St. Leo
satisfied himself, therefore, with writing several letters, to

[7] Leon. Ep. 27. (al. 13.) c. 4. [p. 491.]
[8] tertio Idus.

prevent, if possible, the holding of the Council; or, if he failed in this, to provide that the Faith should be preserved in it. A. D. 449. CH. XXXV.

He wrote first of all to the Emperor Theodosius[1]; dating his letter the twenty-fifth of May. In it he declares his attachment to the Faith of Nicæa; and while he condemns Nestorius, he condemns "those no less, who deny that JESUS CHRIST took upon Him the truth of our flesh," that is, Eutyches. He therefore entreats the Emperor to convene a Council in Italy. However, foreseeing that he should not be able to prevent the Council from being held at Ephesus, he nominated Julius, Bishop of Pozzolo[2], Renatus, Priest of the title of St. Clement, the Deacon Hilarus, and the Notary Dulcitius, to be his envoys, and gave them several letters in charge.

[1] Ep. 23. (al. 9.)

[2] v. Quesn. not. 39, 40. ad Ep. 24. [t.ii. p.844. sqq.]

XXXV. St. Leo's letter to Flavian.

Of these the most important is the one to Flavian Bishop of Constantinople[3], in which St. Leo thoroughly explains what we are to believe concerning the mystery of the Incarnation. He first notices the ignorance of Eutyches[4]; "who has fallen "into this error from want of studying the Scriptures[5], and "because he had not seriously attended to the terms of "the Creed which all the faithful profess; for in it they say, "that they 'believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty, and in "'JESUS CHRIST his only SON our LORD, who was born of "'the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary.' These three sen- "tences," adds St. Leo, "are sufficient to destroy almost all "the machinations of the heretics; for by believing that "GOD Almighty and Eternal is FATHER, we shew that His "SON is co-eternal and consubstantial[6] with Him and in "every point like Him. It was the same eternal SON of the "eternal FATHER, that was born of the HOLY GHOST and "the Virgin Mary. This generation in time neither aught "diminished, nor added aught to, the eternal generation, but "its one entire object was to vanquish death and the devil "in order to the restoration of man; for we could never have "overcome the author of sin and death, had not HE taken "upon Him our nature and made it His own, who could "neither be infected with sin nor holden of death. He was "conceived, then, by the HOLY GHOST, in the womb of the "Virgin mother, who brought Him forth, as she had con- "ceived Him, without impairing her virginity." St. Leo then passes on to the proofs from Scripture, and shews that the

[3] Ep. 24. (al. 10.)

[4] c. 1, 2.

[5] Non ad Prophetica voces, non ad Apostolicas literas, non ad Evangelicas autoritates, sed *ad semetipsos*, recurrunt.]

[6] non divisus essentiâ]

A. D. 449. CH. XXXV. WORD took upon Him a real flesh,—from the Gospel, which calls Him son of David and of Abraham[1],—from St. Paul; who says that He "was made of the seed of David according "to the flesh[2]"—from the promise made to Abraham, that in his seed all the nations should be blessed; which St. Paul expounds and applies to CHRIST[3],—and from the prophecies of Isaiah concerning Emmanuel the Son of a Virgin, and the Child which "unto us is born[4]." Whence he concludes, that JESUS CHRIST had not only the form of a man, but a true body taken from His mother. The operation of the HOLY GHOST did not hinder the flesh of the SON from being of the same nature with that of the mother, it only bestowed fruitfulness on a virgin.

[1] Matt. i. 1, 10.
[2] Rom. i. 1.
[3] Gen. xii. 3. Gal. iii. 8.
[4] Isa. vii. 14; ix. 6.

"The two natures, therefore[5], each remaining entire, "coalesced in one Person[6], to the end that the same Me- "diator might die, in respect of the one, while He remained "immortal and impassible in respect of the other[7]. He had "all that belongs to us, all that He placed in us when He "created us, all that He undertook to restore; but of those "things which the deceiver introduced into us He had none; "He took the form of a servant, but unsoiled by sin. One "nature is not altered by the other[8]; He who is true GOD is "also true man; there is no self-inconsistency[9] in this union; "GOD is not changed by His graciousness towards us, the "man is not destroyed by the dignity which He receives; "the WORD and the flesh retain their own proper agencies." Scripture proves equally the truth of both natures. "He is "GOD; for it is said, 'In the beginning was the WORD, and "'the WORD was with GOD[1], and the WORD was GOD;' He is "man; for it is said, 'The WORD was made flesh and dwelt "'among us.' He is GOD; 'all things were made by Him, "'and without Him was not any thing made:' He is man; "'born of a woman, made under the law[2].' The being born "of flesh[3] manifests His human nature; His being born of a "virgin the Divine power. He is an infant in the cradle, "and the Most High, lauded by angels. Herod plots for "His death,—and the Magi rejoice in adoring Him. He "comes to the baptism of John, and at that very time the "voice of the FATHER declares Him His well-beloved Son. "As man, He is tempted by the devil; as GOD, He is

[5] c. 3.
[6] Salvâ proprietate utriusque naturæ et substantiæ, et in unam coeunte personam.]
[7] et mori posset ex uno et mori non posset ex altero.]
[8] c. 4.
[9] Mendacium. Fl. *mensonge.*]
[1] apud Deum]
[2] Gal. iv. 4.
[3] Nativitas carnis]

"ministered to by the angels. His hunger, thirst, weari- A. D. 449.
"ness, sleep, belong plainly to a man; but to satisfy five CH. XXXV.
"thousand with five loaves, to give the woman of Samaria
"living water, to walk upon the sea and calm the tempest,
"these are beyond doubt divine. It is not of one and the
"same nature to bewail His departed friend and raise him
"to life; to hang on the cross and change day into night;
"to shake the elements and open the gates of heaven to a
"robber. As GOD, He says, 'The FATHER and I are one;'
"as man, 'The FATHER is greater than I[1];' for although in [1] John x. 30; xiv. 28.
"JESUS CHRIST there is but one person of GOD and man,
"yet that which is the subject of the suffering common to
"them both is one thing, that which is the subject of their
"common glory another.

"By virtue of this unity of person[2] it is said, that the Son [2] c. 5.
"of Man came down from heaven[3], and that the SON of GOD
"took flesh of the virgin; that the SON of GOD was crucified
"and buried, as we say in the Creed, although He was so in
"the human nature only. The Apostle says[3], 'If they had [3] 1 Cor. ii. 8.
"'known the LORD of glory, they would never have crucified
"'Him.' Our SAVIOUR asks His Apostles, 'But whom say
"'ye that I am[4]?'—I, that is, who am the Son of Man, and [4] Matt. xvi. 16.
"whom you see in real flesh:—St. Peter replies, 'Thou art
"'CHRIST, the SON of the living GOD,' acknowledging Him
"to be equally GOD and man. After His resurrection, He
"shewed His body, sensible and palpable, with the holes in
"His wounds; He spoke, He ate, He sojourned, with His
"disciples, and at the same time 'He entered, the doors
"'being shut,' gave them the HOLY GHOST, and opened
"their eyes to understand the Scriptures, thus shewing in
"Himself the two natures distinct and united."

[2] See Maldonat. in Joh. iii. 13. This application to the one divine subject-person of what is true only in reference to the assumed humanity is called κοινωνία τῶν ἰδιωμάτων, or *communicatio idiomatum*: also (Damascen. Orth. Fid. iii. 4. p. 190. ed. Fabri) τρόπος ἀντιδόσεως. Not that it is a mere way of speaking or figure (ἀλλοίωσις, v. Formul. Conc. p. 770);—for, from the very idea of personality, the communication is *real*;—nor again, as if the properties of the one nature were imparted to *the other nature as such*; as conceived (if it be indeed conceivable) by Lutherans. —Further: as it is only by virtue of the hypostatic union of the two natures that this communication is possible, it is rejected by both the Nestorian and Eutychian schemes. The former, as shewn in the crucial instance of the θεοτόκος, denied it directly; the latter involving an absorption of the humanity left no ἰδιώματα. Neither of them could interpret such passages as Acts xx. 28, John xiv. 9.

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"Eutyches, when he denies that our nature is in the SON "of GOD, ought to fear the sentence pronounced by St. John[1]; "'Every spirit which confesses that JESUS CHRIST is come [1] 1 John iv. 2. "'in the flesh, is of GOD; and every spirit which divides[t] [t] Solvit "'JESUS, is not of GOD; and this is Antichrist.' For what is "the dividing of JESUS, if it be not the separating His human "nature from Him? The error relating to the nature of the "body of CHRIST, of necessity, annuls His passion and de- "stroys the efficacy of His blood. When Eutyches answered [3] c. 6. "you[3]; 'I confess that our LORD was of two natures before "'the union, but after the union I acknowledge only one;' "I am surprised that you did not reprehend so great a "blasphemy, since it is no less impious to say, that the "SON of GOD was of two natures before the Incarnation, "than it is to assert but one in Him after the Incarnation. "Do not fail to make him retract this error, if GOD gives "him grace to repent. But in this case you may use all "indulgence towards him; for when error is condemned "even by its followers, it is then that the Faith is most "advantageously defended." Such is the famous letter of St. Leo to Flavian, designed to be read in the Council as a testimony of the Faith of the Roman Church.

XXXVI. Other letters of St. Leo.

St. Leo also explains his views in a letter which he sent to Julian, Bishop of Cos, his legate at Constantinople, to enable him, jointly with Flavian, to maintain the truth against the heretics. Co, or Cos, is a little island near Gnidus, at present called Lango or Stanchio. In this letter he says that Eutyches accused the Catholics of Nestorianism, but that his heresy, denying as it did the reality of the Incarnation, destroyed all the consequences of this mystery and the whole hope of Christians. We must believe[5], then, that "the WORD is not changed either into flesh or soul, "since the Divinity is immutable, and that the flesh is not "changed into the WORD; and it ought not to appear im-

[4] Ep. 25. (al. 11.)

[5] c. 2.

[t] So the Vulgate, supported by Irenæus, adv. Hær. iii. 18 (p. 242. Grab.). Socrates (vii. 42) states that the reading ὃ λύει existed in the old MSS., but had been changed into what is now the received reading—ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ—by the Humanitarians. This last is found in the Syriac version, in Polyc. ad Philipp. § 8, Cyprian adv. Jud. ii. 8, and Epiphanius, Hær. 24. § 9, 26. § 15. St. Augustine comments on both readings (Tract 6. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 871). Tertullian also has both readings, c. Marc. v. 16 (cf. iii. 8. De Carne, Chr. c. 24). See Estius in l., who shews how the text applies to the opposite extremes of error.

"possible, that the WORD, with the flesh and the soul, make "one JESUS CHRIST, since in each man the flesh and the "soul, which are of natures so different, make one only "person. When Eutyches said[1] that there were two natures "before the Incarnation, he must have believed that the soul "of the SAVIOUR dwelt in heaven prior to its union with "the WORD in the womb of the virgin. But this is contrary "to the Catholic Faith, for He did not assume a humanity "already created, but He created it when He assumed it[2]. "The other would be to revive the condemned opinion of "Origen[3], that souls live and act before they are united to "human bodies. The soul of CHRIST is not distinguished "from ours by a diversity of kind, but by the transcendency "of its virtue. His flesh produced no desires contrary to "the Spirit; in Him there was no contest, nor aught but "affections submissive to the Divinity."

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[1] c. 3.

[2] ipsâ assumtione]

[3] Supr. 23. 17. f.]

St. Leo wrote at the same time to the Emperor Theodosius[4], naming the legates whom he sent to supply his place at the Council and to carry thither the spirit of justice and mercy; "that so," he says, "since there can be no doubt what the "true Christian Faith is, both error may be condemned, "and Eutyches, if he repents, (as he has promised in the "writing which he sent me,) may be forgiven." He sent a letter to St. Pulcheria[5], in which he commends the zeal she had shewn against all the heretics of her time. He speaks of Eutyches with compassion, as believing his error sprang more from ignorance than malice[6], and as hoping for his amendment; "But," he adds, "if he persists in his error, no one "can revoke the sentence which the Prelates have pronounced "against him." The reasons which he assigns for not going to the Council in person[7] are, first, because such a step was without precedent, and next, because the present state of affairs would not allow him to quit Rome without throwing the people into despair. The crazy state of the Empire kept them in continual alarm, and at that time especially they were apprehensive of the Huns, who entered Italy three years after.

[4] Ep. 26. (al. 12.)

[5] Ep. 27. (al. 13.)

[6] c. 3.

[7] c. 4.]

St. Leo wrote moreover to Faustus, Martin, and the other Archimandrites of Constantinople[8], who had subscribed the condemnation of Eutyches, to encourage them in their de-

[8] Ep. 28. (al. 14.)

A. D. 449. CH. XXXVII.

fence of the Faith, and referring them to his letter to Flavian, "in which, I think," he says, "I have sufficiently explained "our doctrine, to the end that you may receive it by the "ministry[1] of your prelate." Lastly, he wrote a letter to the Council of Ephesus[2], which may be considered the commission of his legates. He there acknowledges that the Emperor had convened this Council that the heresy might be suppressed by a more authoritative sentence, and he empowers his legates to join the Council in decreeing what shall be agreeable to God's will: that is to say, first of all, to condemn the error, and then to re-establish Eutyches, provided he retracts and condemns his heresy. In all these letters he refers to the letter to Flavian, and they are all six of the same date,—the ides of June, in the Consulate of Asterius and Protogenes, i. e. June 13, 449. In another letter to the Emperor Theodosius[3], he excuses himself for not coming to the Council, in the same way as in the letter to Pulcheria, and adds; "The Faith on this point is so clear, that it would have "been more reasonable not to have called a Council, for it "is a question on which there neither can be, nor ought to "be, any doubt."

[1] per insinuationem]

[2] Ep. 29. (al. 15.) C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 13.

[3] Ep. 33. (al. 17.)

Flavian wrote a second letter to St. Leo[4], in which he enters into a fresh explanation of the errors of Eutyches and the grounds of his condemnation, "of which," he says, "I sent "you the Acts some time ago, in order that you might "acquaint all the Bishops of your jurisdiction with his im-"piety; that no one might, in ignorance of his errors, com-"municate with him by letter or otherwise." We here see that Flavian does not ask the Pope for a new trial, but only that the sentence he had himself passed should be acted upon in the Western Patriarchate. Nor was it without reason that he apprehended Eutyches would apply for protection in those quarters, for he had actually addressed himself to St. Peter Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, which city was the ordinary residence of the Emperor Valentinian; the answer, however, which he received from him was by no means favourable. It begins thus:—

[4] Post Ep. 33. Leon. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 6.

XXXVII. Letter of St. Peter Chrysologus to Eutyches.

"It was with grief[5] that I read your melancholy letters; for "as the peace of the Churches causes a heavenly joy, so the

[5] Post Ep. 23. Leon. et ap. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 15. [p. 35.]

"dissension of brethren bows us down in affliction, especially A. D. 449.
"when it springs from such causes. Human laws restrict the CH. XXXVIII.
"liberty of calling human rights in question to a period of
"thirty years'[u], and after so many ages we are still disputing
"about the generation of CHRIST, which the law divine pro-
"poses to us as inexplicable[x]! You are not ignorant how
"Origen erred when searching into first principles, or how
"Nestorius fell whilst reasoning about the natures." He then quotes some passages of Scripture relative to the mystery of the Incarnation, and adds; "I would have sent you a fuller "answer if our brother Flavian had written to me about this "affair; for since you yourself complain of not having had a "hearing, how is it possible for us to judge those whom we "have not seen, and of whose opinions, during their silence, "we know nothing[y]. I exhort you, my venerable brother, "to submit yourself in every thing to what has been written "by the blessed Pope of Rome; for St. Peter, who lives and "presides in his own see, gives the true Faith to those who "seek it. As to us, the affection we bear to peace and to "the Faith, allows us not to judge on matters of Faith, ex-"cept with the consent of the Bishop of Rome." After this letter we find no more mention of this Saint[4], whose elegance of style gained him the surname of *Chrysologus*, that is, the golden-speeched. One hundred and seventy-six sermons of his still remain[5], most of them on subjects from the Gospels; the Church honours his memory on the second of December[6].

[u Triginta annis humanæ leges humanas adimunt quæstiones;—cf. Facund. Ep. c. Vig., ap. Sirmond. Opp. t. ii. p. 850.]

[x ἀνεκδιήγητος. Isa. liii. 8.]

[y quid intellexerint, eorum taciturnitate nescimus.]

[4 v. Agnelli Vit. Pontt. Raven. pt. i. p. 321-350.]

[5 ap. Bibl. PP. t. v. pt. 2. p. 662. Colon.]

[6 Martyr. R. Dec. 2.]

The Council of Ephesus, summoned by the Emperor to meet on the first of August, assembled on the eighth of that month, which, according to the Romans, was the sixth of the ides of August, according to the Egyptians the fifteenth of Mesori, in the third indiction, after the Consulship of Zeno and Posthumian[7], or in the year 449. The session was held in the place where the first Council of Ephesus had met, that is, in the church called Mary. There were one hundred and

XXXVIII. Opening of the pseudo-Council of Ephesus.

[7 C. Calch. Act. i. p. 115.]

[u Similarly Gelasius: "I hear that "some would subvert the constitutions "of Christ, now after five hundred "years; whilst a human law of thirty "years' standing cannot be broken off." ap. Grat. Decr. Pt. ii. caus. 16. qu. 3. c. 9. (p. 245 Corp. J. Canon. ed. 1618.) Thirty years was the term which constituted a full prescriptive right in civil matters, Cod. Theod. l. iv. t. 14. leg. 1; Cassiod. Var. i. 18. iii. 31. v. 37. as also in ecclesiastical, Conc. Calch. can. 17. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 763.) Decret. Greg. l. ii. t. 26. c. 3. (p. 565.) It was afterwards lengthened out to forty years. Cod. Just. l. vii. t. 39. leg. 8, 9.

A. D. 449. CH. XXXVIII. thirty Bishops from the provinces of Egypt, the East, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace; Dioscorus of Alexandria held the first place by virtue of an order from the Emperor[1]; after him Julius is named as supplying the place of the Pope St. Leo[2]: —for this, and not *Julian*, is the true reading, required by the best Latin copies and the ancient historians[3]: we are to understand by it Julius of Pozzolo, one of the Pope's envoys. After him follow the names of Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus of Antioch, Flavian of Constantinople, who thus occupied only the fifth place, as holding the most recently erected Patriarchate. Next to the five Patriarchs come the Exarchs and Metropolitans, or their Vicars; namely, Stephen of Ephesus, Thalassius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra in Galatia, John of Sebastia in Armenia, Cyrus of Aphrodisias in Caria, Erasistratus of Corinth, Quintillus of Heraclea, (who also represented Anastasius of Thessalonica,) and others whose names may be seen in the Acts. After all the Bishops we have the Priests mentioned;—first, the Abbot Barsumas,—then four deputies of absent Bishops;—and last of all, the Deacon Hilarus and the Notary Dulcitius, the Pope's envoys. The Priest Renatus is not mentioned, as he had died on his way in the island of Delos[4]. Eutyches, too, was present at Ephesus; neither the vow he had made never to leave his monastery, nor his great age and infirmities, had been able to deter him from undertaking the journey.

John, Priest and Head-Notary[5], (apparently, of the Church of Alexandria,) held the office of Promoter, as the Priest Peter had done in the first Council of Ephesus[6]. Having declared in general terms the object for which the Council was assembled, he next, by Dioscorus's order, read the Emperor's letter for convening the Council: after which the Bishop Julius, Legate of the Pope, said[7], "Our holy Pope "Leo has been summoned in the same form." As he spoke in Latin, Florentius, Bishop of Lydia, acted as interpreter; the Deacon Hilarus, using the same interpreter, added, "Our Most Christian Emperor by his letters summoned "our blessed Bishop Leo to be present at the holy Council, "and his holiness would have done so had there been any "precedent for such an act. But you know that the Pope "assisted neither at the Council of Nicæa, nor at that of

[1] Evagr. 1. 10.
[2] Brevic. Hist. Eut. t. iv. Conc. p. 1079. Prosper. Chr. an. 449. [p. 670.]
[3] v. Quesn. not. 39. ad Ep. 24. S. Leon., [t. ii. p. 844.] et Baluz. Præf. in C. Calch. pp. 981-3.
[4] Brevic. H. Eut. *u. s.*]
[5] C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 120. E.
[6] Supr. 25. c. 37.
[7] p. 121. B.

"Ephesus, nor at any other; he therefore sent us to represent A. D. 449.
"him, and gave us letters in charge for you, which we desire CH. XXXIX.
"may be read." Dioscorus said, "Let the letters written to
"the holy general Council, by our most holy brother Leo, be
"received." Instead, however, of reading them, the Priest
John proposed to read another letter from the Emperor to
Dioscorus, and Juvenal of Jerusalem ordered it to be read.
It was the letter which enjoined that Barsumas should assist
at the Council. Juvenal said[1], "I have received a similar [1] p. 126. A.
"injunction respecting Barsumas; let him therefore be
"present at the Council, as is fitting he should." Count
Elpidius then read the commission given by the Emperor to
himself and the Tribune Eulogius, and caused the Emperor's
letter to the Council to be read[2], in which he charged Flavian [2 p.107.E.]
with having embroiled Eutyches in the dispute about the p. 127.
Faith.

Thalassius, Bishop of Cæsarea, then said, that in pursuance
of the Emperor's wish, as signified by his letter, they ought
to begin with the question of the Faith, laying aside all other
business. To this Bishop Julius, the Pope's Legate, assented.
Dioscorus said, "We are not met here to give an exposition
"of the Faith; for this our Fathers did long ago; but to
"examine if the new opinions agree with the decisions of
"the Fathers. We must therefore begin at once with this
"examination, or do you wish to alter[3] the Faith of the [3 ἀνα-
"Fathers?" The Council said, "If any one alters it, let him σκευάσαι]
"be anathema. We preserve the faith of the Fathers."
They then made some acclamations in praise of Dioscorus[4]; [4 p. 131. B.
after which Count Elpidius said, "Since you are all agreed
"about the Faith, order that the Archimandrite Eutyches,
"who is the subject of our present proceeding be introduced,
"and that he explain his opinion." The Council consented,
and as soon as Eutyches had entered, Thalassius of Cæsarea
desired him to make his defence.

Eutyches said[5], "I commend myself to the FATHER, the XXXIX.
"SON, and the HOLY GHOST, and to your justice. You are Petition of Eutyches.
"witnesses of my faith, for which I contended along with you [5 p. 134. A.
"in the former Council assembled here. But I hold in my
"hands a written account of my faith; order it to be read."
This was accordingly done. It contained the Creed of Nicæa,

A. D. 449. CH. XXXIX. with a prayer that as he had lived, so he might die, in that faith; he anathematized[1] Manes, Valentinus, Apollinarius, Nestorius, and all heretics, even to Simon Magus, with all who say that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST came from heaven. He added, "Living agreeably to this faith, I was accused "by Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, who presented a libel "against me, in which he styled me a heretic, without "specifying any heresy; in order that, being surprised and "perplexed in the examination of my cause, some novelty of "expression might escape from me. The Bishop Flavian (he "who was almost always in the company of my accuser) or- "dered me to appear, supposing that because it was my "custom not to stir out of my monastery, I should not "attend, and so he might depose me as guilty by default. "In fact, when I did come from my monastery to Constan- "tinople, Magnus the Silentiary, whom the Emperor had "given me as my safeguard, told me that my presence was "then unnecessary, and that I was already condemned before "I had been heard. For the truth of this I may appeal to his "deposition[2]. When at last I appeared before the assembly, "they would neither receive my confession of Faith nor "suffer it to be read; and when I declared that my belief "was conformable to the decision of Nicæa, confirmed at "Ephesus, they demanded that I should add some words to "it, and I, fearing to act contrary to the decrees of the first "Council of Ephesus and of the Council of Nicæa, desired "that your holy Council might be made acquainted with it, "since I was ready to submit to whatever you should ap- "prove. Whilst I was saying this, they read the sentence "of deposition against me, which Flavian had long before "drawn up as suited his own will, and several things were "altered in the Acts, as was afterwards ascertained[3] under "an order which the Emperor granted to a petition of mine. "For the Bishop Flavian had taken no notice of the ap- "peal to you which I had interposed; he had shewn no "respect for my grey hairs, or for the life-long war which "I have maintained against heretics, but had condemned "me, as if he possessed absolute authority. He delivered me "up to be torn in pieces, as a heretic, by the rabble got "together for that purpose in the Cathedral and market-

[1] p. 142. A.

[2] Supr. c. 33.

[3] p. 145. Supr. c. 33.

"place,—but Providence preserved me. He ordered the A. D. 449.
"sentence pronounced against me to be read in various CH. XXXIX.
"churches, and got it subscribed by the monasteries; a
"step which, as you know, has never been resorted to even
"against heretics. He sent copies of it into the East, and
"in various places has induced Bishops and monks, who
"were not my judges, to subscribe to it, whereas he ought
"first of all to have sent it to the Bishops to whom I ap-
"pealed. This is what compelled me to have recourse to you
"and to the Emperor, that you may give your judgment on
"the sentence pronounced against me."

When the reading of this was ended, Flavian of Constantinople said, "Eusebius was his accuser; let him be admitted." The Count Elpidius said[1], "The Emperor's orders were, that [1] p. 146. D.
"they who were judges before should now be regarded as
"parties to the suit[2]. I answer, then, to the Archbishop [2 κριτομένων]
"Flavian, that the prosecutor has fully discharged his func-
"tion, and, as he supposes, gained his cause; so that the
"judge has assumed the position of accuser, as is the
"usage of the secular courts. You are now assembled to
"judge the judges, not to admit the accuser a second time
"and begin the proof a-new. Give orders, then, if it please
"you, that the rest of the Acts be read which relate to this
"subject." Dioscorus readily fell in with this proposition, and the other Bishops were guided by him. Thus Eusebius of Dorylæum did not enter the Council, though Eutyches was admitted to it. When all the Bishops had given their consent to the motion for reading the Acts, Dioscorus asked for the opinion of Julius, the Pope's legate, who said[3], "We are [3] p. 150. B.
"willing that the Acts should be read, on condition that the
"Pope's letters are read first." The Deacon Hilarus added,
"And this the rather, because the most holy Bishop of Rome
"did not write his letters until after he had perused the Acts
"which you now wish to hear read." Eutyches said, "I have
"reason to suspect the envoys of the most holy Bishop of
"Rome, Leo; for they lodge in the same house with Flavian,
"they dined with him, and he has paid them every kind of
"attention. I beg therefore, that if they should do me any
"injustice, it may not prejudice my cause." Dioscorus said,
"The order directs that the Acts of the cause should first be

A. D. 449. CH. XL. "read, then the letters of the most pious Bishop of Rome." They thus for the second time evaded the reading of the Pope's letter, and read the Acts of the Council held at Constantinople on the eighth of November, 448, and the following days[1]; Flavian and Eutyches each produced a copy of them.

[1] Supr. 24, 25, sqq.

XL. Reading of the Acts of Constantinople, &c.

When the bill filed by Eusebius of Dorylæum against Eutyches was read, on reaching the place in which St. Cyril is named in it, the Council of Ephesus cried out[2], "The "memory of Cyril is eternal. Dioscorus and Cyril have one "Faith; cursed be he who adds to it, cursed he who takes "away from it." Julius the Pope's legate said, "This is the "opinion of the Apostolic see." They next read St. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch about the re-union, in which he insists upon the distinction of the two natures; whereupon Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, said[3] that St. Cyril had also explained himself[4] in many other writings, as in the letters to Acacius of Melitene, to Valerian of Iconium, and to Successus of Diocæsarea, where he uses this expression among others; "We are then to understand not two natures, but "one incarnate nature of the WORD[5]," which expression he confirms by the authority of St. Athanasius.

[2] p. 151. E.

[3] p. 174. B.

[4] ἑαυτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι]

[5] μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην. See note on 28. 8. infr.]

On arriving at the place, in the last session, where Eusebius of Dorylæum pressed Eutyches to confess two natures after the Incarnation, and to state that CHRIST is consubstantial with us in respect of the flesh; the Council of Ephesus cried out[6], "Take him away, burn Eusebius, let him burn alive; "let him be torn in two; as he has divided, let him be "divided." Dioscorus said, "Can you endure this language, "which speaks of two natures after the Incarnation?" The Council said, "Anathema to him who thus speaks." Dioscorus said, "I require your voices and your hands; if any "one cannot shout, let him hold up his hand." The Council said, "If any one say two natures, be he anathema." And after the declaration of Eutyches had been read, Dioscorus asked them[7], "which exposition of faith do you approve?" "That of Eutyches," replied the Council; "Eusebius is im- "pious," alluding to his name, which means 'pious.' When they had finished the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, they read[8] those of the assembly, which had been held for the

[6] p. 224. A.

[7] Ibid. E.

[8] p. 236. D.

revision of these Acts, on the eighth of April[1], 449, and also the copy of depositions taken on the twenty-seventh of April[2]. A. D. 449. CH. XL.

[1] Supr. c. 33.
[2] p. 245. C. [alterâ pp. s.]

After all these documents had been read, Dioscorus called upon the Bishops to deliver their opinions[3]. Juvenal of Jerusalem led the way; "Since Eutyches," he said, "has constantly declared that he follows the Nicæan exposition of "faith, and the decrees of the first Council of Ephesus, I "find him very orthodox, and vote[4] that he retain both his "monastery and his rank." The Council said, "This is a "just decision." Domnus of Antioch said, "In consequence "of the letter sent me by the Council of Constantinople "about Eutyches, I subscribed to his condemnation, but on "considering the document he has now presented to the "Council, in which he confesses the Faith of Nicæa and of "the first Council of Ephesus, I agree with you, that he "should resume the dignity of Priest and the government "of his society." Stephen of Ephesus, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, and all the other Bishops, gave the same opinion, except the two legates of the Pope, of whom no mention is made. Barsumas delivered his opinion after all the Bishops[5]; and as he was a Syrian and unable to speak Greek, the monk Eusebius acted as interpreter. Finally, Dioscorus, who as president voted last, confirmed the suffrages of the rest in favour of Eutyches.

[3] p. 256. D. [tertiâ pp. s.]
[4] ψηφίζομαι
[5] p. 276. A.

This done, the Priest John read a petition from the monks of Eutyches' society, drawn up in these terms: "Moved by "the promises of GOD, we left our estates, our dignities, our "[worldly] employments[6] and hopes, to form a community "of monks, which numbers three hundred, under the direction of the most pious Archimandrite Eutyches, and there "most of us have lived these more than thirty years. But "the most reverend Bishop Flavian, instead of giving us "encouragement and protection, surrounded our pastor with "calumnies: and, having deposed him, sent us word, by the "Priest Theodosius[7] and some other clerks who attended "him, that we were to keep aloof from him, and not even "converse with him; and that we should preserve the riches "of the monastery for Flavian, in the name of the poor, (for "this was what he aimed at;) that if we failed in this, we,

[6] στρατείαις
[7] p. 278.

A. D. 449. CH. XL. "as well as our pastor, should be deprived of the communion "of the divine mysteries. Indeed, the holy Altar, which "Flavian himself erected six months before this proceeding, "is without the sacrifice[1]; we have remained up to the meet- "ing of your holy Council bound down beneath this unjust "censure, and some of our brethren have even died in this "state. The feast of our Lord's nativity [saw us in tears;] "the day of Epiphany, [the day of our SAVIOUR's suffering, "the holy night,] and the day of his resurrection, on which "Bishops grant absolution to the greater part of offenders "and princes give pardon to criminals[x], found us still in the "same misery, [and cut off from the holy mysteries[2].] It is "now nine months since we began to suffer this rigorous "treatment, but in all other respects we have observed the "usual exercises of the monastic rule. ..We therefore beg "you to compassionate us, restoring to us the use of the "Sacraments, and inflicting on him, who has thus dealt with "us, the due reward of his injustice." This petition was subscribed by the Priest Narses, ten Deacons, three Sub-deacons, and sixteen other monks, in all thirty-five. Dioscorus asked them for their confession of faith[3], and they declared that it agreed with that of Eutyches; whereupon, with the consent of Juvenal of Jerusalem and the whole Council, they were declared to be absolved, and re-established

[1 κενὸν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας ἐστί.]

[2 ἀχράντων μυστηρίων]

[3] p. 280. E.

[x] It was usual both with the old Romans (Livy, v. 13. A. U. C. 355, Casaubon ad Suet. Tib. 61) and the Greeks (Petit. in Legg. Att. p. 38) to liberate prisoners on great festivals. The Jews were accustomed (St. John, xviii. 39) to have a release at the Passover, in memory of their deliverance out of "the iron furnace;" and from them, probably, the Easter release was borrowed by the Christian Emperors. The first enactment on this subject was by Valentinian, A.D. 367 (Cod. Theod. l. ix. t. 38. legg. 3, 4), re-enacted by Valentinian the Younger and Theodosius in 381 (ibid. legg. 6, 7, 8. Cod. Just. l. 1. t. iv. leg. 3.) The reason of it is given by St. Chrysostom, Hom. 30 in Gen. (t. iv. p. 294. ed. Montf.): see also Hom. 3, 6, 20, ad pop. Antioch. (t. ii. pp. 36, 76, 210), St. Ambros., Ep. 33 (20. ed. Bened.), Greg. Nyss. Hom. 3 De Pasch. (t. iii. p. 420. ed. 1638.) and Arnold. Carnot. p. 42. (post Opp. Cyprian. ed. Fell.) This last mentions the remission of ecclesiastical censures as taking place on the same day with the release of prisoners, namely, Maundy Thursday; and this agrees with the words used at the ceremony of washing feet,

Nexi solvuntur hodie
Carnis et *cordis* carcere.

Cf. Bingh. xx. 5. § 6. J. A. Fabricius. Bibliogr. Ant. p. 314. Gothofr. in C. Th. t. iii. p. 272, and Lomeier., Dies Genial. Dec. ii. Diss. 7; who relates that when the Queen Constance of Arragon sent word to Charles II. of Naples, as he lay in prison on Good Friday, that he must prepare for death, he answered, "I am ready to die for the "love of Him, who died to-day for me." The Queen was moved, and said, "That, "which makes him glad to die, ought "to make me fain to save him; let him "live." It was this feeling, doubtless, that gave rise to the above laws.

in the communion of the Church and the functions of their orders. A. D. 449. CH. XLI.

XLI. Condemnation of Flavian, &c.

Dioscorus next proposed the recital of the decisions respecting the Faith made by the first Council of Ephesus[1]; and as the other Bishops approved of this, the Acts of the sixth session, held on the twenty-second of July, 431, were read. They contained[2] the Creed of Nicæa, the quotations from the Fathers in reference to the Incarnation, Charisius's petition, with the false[3] creed of Theodorus of Mopsuestia[4], and the extracts from the books of Nestorius. When the recital was ended, Dioscorus said[5], "I believe that you all "approve the exposition of the Nicæan Fathers, which was "confirmed by the Council formerly held in this place. We "have heard what this Council decreed; that if any one "affirm or opine any thing, or raise any question beyond[6] "the Creed aforesaid, he is to be condemned. What think "you of it?" Let every one declare his opinion in writing." Thalassius of Cæsarea said that he held to the Councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, and detested all who opposed their decisions. The other Bishops made similar statements. Julius, the Pope's legate, said that this was the opinion of the Apostolic see[7]; but the Deacon Hilarus added[8], "The "letter which the Apostolical see has written to you agrees "therewith; if you order it to be read you will find it con-"sonant to the truth." His suggestion met with no support.

[1] p. 282. D.

[2] p. 283, &c. Supr. 25. 56.

[3] falsati]

[4] p. 292.

[5] p. 300. E.

[6] παρὰ]

[7] p. 302. D.

[8] p. 303. B.

On the other hand, Dioscorus, having laid down this as his premiss, proceeded to draw from it the inference which was his real object; "The holy Council of Nicæa," he said, "and the holy Council of Ephesus expounded the Faith, "and decreed, that whoever should speak otherwise[9] should "be subjected to the penalties [there specified.] Well now, "you see that Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, here before "us, and Eusebius of Dorylæum have unsettled every thing, "and are become a scandal to all the Churches. It is plain, "then, that they have subjected themselves to the punish-"ments decreed by our Fathers; and, therefore, in main-"tenance of their decisions, our sentence is that the afore-"said Flavian and Eusebius be deprived of all sacerdotal "and episcopal dignity[1]. Let each of you declare his opinion

[9] ἑτέραν πίστιν παρὰ ταῦτα ἐκτίθεσθαι.]

[1] p. 305.

A. D. 449. CH. XLI. "and see that it be recorded in the Acts; and know, that "every one of this day's transactions will be reported to the "Emperors." Flavian said, "I disclaim your authority[1]." Hilarus, Deacon of the Roman Church, said, *Contradicitur*, "We oppose it;" the Latin word is inserted in the Greek Acts[2].

[1 παραιτοῦμαι σε.]

[2 κοντραδίκιτουρ, ὅ ἐστιν, ἀντιλέγεται.]

Juvenal of Jerusalem, however, followed Dioscorus and pronounced Flavian and Eusebius to be deposed, as having changed the Faith of Nicæa and Ephesus; and he was followed by Domnus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest. Even Barsumas, after the Bishops, affected to give a judicial sentence. All of them, except the Pope's legates, then subscribed. Thus much we learn from the Acts of the Council of Ephesus itself; but matters were not to be settled so calmly.

When Dioscorus began to pronounce sentence against Flavian[3], Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, rose with several others, and seized his knees, entreating him not to proceed. Dioscorus rose from his throne, and, standing on his footstool, declared, that although his tongue were to be cut out he could not say otherwise; and as the Bishops continued to entreat him, holding him by the knees, he cried out "Where "are the Counts?" which brought in the Proconsul, with a great number of soldiers, armed with swords and clubs, and bringing chains with them. By this means the greater part of the Bishops were compelled to affix their signatures to a carte-blanche[4]; being shut up in the church till evening, and prevented from taking either rest or refreshment. Those who continued faithful to Flavian, and refused to subscribe, were banished[5]. The Deacon Hilarus with great difficulty effected his escape, and got to Rome by taking cross routes[6]. There were some other Bishops deposed in the Council, of whom the Acts, as they are now extant, make no mention; namely, Ibas of Edessa, and Daniel of Carrhæ his nephew, Aquilinus of Byblus, and Sabinian of Perrha[7]. Theodoret, too, was deposed, though absent. Even Domnus of Antioch, because he had retracted his forced subscription to the condemnation of Flavian[8], was deprived of his see, by the following artifice of Dioscorus. Three days after the session

[3] C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 253.

[4] Ibid. p. 130. D.

[5] Ep. Pulch. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 35.

[6] per incognita et invia loca.]

[7] Evagr. 1. 10. [Liberat. c. 12.]

[8] Niceph. 14. 47.

in which Flavian was deposed[1], Dioscorus produced some letters before the Council, which Domnus had written to him, charging St. Cyril's twelve Articles with being obscure, and the Council were thus prevailed upon to depose him as suspected of Nestorianism, though he was absent and laid up with sickness. It is not known what became of Domnus from that time[2], but it is conjectured that he returned to the monastery of St. Euthymius, and died there some time after. Thus ended the Council, better known under the name of the Latrocinium or Robbers' Meeting[3], of Ephesus.

A. D. 449. CH. XLI.

[1] Brev. Hist. Eutych. ap. Conc. t. iv. p. 1080. B.

[2] Evagr. l. 10.

[3] [ἡ λῃστρική. Theoph. Chronogr. p. 86.]

Flavian and Eusebius were thrown into prison, but Flavian, besides his protestation in the Council, presented the Pope's legates with a paper, in which he appealed to the Apostolic see. After the Council Dioscorus immediately withdrew, and pronounced an excommunication[4] against the Pope St. Leo, to which he procured the subscriptions of about ten Bishops who had accompanied him from Egypt. Flavian was banished, but expired in the course of a few days at Hypepa in Lydia, in consequence of the kicks and other severe treatment which he had received, principally from Barsumas and his monks[5]. In his stead, and probably after his death, Anatolius, Deacon of Alexandria, who was residing at Constantinople as the Apocrisiary of Dioscorus, was ordained Bishop of Constantinople[6]. There was thus a schism in the Church; the Bishops of Egypt, Thrace, and Palestine, sided with Dioscorus; the Bishops of Pontus and Asia followed those who had remained in communion with Flavian: and this schism continued up to the death of the Emperor Theodosius. This prince went so far as to issue an edict[7], in which he gives his approval to the second Council of Ephesus, prohibits any one from being ordained Bishop who maintains the heresy of Nestorius and Flavian, (for he supposes their doctrine identical,) and forbids all persons to keep in their possession the writings of Theodoret, which he puts in the same class with those of Nestorius.

[4] Lib. Theod. C. Calch. Act. 3. p. 397. B.

[5] Prosp. Chr. int. [p. 670.] Marcell. Chr. [p. 289.] C. Calch. Act. 4. p. 524. E. Martyr. R. 18. Febr.

[6] Liberat. c. 12. [v. Coteler. Mon. Eccl. Gr. t. i. p. 66.]

[7] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 10. [p. 863.]

Meanwhile St. Leo was in great anxiety about the events which were taking place in the East, and wondered that he received no communication; he therefore took the opportunity of sending a letter to Flavian, by a man of rank

A. D. 449. CH. XLII.-XLIII.

named Eupsychius, in order to acquaint him with his uneasiness[1]. This letter is dated the eleventh of August, 449. But he was shortly after put in full possession of all the proceedings by the return of his Archdeacon Hilarus.

[1] Ep. 35. (al. 21.)

XLII. Ravennius Bishop of Arles.

While St. Leo was thus expectant, he received a letter from the Bishops of the province of Vienne, who informed him of the election of Ravennius to the see of Arles, in the place of St. Hilary. St. Leo's answer mentions the names of twelve Bishops to whom it is addressed[2]. "We confirm," he says, "by our judgment, the good work which you have "done, in consecrating in the city of Arles, after the death "of Hilary of holy memory, a man whom we no less esteem, "even our brother Ravennius; and that in accordance with "the wishes unanimously expressed by the clergy, the magis-"trates, and the people[3]." We see by this, that although they notified to the Pope the election of a Bishop to so important a see, yet they did not wait for his consent to consecrate him. We may also observe the honourable terms which the Pope St. Leo employs when speaking of St. Hilary of Arles, in spite of all that had passed between them[4]. This letter[5] is dated the twenty-second of August, 449. He also wrote to Ravennius, (with whom he was previously acquainted, from his having been sent to Rome about the affair of St. Hilary,) exhorting him to cultivate all the episcopal virtues, and to send him frequent accounts of his proceedings in the government of his flock. A few days afterwards, (on the twenty-sixth of August,) he wrote to him a second time[6], advising him to be on his guard against a vagabond[7] named Petronian, who was running up and down the provinces of Gaul, styling himself a Deacon of the Roman Church. "Direct "the Bishops," says St. Leo, "to reject him from the com-"munion of all the Churches."

[2] Ep. 36. (al. 106.)

[3] cleri, honoratorum, et plebis.]

[4] Supr. c. 4.

[5] Ep. 37. (al. 90.)

[6] Ep. 38. (al. 107.)

[7] erronem]

XLIII. Council of Rome opposes that of Ephesus.

The Deacon Hilarus arrived at Rome about the end of September, and as there was a Council held every year in the beginning of October[8], it met very seasonably for considering the proceedings at Ephesus; these were unanimously condemned[9], and several letters were drawn up in the name of St. Leo and the Council. The first is to the Emperor Theodosius[1], complaining of the violence of Dioscorus and the irregularity of the Council of Ephesus. "We have been

[8] Ep. Leon. 16. (al. 4.) c. ult.

[9] Ep. Hilar. ap. Leon. p. 530.

[1] Ep. 40. (al. 25.) C. Calch. pt. i. c. 19.

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"informed," he says, "that those who came to the Council "did not all take part in passing sentence. Some were ex- "cluded, to make room for others who implicitly set their "hands to those impious subscriptions merely to pay court "to Dioscorus, and because they knew that they would lose "their dignities if they were refractory. Our legates steadily "resisted him, because, in effect, the whole mystery of the "Christian Faith is overthrown unless this crime, which "surpasses all sacrilege, is blotted out. My brethren and I "conjure you, therefore,—lest our silence should render us "guilty before the tribunal of JESUS CHRIST;—we conjure "you before the undivided Trinity, and before the holy "angels, to ordain that all things remain in the state in "which they were before these sentences were passed, till "such time as a greater number of Bishops can be assembled "from every part of the world."

And afterwards; "All the Churches in our parts and all "the Bishops beseech you with tears, that since ours faith- "fully resisted, and since the Bishop Flavian presented a "bill of appeal, you would order a general Council[1] to be "assembled in Italy, to remove all doubts concerning the "Faith and all those divisions which have inflicted such "wounds on charity. Let the Bishops of the Eastern pro- "vinces also appear there, that such as have fallen away "through weakness may be re-established. The canons of "Nicæa annexed to this letter will shew you how necessary "our request is, when an appeal has been interposed." There is no doubt that these canons of Nicæa were those of Sardica[2][y]; and the use St. Leo makes of them is remarkable. For although they seem to assign to the Pope, singly, the power of trying appeals put in by Bishops, St. Leo assigns this power to the general Council, and he infers the necessity of a Council's being called, as well from the provisions made in the canons, as from the appeal interposed by Flavian[3]. The second synodical letter written by St. Leo and the Roman

[1] "generalem synodum."

[2] Fleury, 12. 39. Supr. 24. 6.

[3] v. Quesnel. Diss. 8.

[y] "This mistake was favoured by "the form of the collections of canons "then in use:—the canons of the "Council of Nicæa were followed by "those of other Councils without any "distinguishing mark, as may be seen "in the collection attached by Quesnel "to his edition of St. Leo's Works. "Hence the canons of other Councils "are often quoted as those of Nicæa; "see Ballerini de ant. coll. cann. Pt. "ii. c. 3. § 3 (ap. Galland. Syll. t. i. "p. 311)." Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. n. 47.

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Council[1] was to St. Pulcheria. He complains in this, as in the preceding, that his letter to Flavian had not been read at the Council of Ephesus; he declares that all the Western Bishops remain in communion with Flavian, and begs the Princess to support the request he had made to the Emperor for a general Council. The third letter[2] is to the clergy, magistrates, and people of Constantinople, offering them consolation, and exhorting them to remain stedfast in the Faith and in allegiance to their Bishop: "For," he adds, "if "any one shall dare to usurp the see of Flavian during his "life-time, he shall never be admitted to our communion, "nor be numbered among the Bishops." The fourth[3] is to Faustus, Martin, Peter, Magnus, Elias, and Emmanuel, all Priests and Archimandrites of Constantinople; its tendency is much the same, being designed to comfort them, and to confirm them in the Faith and in union with the Bishop Flavian. These four synodical letters all bear the same date, the ides of October, in the Consulate of Asterius and Protogenes, i. e. the fifteenth of October, 449.

[1] Ep. 41. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 21.

[2] Ep. 45. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 22.

[3] Ep. 47. (al. 28.)

Besides these, St. Leo wrote some private letters: one to St. Flavian[4], to encourage and console him; for he had not as yet been informed of his death: also to Anastasius of Thessalonica[5], congratulating him on his not having been at Ephesus, and exhorting him to remain firm in the Faith and communion of Flavian, and to strengthen the hearts of his brethren: to Julian of Cos[6], in a similar way, exhorting him to hope patiently: to the clergy, magistrates, and people of Constantinople[7], instructing them at greater length in the doctrine of the Incarnation, which they were to preserve. This last seems to have been written later than the others; for St. Leo speaks in it of having received copies of the people's acclamations, which can only refer to those by which they publicly testified their disapproval of Flavian's deposition. In this letter, among other proofs of the Incarnation he adduces the Sacrament of the Eucharist, "in which even in-"fants," he says, "acknowledge with their own mouth the "truth of the Body and Blood of CHRIST;" for at that time infants communicated[8], and answered, *Amen*, as well as the others. The Deacon Hilarus wrote privately to St. Pulcheria[9], stating what had prevented him from coming to Constanti-

[4] Ep. 42. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 18.

[5] Ep. 43. (al. 29.)

[6] Ep. 44. (al. 30.)

[7] Ep. 46. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 23.

[8] Supr. 26. 50. g.

[9] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 24.

nople to present the letters of which the Pope had appointed him bearer. He informs her of what had occurred at Ephesus; of the difficulty he had in saving himself; and of the violent proceedings of Dioscorus, which were condemned by the Pope and all the Western Council. A. D. 449. CH. XLIV.

XLIV. Theodoret writes to St. Leo.

When Theodoret heard of the results of the Ephesine Council, he wrote a long letter[1] to the Pope St. Leo; in which, after owning the superiority of the holy see, he dilates on the praises of Rome, and of St. Leo in especial. He commends his zeal against the Manichees[2], and his letter to Flavian, which he says he had read, and admired as the very language of the HOLY GHOST. He then adverts to his own personal concerns[3], and complains of the injustice of Dioscorus, who had condemned him while absent, having never been summoned, never heard in his own defence, and, in fact, residing at the distance of a thirty-five days' journey. He describes his labours for the Church[4]. "Six and twenty "years," he says, "have I been a Bishop, and never in- "curred any censure either under Theodotus or under those "who succeeded him in the see of Antioch; I have rescued "above a thousand souls from the disease of Marcion, and "have brought back many Arians and Eunomians; there "is not one heretic[5] in the eight hundred parishes[6] of my "diocese. GOD knows how often I have been assaulted "with stones, and how many contests I have sustained "against Gentiles and Jews. Within these twenty years[7] "I have written several works," which he enumerates; "From these," he says, "it is easy to ascertain whether I "have kept to the rule of Faith, or have erred from it. I "pray you, therefore, not to reject my humble prayer[8], nor "despise my old age, which after so many toils is now "loaded with opprobrium. Above all things[9], I wish to know "from you, whether I ought to acquiesce in this unjust "deposition. I await your decision. If you bid me submit "to this sentence, I will do so; I will thenceforth impor- "tune no one, but wait for the judgment of GOD. He is "my witness that it is not the loss of honour which gives "me this concern, but I fear the scandal that would follow, "and lest many of the simple-minded folk, and especially "the converted heretics, should regard me as heretical, when

[1] Ep. 113. [t. iii. p. 985.] (et ap. S. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 531.)
[2] c. 2.
[3] c. 3.
[4] c. 4.
[5] οὐδὲν ζιζάνιον]
[6] παροικίας]
[7] c. 5.
[8] ἱκετείαν]
[9] c. 6.

A. D. 449. CH. XLIV.

"they see the authority of those who have condemned me, "and not being themselves qualified to understand the point "of doctrine, nor to take into consideration that during "my long episcopate I have acquired neither house nor land [1 ὀβολόν] "nor sepulchre, nay, not a single penny[1], but have embraced "a voluntary poverty, having given away my patrimony im- "mediately after the death of my parents, as is known to all [2 c. 7.] "the East. I write this to you[2] by the Priests Hypatius and "Abraham, who are Chorepiscopi, and Alypius, who is Ex- "arch of my monks; the Emperor's orders, by which I and "some others are detained, prevent me from coming to you "in person."

He gave the same deputies three other letters. The first [3 Ep. 116.] is to Renatus[3], Priest of the Roman Church and one of the envoys to the Council of Ephesus. Theodoret had not been informed of his death, but supposes that he had assisted at the Council. He here acknowledges the primacy of the holy [4 τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν] see over all the Churches of the world[4], chiefly on account of the purity of its faith, which was never, he says, sullied by any heresy. The second letter[5] is to the Archdeacon of Rome, that is, Hilarus; whom, however, Theodoret addresses in a [5 Ep. 118.] way that shews he had not heard of his having been at [6 Ep. 117.] Ephesus. The third is to a Bishop named Florentius[6], though, as he makes use of the plural number, it would seem to have been addressed to the Western Bishops who had assembled with St. Leo to consider his case. He wrote at the same time [7 Ep. 118.] to Anatolius the Patrician[7], begging him to intercede with the Emperor for him, that he might be permitted to go to the West to be judged by the Bishops of those parts; or, if not, that he might at least be allowed to retire to his monastery, [8 μιλίοις] which was a hundred and twenty miles[8] distant from Cyrus, seventy-five from Antioch, and three from Apamea; and this, because he had heard they intended to eject him from Cyrus. The answers sent by St. Leo and the other Western Bishops to Theodoret are not extant; but the sequel of the history shews that his deputation was well received, and that the Pope re-established him in the episcopate, without paying [9 C. Calch. Act. 1. p. 102. B. D.] any regard to the decision of Dioscorus[9]. The Emperor, too, gave him permission to withdraw to his monastery, where he is thought to have written his Ecclesiastical History, and

whence he sent several letters to his friends, defending himself and consoling them[1]. A. D. 450. CH. XLV.

[1] Ep. 122, 123, etc.

In the mean time St. Leo received an answer from the Princess Pulcheria, testifying her affection for the Catholic Faith. He wrote to thank her for this[2], and renewed his request that she would support his petition for a Council; "Human affairs," he urges, "cannot remain in security, "unless the Faith be supported by both the royal and the "sacerdotal authority." His answer is dated on[3] the seventeenth of March, 450. He wrote on the same day to Martin and Faustus[4], Abbots of Constantinople, in answer to a letter which they had sent him dated on the very day on which he and the Council of Rome had written to them. He exhorts them to confirm their people in the Catholic Faith.

[2] Ep. 48. (al. 31.)

[3] 16. Kal. April. Valentiniano VII. et Avieno Coss.

[4] Ep. 49. (al. 32.)

About the same time he received two deputations from Gaul; one from the Bishop of Vienne, complaining that the Bishop of Arles had assumed the prerogative of ordaining to the see of Vaison; the other from the Bishops of the province of Arles, who had sent a Priest named Petronius and a Deacon named Regulus, to present a petition, in their names[5], to this effect: "It is notorious to all the Gauls and not un- "known at Rome, that the city of Arles was the first which "received a Bishop sent by the Apostle St. Peter—we speak "of St. Trophimus; that from this Church the Faith spread "itself into the rest of Gaul, and consequently that it had a "Bishop before the city of Vienne, which now aims at the "primacy." The name of the Gauls need not here be taken in its widest extent; it is sufficient to understand it of the entire province of Narbonnensis, or the old Roman *Provincia*: and what is said about the commission given to St. Trophimus by St. Peter, means only that he was sent by the holy see. The petition proceeds: "Besides, our predecessors[6] have always "honoured the Church of Arles as their mother; our cities "have constantly asked for Bishops from thence, and its "Bishop has always consecrated our predecessors and us. "Your predecessors confirmed the privileges of this Church "by their letters, as appears, we doubt not, in the archives[7] "of the holy see. They wished that it should have authority "within the Gauls, in the same way that the Roman Church "has the primacy in all the world." They subjoin an ac-

XLV. Arrangement between Arles and Vienne.

[5] Post Ep. 49. S. Leon. [p. 538. Preces missæ ab universis comprovincialibus Episcopis Metropolis Arelatensis.]

[6] decessores, prædecessoresque nostri]

[7] scrinia]

A. D. 450. CH. XLVI.

court of the secular advantages enjoyed by Arles; "Constantine gave it his name, Valentinian and Honorius called "it the mother of all the Gauls[1]. From their time to the "present the consulate has been given and received in it[2], "and the Præfect of the Prætorium has made it his residence. "Hence this Church has at all times had the government, not "only of the province of Vienne, but of the three provinces, "and, by commission from the holy see, of all the Gauls."

[1] matrem omnium (*vulg.* matrimonium) Galliarum]

St. Leo's answer[2] bears the names of the twelve Bishops to whom it is addressed, and remarks that the Bishop of Vienne had been beforehand with them in sending letters and deputies. Both parties stated the grounds of their claims, and it appeared that Vienne and Arles had, each of them, at different periods possessed different privileges. St. Leo therefore confirmed the authority which he had previously awarded to the Bishop of Vienne, when he decided against the claims of St. Hilary of Arles. He ordained that the Bishop of Vienne should preside over the four neighbouring cities, Valence, Tarantaise, Geneva, and Grenoble, and that the other cities of the same province should be subject to the Bishop of Arles. This letter is dated the third of the nones of May, in the consulate of Valentinian and Avienus, that is, the fifth of May, 450. On the same day he wrote to Ravennius of Arles[3], desiring him to acquaint all the Gallic Bishops with his letter to Flavian, which he sent to him along with that of St. Cyril. He says that he had detained the deputies of the Church of Arles, from a wish that they might witness all the proceedings relative to the new heresy against the Incarnation:—which seems to shew that they had assisted at the Council of Rome in the preceding October:—and he leaves it to them to relate, by word of mouth, those matters which it was not fit to entrust to paper.

[2] Ep. 50. (al. 109.)

[3] Ep. 51. (al. 110.)

XLVI. Valentinian's letter to Theodosius.

The Emperor Valentinian came from Ravenna to Rome for the feast of St. Peter, which was, probably, at the end

[2] "In hâc urbe quicunque intra Gallias ex tempore prædictorum [V. et H.] ostentare voluit insignia dignitatis, consulatum suscepit et dedit." It would seem that honorary consulates were conferred on men of rank, which involved no responsibility beyond that of giving Circensian games to the people by way of acknowledgment, (cf. Vales. in Socr. ii. 29. τὰς συνήθεις ὑπατείας ἐπετέλεσε): or is the reference to usurpers like Constantine, (whose headquarters were at Arles,) who made it their policy to be elected consuls, and to give the office to their sons or partizans?

A. D. 450. CH. XLVI.

of June in this year (450). His mother Galla Placidia and his wife Licinia Eudoxia accompanied him on this religious journey. On the day following their arrival they went to the church of St. Peter[1], and after the night of the Vigil, (in other words, on the day of the festival,) the Pope St. Leo presented himself to the Emperor along with several Bishops from various provinces of Italy, who usually assembled at Rome for this solemnity. When prayers were over, they remained at the Altar, and addressed themselves to the Emperor and Empresses, conjuring them with tears not to look on unmoved while the Faith was in jeopardy, and representing to them the disorder which prevailed all over the East, and especially the injustice committed by Dioscorus in his resentful deposition of Flavian. They entreated the Emperor and Empresses, therefore, by the holiness of the place where they were, to write on the subject to the Emperor Theodosius and beg him to allow a general Council of the whole world to be assembled in Italy, to remedy these disorders. Acts were drawn up on this occasion, which contain the prayers and acclamations made use of in this meeting.

[1] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 25, 26, etc. et post Ep. S. Leon. 47. [p. 523.]

The Emperor, in consequence, wrote to Theodosius, begging him to preserve the dignity of St. Peter and the primacy which antiquity had granted to the Bishop of Rome over all Churches, insomuch that he had power to give sentence about the Faith and about Bishops. "Hence," he says, "in "accordance with the Councils, the Bishop of Constantinople "has made an appeal to him. I request, therefore, that all "the other Bishops of the world may be assembled in Italy, "and that the Pope, taking cognizance with them of the "whole matter, may pass a sentence conformable to the "Faith and to religion." The two Empresses wrote to the same effect; Placidia wrote, in addition, a private letter to Pulcheria, pressing her to assist in promoting the same design.

St. Leo had received an answer from the Emperor Theodosius[2] respecting the synodal letter of October, 449. Theodosius allowed that the Council of Nicæa was sufficient, and that there was no need to have assembled another; and he desired the Pope to approve the ordination of Anatolius, as Bishop of Constantinople, in the room of Flavian. St. Leo

[2] Ep. 52. (al. 33.)

A. D. 450. CH. XLVII.

suspends his judgment on this point, until he should be better informed of the faith of Anatolius, and he requests that Anatolius would declare his faith in the presence of all the clergy and people, and communicate his profession of it to the holy see, and to all the [Bishops and] Churches[1]. He wishes that it should be conformable to St. Cyril's letter to Nestorius and to St. Leo's own letter to Flavian, and that he would exclude from his communion all who think otherwise about the Incarnation. "I send to you," he adds, "my "brethren and fellow-Bishops[2] Abundius and Asterius, as also "the Priests Basil and Senator, in order that, if the Bishop "of Constantinople confesses the same Faith, we may rejoice "in the peace of the Church; but if any dissent from it, "then let your clemency grant us a general Council in Italy: "in this petition the synod, assembled about this matter at "Rome, unites with me."

[1 apostolicæ sedi et universis Domini sacerdotibus atque Ecclesiis publicandam.]

[2 co-episcopos meos]

He wrote at the same time to Faustus, Martin, and other Archimandrites of Constantinople, sixteen in number[3], praying them to join his legates in soliciting a profession of faith from Anatolius. These letters to the Emperor and the Archimandrites are dated on the same day[4],—the seventeenth of July, 450. Three days afterwards, he wrote to the Empress Pulcheria[5], to the same effect.

[3] Ep. 53. (al. 34.)

[4] 16 Kal. Aug. Valentiniano VII. et Avieno Coss.

[5] Ep. 54. (al. 35.)

Theodosius's answers[6] to the Emperor Valentinian and the Empresses Placidia and Eudoxia contain only general expressions of civility to them, and of his care for the maintenance of religion. He refers them to what he had written to the Pope on this subject, and states his approval of the decision come to by the Council of Ephesus, and of their condemnation of Flavian.

[6] C. Calch. pt. i. c. 29, 30, 31.

XLVII. Death of Theodosius. Marcian Emperor.

The eunuch Chrysaphius, who had confirmed the Emperor in this attachment to the schism of Dioscorus, and whose avarice had long been gathering round him a cloud of popular odium, was soon after disgraced, banished to an island, and put to death by the advice of Pulcheria[7]. The Emperor Theodosius died this same year, (450,) on the twenty-ninth of July, aged forty-nine years, of which he had reigned forty-one[8]. The Empress Eudocia, his wife, quitted

[7] Marcellin. Chr. a. 450. [Ronc. t. ii. p. 289.] Niceph. 14. 49. Prosper. Chr. integr. *h. a.* [t. i. p. 670.] Idat. Chr. Olymp. 307. [t. ii. p. 34.]

[8] Marc. Chr. *u. s.* Chr. Pasch. p. 319. [ed. Par., p. 254. ed. Ven.]

Constantinople, and, under pretence of a vow, returned to Jerusalem, where she ended her days[1]; and whence she sent to Pulcheria a picture of the Virgin, which passed as a work of St. Luke[2a]. Pulcheria, the sister of the late Emperor, was thus left mistress of the East. By her influence, Marcian, a native of Illyricum and a distinguished captain, was elected Emperor, and was recognised as such by the concurrent votes of the senate, the army, and all the orders. They did not wait for the consent of Valentinian, the Emperor of the West, though he afterwards signified his approval of the election[3]. Pulcheria, to increase Marcian's authority and to reign jointly with him, married him, but with the stipulation that she should remain a virgin; she was at this time fifty-one years of age, and he was considerably advanced in years. By a former marriage he had a daughter named Euphemia, who married Anthemius, afterwards Emperor of the West[4]. Marcian was very zealous for the Catholic religion, and very charitable towards the poor. He was proclaimed Emperor at Hebdomon, on Thursday the twenty-fourth of August, A.D. 450.[5]

A. D. 450. CH. XLVIII.

[1] Evagr. 1. 21, 22. Niceph. 14. 49.

[2] Theod. Lect. 1. 1, 2.

[3] Evag. 2. 1.

[4] 2. 16. 3. 26.

[5] Chr. Pasch. *a. s.*

In the beginning of his reign, he passed a law[6] inflicting the heaviest penalties on the heretics, Clerks, and monks, who should forsake the Catholic religion to follow the heresy of Apollinarius or of Eutyches. On the twelfth of November in the following year, 451, he made a stringent enactment against idolatry[7]: it prohibits the re-opening of the temples, which had been long closed; their gates were not to be decorated with festoons, no fires were to burn on the altars, no incense to be offered on them, no libations to be poured out or victims to be sacrificed; and this on pain of suffering the extreme penalty of the law, with confiscation of all their property.

[6] [*Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 5. sive*] de Apost. leg. ult.

[7] tit. ii. sive de Paganis. leg. 7.

XLVIII. Council of Constantinople under Anatolius.

The legates of the Pope St. Leo, setting out from Rome about the end of July, 450, did not arrive at Constantinople until after the death of the Emperor Theodosius; they met with a favourable reception from Marcian and Pulcheria. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, assembled a Council of

[a] Also mentioned by the Patriarch Germanus in vit. S. Stephani, Anal. Gr. t. i. p. 413. cf. infr. xxviii. 42. Du Fresne, CP. Lib. iv. p. 88. 181. ed Paris.

A. D. 450. CH. XLVIII.

the Bishops who happened to be in the city, with the Archimandrites, Priests, and Deacons[1]. St. Leo's letter to Flavian was presented by Abundius, Bishop of Como, one of the legates, and, having been read publicly, was found conformable to the authorities of the Greek and Latin Fathers and to the Catholic Faith. Anatolius, therefore, gave his consent to it, and subscribed before the rest, saying, "Anathema to "Eutyches and to Nestorius, to their doctrine and their "followers." All the Bishops, Priests, Archimandrites, and Deacons present, did the same.

[1] Acta S. Abund. ap. Baron. a. 450. § 29.

This done, the four legates of the Pope, Abundius and Asterius, Bishops, and Basil and Senator, Priests, gave thanks to GOD for the harmony which prevailed, and then pronounced anathema on Eutyches and on all who, following his error, said that there were two natures in CHRIST our LORD before the Incarnation, and after it only one. They also anathematized Nestorius and his followers; and it was decreed in this Council, that the Bishops who had consented, through fear, to sign the condemnation of Flavian, should have communion with none but their own Churches.

The Emperor Marcian ordered the body of St. Flavian to be brought to Constantinople[2], and had it interred with the usual honours in the Basilica of the Apostles, where his predecessors reposed. He also made a special order for the recall of those Bishops who had been banished for assisting St. Flavian to maintain the Catholic Faith. In this number Theodoret was included, as appears from his letters of thanks to the influential persons who had brought about his restoration, the Patricians Anatolius and Vincomalus[3]. He begs them to procure the convocation of a synod, at which, to prevent disturbance, the Emperor and Empress should attend in person. He also sent a letter[4] to Abundius the Pope's legate, in which he certifies that he had subscribed St. Leo's letter to Flavian, and that Ibas of Edessa and Aquilinus of Byblus had done the same.

[2] Ep. Pulch. ap. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 35.

[3] Epist. 138, 140.

[4] ap. Baron. a. 450. § 32.

The Emperor Marcian, immediately on his election, wrote[5] to the Pope St. Leo, as the head of the Faith[6], commending himself to his prayers, and proposing in general terms that a Council should be convened. The Empress Pulcheria sent him an account of all that had occurred at Constantinople[7];—

[5] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 33.

[6] ἐπισκοπεύουσαν καὶ ἄρχουσαν τῆς πίστεως.]

[7] c. 35.

the subscription of Anatolius, the translation of St. Flavian's remains, and the recall of the exiled Bishops;—and she entreated him to contribute, as far as lay in his power, to the assembling of a Council. Lastly, Anatolius himself wrote to St. Leo giving him a confession of his Faith; he also sent three envoys, the Priest Casterius and the Deacons Patricius and Asclepiades, who took with them the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, the report of the proceedings drawn up by the Pope's legates, and the letters of Marcian and Pulcheria. A. D. 451. CH. XLIX.

XLIX. Letters of St. Leo to Marcian, and others.

The Pope St. Leo despatched the deputies of Anatolius homeward, after the feast of Easter, (which this year fell on the eighth of April,) and gave them answers to the letters they had brought, all written on the same day[1],—the ides of April, in the consulate of Adelphius, that is, April 13, 451. To Pulcheria[2] he acknowledges the services she had done the Church in opposing both the heresy of Nestorius and that of Eutyches. He recommends to her patronage Eusebius of Dorylæum, who was then at Rome; for, having been ejected from his see and another Bishop being appointed in his stead, he had come to present himself to the Pope, and in order to clear himself from the charge brought against him by his calumniators, that he was a Nestorian, had made a profession of his faith in the presence of the deputies from Constantinople, declaring that he received the decrees of the three Councils-general of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus. St. Leo also begs the Empress to extend her favour to Julian of Cos, (who was still at Constantinople,) and to the clergy of Constantinople who had remained faithful to St. Flavian. He congratulates Anatolius[3] on the purity of his faith and on the peace enjoyed by the Church of Constantinople. As to the Bishops who had signed the condemnation of Flavian in a moment of weakness, St. Leo approves of the regulation made by the Council of Constantinople, that they should be confined, provisionally[4], to the communion of their several Churches; "but," he adds, "I wish that, in conjunction with "our legates, you would arrange that such as thoroughly "condemn those irregular proceedings may be admitted to "our communion. As to omitting the names of Dioscorus, "Juvenal, and Eustathius at the Altar[5], you will do what-"ever will not interfere with the respect due to Flavian or

[1] Ep. 58, 59, 60. (al. 38, 39, 40.)

[2] Ep. 59.

[3] Ep. 60.

[4] interim

[5] Supr. 22. 42. h. 26. 17. a.

A. D. 451. CH. XLIX.

"alienate the minds of your people." He also commends to the affection of Anatolius both Julian of Cos and all the clergy who had been faithful to Flavian; he asks him to take charge of the Church of Dorylæum, during the absence of Eusebius, and in conclusion, expresses a wish that his letter should be read publicly.

Tatian, Præfect of Rome, delivered to St. Leo a second letter from the Emperor Marcian[1], dated the twenty-second of November in the preceding year, 450. It assured him that his legates had met with a sincere welcome, and invited him to come into the East, to hold the Council there. "If "this be inconvenient," he adds, "let us be informed by "letter, that we may send our summons through all the "East, Thrace, and Illyricum, convoking all the Bishops to "some such place as may approve itself to our[2] choice, where "they may adopt measures in support of the peace of the "Church and of the Catholic Faith, in the way you have "defined[3] in accordance with the canons." St. Leo returned an answer[4] on the twenty-third of April. He begs the Emperor not to permit the mystery of salvation to be examined, as if the matter of our belief were in any degree doubtful. "It is unlawful for us," he continues, "to vary the least "word from the doctrine of the Evangelists and Apostles; "we are not to understand the Divine Scriptures otherwise "than as our fathers received and taught them, and, conse- "quently, we must not re-open any impious questions, which "the HOLY GHOST has heretofore decided as soon as the "Devil suggested them. It would be highly unjust to allow "a few inconsiderate persons again to raise a question as to "whether the opinions of Eutyches were impious and Dio- "scorus's judgment wrong. The doubtful point is not what "faith we are to hold by, but which of those who acknowledge "their error should be pardoned." For further explanations about the Council he refers to the legates whom it was his intention to send.

[1] C. Calch. pt. I. c. 34.

[2] ἡμῖν. Fl. vous.]

[3] διετύπωσε]

[4] Ep. 62. (al. 42.)

Accordingly, after the return of the first legates, he sent two others to Constantinople,—Lucentius, Bishop of Ascoli, and the Priest Basil,—to labour with Anatolius[5] for effecting the re-union of those who evinced sincere repentance for having suffered themselves to be drawn into the faction of

[5] Ep. 63. (al. 44.)

Dioscorus; they were to receive such only after a judicious examination, without, however, subjecting them to too long delay or treating them with undue rigour. He gave his legates three letters, all of the same date, the seventh of June, 451; the first for the Emperor Marcian, the second for Pulcheria, the third for Anatolius. In the letter to the Emperor[1], he says, "As to the Council, your clemency may "remember that I myself requested it; but the pressure of "the times will not in any way allow the Bishops of all the "provinces to assemble; since those provinces from which "they should chiefly be summoned," that is, those of the West, "are so unsettled by the wars, that the Bishops can- "not be spared from their Churches. Defer it therefore," he proceeds, "to a more opportune season, when, by GOD's "mercy, the public security shall have been more firmly "established." He prays the Empress Pulcheria[2] to order the removal of Eutyches to a greater distance from Constantinople, as his monastery was too near the city; and to promote a Catholic Abbot in his stead. He recommends Anatolius[3] to decide nothing as yet respecting the heads of the party who presided at the false Council, even though they should profess repentance; but without refusing their offer of amendment, to reserve it to be maturely examined by the holy see, and in the mean time not to recite their names at the Altar of the Church of Constantinople.

A. D. 451. CH. L.

[1] Ep. 63. c. 2. [p. 561.]

[2] Ep. 64. (al. 45.) c. 3.

[3] Ep. 65. (al. 46.) c. 2.

L. Attila's ravages in Gaul.

The wars, which at that time disturbed the Roman Empire, and which St. Leo considered to be an obstacle in the way of a Council, were caused mainly by the invasion of the Huns[4]. Having formerly passed the Palus Mœotis, they had spread themselves as far as the Danube and levied a tribute on the Emperors of the East. Under the younger Theodosius, they had pillaged Thrace and Illyria and afterwards Achaia and the rest of Greece. At last, their King Attila, having subjected many other barbarian Kings to his sway, and having got together an army of five hundred thousand men, crossed, this year, (451,) from Pannonia into Gaul, under the plea of waging war with Theodoric, King of the Visigoths. He passed the Rhine, and reached Metz on Easter-Eve[5]; the city was set fire to, the whole population butchered, and the Priests massacred at the foot of the Altars; nothing

[4] Jornandes de Reb. Geticis. Cassiod. Chr. [Ronc. t. ii. p. 230.] Prosper. Chr. [t. i. p. 671.] Marcellin. [t. ii. p. 290.]

[5] Greg. Tur. Hist. 2. 6.

A. D. 451. CH. L. remained entire but the oratory of St. Stephen. Attila also ravaged Rheims, Cambray, Besançon, Langres, and Auxerre.

[1] Vit. S. Genov. ap. Boll. 3. Jan. [p. 144.] At Paris the alarm was so great[1] that the inhabitants thought of retiring with their wives and children to places of greater strength; but St. Genevieve exhorted the women to put their trust in GOD, and, along with their husbands, to give themselves to fasting and prayer. Many virtuous women confided in her advice, and passed some days watching and praying in the baptistery. The Saint moreover advised the husbands not to remove their goods elsewhere, for she assured them that the cities, in which they were desirous of taking refuge, would be attacked, and that Paris would be unharmed. On this occasion some of the citizens began to conspire against her, and to hold assemblies, in which it was deliberated whether she should be stoned or drowned in the river. Meanwhile the Archdeacon of Auxerre came to Paris, and having discovered the plot, said to them, "Take good "heed how you venture on so wicked a resolve. I have many "times heard the holy Bishop Germain praise this damsel "and proclaim her virtues." The Huns did not, in fact, come near Paris.

Orleans on the other hand was besieged, and furiously assaulted with battering rams[2]. St. Agnan, who was at that time its Bishop, seeing the city menaced by the Huns, went to Arles to gain an interview with the Patrician Aëtius, and urged him to come with succours; he then returned to the city and exhorted his people to put up prayers to GOD. At length Aëtius came accompanied by Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, and they raised the siege just as the enemy had forced an entrance and were prepared to pillage the city[3]. St. Agnan died two years afterwards. He was a native of Vienne, and of a noble family[4]; and having forsaken the world in his younger days, he built a cell outside the city and there spent many years in the service of GOD. He was then attracted to Orleans by the reputation of St. Euverte, or Evurtius, whom he afterwards succeeded. Attila retreated to the plains of Champagne[5], where Aëtius, with his auxiliary Goths and Franks, gave him battle, defeated him, and forced him to evacuate Gaul[6]. The city of Troyes, exposed in those vast plains, without arms or fortification, looked forward with

[2] Greg. Tur. 2. 7.

[3] Sidon. Epist. viii. 15.

[4] Vit. S. Aniani ap. Sur. 17 Nov. [t. vi. p. 378. ed. 1575.]

[5] Mauriacum Campum. v. Vales. Notit. Gall.]

[6] Greg. u. s.

fear to the approach of the barbarians[1]; but St. Lupus, its Bishop, gained the respect of Attila to such a degree that the barbarian obliged him to accompany him as far as the Rhine, as a protection to his person and army, undertaking to send him back in safety: which he accordingly did, after further commending himself to his prayers. A. D. 451. CH. LI.

[1] Vita S. Lupi ap. Sur. 29 Jul. [t. iv. p. 391: Boll. t. xxxii. p. 77.]

LI. Preliminaries of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Emperor Marcian persisted in his resolution of forthwith convening a Council in the East. His letters were addressed[2] to Anatolius and the other Bishops of the great sees, enjoining them to meet at Nicæa in Bithynia, on the first day of September, with such a number of Bishops belonging to their jurisdiction as they should think convenient. The Emperor promised to be there in person. They are dated from Constantinople, on the sixteenth of the calends of June in the consulate of Marcian, or May 17, 451.

[2] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 36, 37.

When St. Leo heard that the summons was issued, he chose two new legates to represent him in the Council; Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum in Sicily, and Boniface, Priest of the Roman Church. The latter was sent from Rome, but Paschasinus set out from Sicily, in order that he might arrive the sooner at Constantinople; for the term allowed for the assembling of the Bishops was only short. Besides, this province enjoyed greater tranquillity than any in the West, and was least exposed to the ravages of the barbarians. St. Leo's first step was to send Paschasinus a copy of his letter to Flavian[3], with some select passages from the Fathers about the mystery of the Incarnation, which his first legates had already made use of at Constantinople. In a letter which accompanied these, (dated June 24, 451,) he sent him the news from the East. "Know," he says, "that the whole "Church of Constantinople has given its consent, and has "anathematized, by its subscriptions, Nestorius and Eutyches, "together with their doctrines. Know, too, that I have just "received a letter from the Bishop of Constantinople, in- "forming me that the Bishop of Antioch has written circular "letters[4] to all the Bishops, in which he gives his assent to "my letter and subscribes equally to the condemnation of "Nestorius and of Eutyches." Lastly, St. Leo desires Paschasinus to get some persons of skill to calculate Easter for the year 455, because there were some difficulties in the cal-

[3] Epist. 68. [p. 567.]

[4] [tractorlis]

A. D. 451. CH. LI. culation of Theophilus of Alexandria[1], which the whole Church at that time followed.

[1 v. infr. 28. 50.]

The Priest Boniface was charged with the letters of the legation, as being the only one who went direct from Rome. They are dated[2] on the twenty-sixth of June, 451. Two of them were directed to the Emperor Marcian[3], one to Anatolius[4], and one to the Council[5]. In these letters St. Leo gives us to understand that he would have preferred that the Council should have been put off to a more convenient time and have been held in Italy; that, at the same time, he is ready to conform to the Emperor's wishes; and that although the time was so short, he sends the Bishop Paschasinus and the Priest Boniface to preside in his name at the Council along with Lucentius and Basil, (whom he had sent a little before,) and Julian of Cos, who was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair, as he had long resided in the East and had taken part in the Council of Ephesus. St. Leo sent him also a separate letter[6]. He still maintains, in these letters, that the Faith is certain, and therefore not to be controverted, and demands the restoration of the Bishops who had been ejected from their sees for having maintained the Catholic Faith, without prejudice to the first Council of Ephesus and the condemnation of Nestorius. This last clause is added because the most zealous opponents of Eutyches were accused of Nestorianism.

[2] 6 Kal. Julii Adelphio Cos.

[3] Ep. 69, (al. 49.) 73. (al. 43.)

[4] Ep. 70.

[5] Ep. 72. (al. 47.)

[6] Ep. 71.

In some further letters to Marcian and Pulcheria[7], of the nineteenth and twentieth of July, he says that his only reason for wishing the Council to be held in Italy had been that the Bishops of the West might attend it; that he was disposed to deal leniently[8] with those who sincerely returned to the truth, and that he had given sufficient proof of this by his actions, since a large number had been already received, and the heads of the party, although notorious, were allowed to retain their sees till the decision of the Council was known. "In a word," he says, "you will perceive that our sole in-"tention is to extinguish the heresy, which we detest, and "to procure the conversion of the heretics."

[7] Ep. 74, 75. (al. 50, 51.)

[8] Ep. 75. c. 3.

When the Bishops, in fulfilment of the Emperor's order, had assembled at Nicæa, that Prince wrote to them, first of all[9], desiring them to wait for his arrival. After some time,

[9] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 38.

they sent to inform him that many were seriously inconvenienced by their long stay, both from sickness and other causes; to which he answered[1], "The legates of the Pope Leo "judge my presence in the Council to be so necessary, that "they will not attend it in my absence. I desire you, therefore, to repair to Chalcedon, as it will be easier for me to "cross over to that place from Constantinople, where the "urgency of public business detains me." The Bishops sent Atticus, Archdeacon of Constantinople, to him from Nicæa to represent that, as Chalcedon was so near the city, they were apprehensive that the partizans of Eutyches might raise a disturbance there. The Emperor wrote to them a third time[2], telling them that their fears were groundless, and bidding them repair immediately to Chalcedon; for otherwise the session of the Council might be indefinitely delayed, since the affairs of Illyricum would not permit him to quit the city. This refers to the movements of the Huns, who, after their defeat by the Gauls, attempted to force their way into Illyricum, but were prevented by the Emperor.

A. D. 451. CH. LI.

[1] c. 41.

[2] c. 42.

We must not omit to mention the precautionary orders which the Emperor issued against any who should seditiously disturb the Council. This was especially provided for by a law which bears date this year the thirteenth of July[3]; it enacts that the peace of churches should not be broken into by acclamations, or expressions of concurrence with the speaker; and, generally, that no meetings and conventicles should be held in Constantinople [and its suburbs] or elsewhere; on pain of capital punishment on the movers of the sedition. The Empress Pulcheria, too, after the Bishops had assembled at Nicæa, wrote to Strategius[4], the Consulary of Bithynia, to expel all Clerks, monks, and laymen, who came to raise a disturbance, having neither been summoned by the Emperor, nor received permission from their Bishops.

[3] Tertio Idus: [Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 12.] leg. 5. De his qui ad Eccles. conf.

[4] C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 39.

END OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH BOOK.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVIII.

A. D. 451. CH. I.

I. Opening of the Council of Chalcedon.

THE Bishops having arrived at Chalcedon from Nicæa, and the Emperor's great officers having crossed over from Constantinople, the Council assembled in the church of St. Euphemia the Martyr, situate outside the city near the sea coast, being only two stadia, or two hundred and fifty paces, distant from the Bosphorus[1]. It was built on a gently rising ground, and [though its elevation was considerable,] the ascent was so easy as to be scarcely perceived. It commanded a prospect of great beauty; beneath it were fair tracts of meadow and cornfield, with trees of every foliage; above it, mountains clothed with woods: on one side you saw the sea playing calmly against the shore[2], on another swelling with surge; in the foreground stood the city of Constantinople, which of itself was a magnificent spectacle.

[1] Evagr. 2.3.

[2 τῇ γαλήνῃ πορφυρούμενα καὶ ταῖς ἀπταῖς προσπαλίζοντα ἡδύ τε καὶ ἤμερον.]

You first entered into a large [open] court, ornamented with pillars on every side, or peristyle; thence you passed to the Basilica, which was almost as spacious, and similarly decorated with pillars [but roofed in.] Beyond this was a circular building running up into a dome[3] which was supported by columns, with a gallery running round it for the people to pray and hear the service in. Under this dome, on the east side, stood the tomb of the Saint, whose relics were enclosed in a silver shrine. Men perceived a fragrant perfume ever issuing from it, and it was held that many miracles had been wrought there. Sometimes the Bishop of Constantinople came to visit it with the Emperor, the magistrates, and all the people. On these occasions the Bishop went within the chancel[4], and through a small opening on the left side of the sepulchre thrust in an iron rod,

[3 περιφερὴς ἐς θόλον]

[4 εἴσω τῶν ἀνακτόρων]

A. D. 451. CH. I. with a sponge at the end of it, which he drew back full of blood, and this blood he distributed to all the people; so that drops of it were carried to all parts of the world. Near the tomb of the Saint hung a painting on cloth[1], executed by the hand of a great master, in which all the circumstances of her martyrdom were represented; St. Asterius of Amasea has preserved us a description of it[2]. Such was the church of St. Euphemia near Chalcedon.

[1 in sindone]

[2 ap. Ruinart. Act. Mart. 49. p. 490.]

The Council met in it for the first time on the eighth of the ides of October in the consulate of Marcian and in the fourth indiction; i. e. the eighth of October, A.D. 451. There were present nineteen of the chief officers of the Empire; namely, Anatolius, Master of the Soldiery, (who had been Consul in 440,) Palladius, Præfect of the Prætorium, Tatian, Præfect of Constantinople, Vincomalus, Master of the Offices, and Sporatius, Count of the Domestics, or Captain of the Guards, who was Consul the next year (452), besides many more, who had borne the highest offices in the state and were now only senators. The Bishops mentioned in the Acts are three hundred and sixty in number[a]. The Pope's legates, Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniface, Priest, are mentioned first; after them come Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, Dioscorus of Alexandria, Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem. They were ranged in the following order[3]: The officers and senators sat in the middle, before the altar-screen; at their left were the Pope's legates, then Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Stephen of Ephesus, and the other Bishops belonging to the dioceses of the East[4], of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace: at their right Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Quintillus of Heraclea in Macedonia, (representing Anastasius of Thessalonica,) Peter of Corinth, and the other Bishops of the dioceses of Egypt and Illyricum, with

8. Octob.

[3 Act. I. p. 94.]

[4 τῆς ἀνατολικῆς]

[a] The whole number of Bishops present is variously stated. The writer of the Breviculus says, "500 and upwards," (Labb., iv. p. 1080): the letter of the Council to St. Leo (Opp. Leon. ed. Baller. t. i. p. 1089) says 520, —the number given in the Latin copy of Marcian's law, (C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 12): Zacharias (Assem. B. O. ii. p. 55) 564: while Liberatus (c. 13), Marcellinus (Chr. Roncal. ii. p. 289), Theophanes (Chronogr. p. 91), and Nicephorus (xv. 26) all agree in the number 630. St. Leo (Ep. 102. Baller. 77. Quesn.) says, "*about* 600." See Tillemont., t. xv. p. 914. Walch., th. vi. p. 402.

those of Palestine; so that all Dioscorus's party was on the side which was the less honourable. The Gospel was placed in the centre. A. D. 451. 8. Octob. CH. II.

II. Dioscorus accused.

The Bishop Paschasinus, the Pope's legate, spoke first. Addressing himself to the magistrates, he said, "We have "orders from the blessed Bishop of Rome, who is head of all "the Churches, that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council; "therefore, so please your greatness, let him go out, or we "must go out." As he spoke in Latin his speech was explained in Greek by Beronician, Secretary to the Emperor's Consistory. The magistrates and senators said[1]; "What is the specific charge against the most reverend "Bishop Dioscorus?" Lucentius, the other episcopal legate, replied, "He must assign a reason for the sentence he "passed; for he has assumed the person of judge, which does "not belong to him, and presumed to hold a Council without the authority[2] of the holy see; a thing which was never "done nor can be done lawfully." Paschasinus added, "We "cannot act contrary to the Pope's orders or to the canons "of the Church." On this Dioscorus, by order of the magistrates, left his place and took his seat in the midst of the assembly.

[1] p. 96.

[2] ἐπιτροπῆς

Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, then advanced, and standing in the middle, said, "I conjure you by the life of the "sovereigns of the world to order my petition to be read. "I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the Faith has been "wronged: the Bishop Flavian was murdered; along with "me he was unjustly deposed; order my petition to be "read." The magistrates ordered it to be read accordingly; Eusebius being in the mean time obliged to take his seat in the middle with Dioscorus. The secretary Beronician read the petition addressed to the Emperor Marcian by Eusebius, in behalf of himself, of the Catholic Faith, and of the memory of Flavian. It charged Dioscorus with having violated the Faith in order to set up the heresy of Eutyches, and with having unjustly condemned Eusebius; in proof of which charges it desired that the Acts of the pretended Council of Ephesus might be read. The magistrates having ordered Dioscorus to defend himself[3], he too desired that the Acts should be read; but when the magistrates had directed this

[3] p. 98. D.

A. D. 451. CH. III. to be done, he changed his mind, and demanded that the question of the Faith should be discussed first. The magistrates said, "You must first reply to the accusation; wait, "therefore, till the Acts be read as you yourself desired." Constantine, Secretary to the Consistory, commenced reading the letter from Theodosius the younger to Dioscorus[1], which summoned the Council of Ephesus. As it expressly forbad Theodoret to be present there, the magistrates said[2], "Let the most reverend Bishop Theodoret enter, that he "too may take part in the Council, since the most holy "Archbishop Leo has restored him to the episcopal office, "and the most pious Emperor has ordered that he should "assist at the holy Council."

[1] p. 99. Supr. 27.34.

[2] p. 101. B.

III. Theodoret admitted.

Theodoret therefore came in; but the moment he appeared the Bishops of Illyricum, Egypt, and Palestine cried out, "Mercy upon us; the Faith is lost; the canons expel "him; turn him out." On the other side, the Bishops of the East, of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace cried out, "We subscribed to a blank paper; our subscriptions were wrung "from us by blows; drive out the Manichees, drive out the "enemies of Flavian, drive out the enemies of the Faith." Dioscorus said, "Why is Cyril, whom this man has anathematized, to be driven out?" He meant to infer, that by receiving Theodoret they censured the memory of St. Cyril. The Easterns and their party cried out, "Drive out the "murderer Dioscorus; who does not know the deeds of "Dioscorus?" The Egyptians cried out, "The Empress "ejected Nestorius; long life to the orthodox Princess: the "Council receives not Theodoret;" intimating that he was a Nestorian.

Theodoret came forward, and said, "I have presented a "petition to the Emperor, in which I set forth the cruelties "I have endured[3]; I beg that it may be examined." The magistrates said, "The Bishop Theodoret, having recovered "his rank from the Archbishop of Rome, has now entered "as a prosecutor; wherefore, to avoid confusion, let us finish "what we had begun. The presence of Theodoret shall not "prejudice any one's cause; all the claims you may have "against him or he against you shall stand good, especially "since the Bishop of Antioch testifies to his orthodoxy."

[3] τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ γενομένας σφαγὰς]

Theodoret therefore had to take his seat in the middle as Eusebius of Dorylæum had done before him. A. D. 451. CH. IV.

On this the Easterns shouted, "He is worthy;" whilst the Egyptians cried, "Do not call him Bishop, he is no Bishop; "drive out the enemy of GOD[1], drive out the Jew." The Easterns proceeded, "The orthodox to the Council; drive out "the rioters[2], drive out the murderers." Both parties continued to shout in this way for some time; at last the magistrates said, "These tumultuous clamours but ill befit "Bishops, and are of no benefit to either party; let all the "evidence therefore be read." The Egyptians said, "Expel "this one man and we will all listen; our shouts are for the "Catholic Faith." The magistrates answered, "Nay, but "give ear, and let the whole be read in order."

[1 θεομάχον]

[2 ἀναστάτας]

IV. Charges against Dioscorus.

The secretaries, Constantine and Beronician, proceeded with the reading of the letters, which summoned the Council of Ephesus; and Beronician having said that the Emperor Theodosius had written to Juvenal of Jerusalem as well as to Dioscorus of Alexandria, Dioscorus said[3], "You see that I "was not the only person whom the Emperor commissioned "to try this cause; he gave the Bishops Juvenal and Thalas- "sius also authority in the Council[4]. The sentence that was "given we gave jointly; and the whole Council approved of "it by word of mouth, and in writing; after which a report "was drawn up and sent to the Emperor Theodosius, of "happy memory, and he confirmed it by a general law." The Easterns exclaimed, "Nobody consented to it; it was "extorted by violence; by violence with blows; we put our "names to a blank paper, we were threatened with exile; "soldiers stood over us with clubs and swords. What kind "of a synod was that, surrounded by swords and clubs? "Dioscorus had got soldiers on purpose. Drive out the "murderer. The soldiers deposed Flavian." The Egyptians cried, "They subscribed first. Why are the clergy suffered "to raise these clamours? Turn out all who have no busi- "ness here; let those who subscribed come forward; we "subscribed after you."

[3 p. 112.]

[4 τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῆς συνόδου]

Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, said, "When I had received "the Bishop Eusebius and some others, as Elpidius and "Eulogius, to my communion, the soldiers and the monks

A. D. 451. CH. IV.

" of Eutyches came to the Episcopal palace, being in number " about three hundred, and sought to kill me, saying, 'You " ' have harboured the Emperor's enemies, you are his " ' enemy.' I replied, 'I only shew a host's courtesy, I " ' take no part in the matter, I could not refuse commu- " ' nion to those who had never been excluded from it.' " Thus every thing was done by force and violence." The magistrates said, "Did Dioscorus offer you any violence?" Stephen rēplied, "I was not suffered to stir out of the "church[1] till I had subscribed the sentence passed by Dio- " scorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, and the other Bishops to whom " the Emperor's letters were directed."

[1] p. 113. [ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ σηκρήτου: out of the vestry.]

Thalassius, Bishop of Cæsarea, said, "It is true that I " was of the number mentioned in the Emperor's letter; I " cannot tell how it came to pass: however, as to taking " part in this bŭsiness, I tried to put a stop to it, and to " defer judgment; I have witnesses to prove this." Theodotus, Bishop of Claudiopolis in Isauria, said, "Dioscorus, " Juvenal, and the rest who subscribed first, whom the Em- " peror commissioned to decide about the Faith, these, having " concerted a malicious scheme among themselves, drew us " in to act as judges, though we were there simply as as- " sessors[2] and knew nothing of the case. The Acts were " read; they eulogized Flavian of happy memory, and we, " finding that things went on well, said nothing. After this, " to intimidate us, they cried out, 'Cut in two those who " ' talk of two natures; divide those who divide; away with " ' them; turn them out;' taxing us with Nestorianism. We " were all afraid that we should be ejected as heretics and thus " destroy[3] those whom we had baptized. Were we not con- " strained, therefore, to keep silence? They went yet further. " The Emperor had ordered the Council to decide first of all " on Flavian's case. These men, having several times as- " sembled, never subscribed any document, put none of " their resolutions forward in writing, and never read them " to any one, but without any body's knowing aught of the " matter, put into our hands blank papers; Dioscorus and " Juvenal, I say, did this, followed by a rabble of men, " entire strangers to us, who by their shouts and riotous " proceedings threw the Council into confusion. We were

[2] τοὺς ἐπ' ἀκεραίῳ καθημένους]

[3] ἀπολέσοι]

"in all a hundred and thirty-five. Of these there were A. D. 451.
"forty-two silenced; the others were Dioscorus, Juvenal, and CH. V.
"the crowd that followed. There were only fifteen of us
"remaining; what could we do? They were sporting with
"our blood; *those heretics!* they all cried as with one voice;
"they intimidated us, they made us out to be heretics, and
"as heretics we were ejected."

The Easterns cried out, "We all affirm the same." The Egyptians cried out, "A Christian fears no one; let fire be "brought and we shall see. There had never been martyrs, "if they had feared men." Dioscorus said, "Since they "maintain that they did not know what decision had been "come to and that they subscribed a carte-blanche, they "certainly ought not to have signed their names at all, until "they were well assured as to what the Council had said, "since the subject was nothing less than the Faith itself: "but who drew up their declarations? Pray, order them to "state this." The magistrates gave orders to proceed with the reading of the Acts[1], and the secretary Constantine began to read those of the Council of Ephesus, from the copy furnished by Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople.

[1] p. 115.

As soon as Julius, the Pope's legate, was named, the Easterns exclaimed, "He was expelled; no one admitted "the name of Leo." Again, at Flavian's name, they exclaimed, "Flavian entered as condemned; this is a manifest "perversion of right[2]. Why was not Flavian seated in his "proper place? Why did they put the Bishop of Constantinople fifth?" The legate Paschasinus said, "We, you "see, (as is GOD's will[3],) have put the lord Anatolius first; "these placed the blessed Flavian fifth." Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, said, "Yes, because you know the canons." The Egyptians cried out, "We entreat you, turn out these people "who have no concern here; the Emperor summoned the "Bishops, the Bishops compose the Council; Why are these "busy-bodies suffered to scream?" Theodorus of Claudiopolis said, "The screaming comes from Dioscorus's notaries;" Dioscorus said, "Two notaries are all I have; how can two "men raise a tumult?"

[2] συκοφαντία]

[3] θεοῦ θέλοντος]

They came to the place in the Acts[4], where it was said that the legates of the Pope St. Leo presented his letter to

V. Other charges.

[4] p. 122.

A. D. 451. CH. V. the Council of Ephesus, and that Dioscorus ordered it to be received, but that the Priest John, Promoter of the Council, immediately proposed to read a letter from the Emperor, which, under the direction of Juvenal, was accordingly done[1]. When this passage was read at Chalcedon, Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, said, "The letter of the most holy Arch- "bishop Leo was neither read nor received." The Easterns shouted, "It was never read to us; had it been, it would also "have been inserted in the Acts." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "He," meaning Dioscorus, "kept the synodical letter "by him[2], and it was never read." The Archdeacon Aëtius added[3], "He swore seven times, before all of us, that he would "have it read, and is perjured." Theodorus of Claudiopolis said, "That he swore, we all know; that the letter was never "read, all admit."

[1] Supr. 27. 39.

[2] παρακάτεσχε]

[3] p. 124.

The magistrates said, "The Bishops, to whom the Emperor "gave authority in this matter, ought to declare why the letter "of the most holy Archbishop Leo was not read, especially "when an order had been made to have it read." Dioscorus said, "The Acts shew that I twice ordered it to be read." The magistrates said, "Why then was it not done?" Dioscorus said, "Let the other commissioners be asked as well." The magistrates said, "Say plainly; whom would you have us "ask?" "Juvenal and Thalassius," said Dioscorus. "Do you "answer first then," said the magistrates, "and they shall be "examined in their order." Dioscorus replied, "Once for all "I say, I twice ordered it to be read." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "That is false." The magistrates interrogated Juvenal, who said, "John, Priest and chief notary, said at "that instant, that he had in his hands a letter from the "Emperor, and I answered that it should be read." The magistrates said, "Then, after the Emperor's letter, did they "also read that from the Archbishop Leo?" Juvenal replied, "Neither the chief-notary nor any other person after that "said that he held in his hands the letter of the Archbishop "of Rome." Similarly, Thalassius when interrogated by the magistrates, answered, "I know but one thing, which is, "that I placed no obstacle in the way, and that, by myself, "I had not sufficient authority to order it to be read."

[4] p. 127. E.

At another place in the Acts[4], the Easterns cried out,

"We did not say that." Theodorus of Claudiopolis said, A. D. 451.
"Let him," meaning Dioscorus, "produce his notaries, for CH. VI.
"he drove out all the rest and made his own write." The magistrates asked, "In whose hand-writing are the Acts?" Dioscorus said[1], "Each of us had notaries of his own; I had [1] p. 130.
"some writing for me, Juvenal some for him, Thalassius
"others for him; several other Bishops beside had notaries
"writing." Juvenal said, "I had a notary who wrote along
"with the others." Thalassius, too, said that he had one. Dioscorus said, "You see mine were not by themselves." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "I desire that Stephen, Bishop
"of Ephesus, may be asked what treatment his notaries met
"with from those of Dioscorus." Stephen was accordingly asked by the magistrates, and said, "My notaries Julian, now
"Bishop of Lebedus, and the Deacon Crispinus were writing;
"Dioscorus's notaries came, effaced what they had written,
"and nearly broke their fingers by forcing their inkstands[2] [2 καλαμάρια. Lat. thecas]
"from them. I never had any copy of the Acts and do not
"know what became of them. But further, on the very day
"on which the examination took place, we subscribed a
"paper, and the Bishops, who did not subscribe then, did so,
"on my becoming voucher[3], on the following day." Eusebius [3 ἐμοῦ ἐγγυησαμένου]
demanded that Stephen should say what kind of a paper it was that they had put their names to. Stephen said, "A
"blank paper; for in the very hour in which the condemna-
"tion was passed, the subscription also was made." Acacius, Bishop of Ariarathia, added, "We subscribed a blank paper,
"having been subjected to force and violence and ten
"thousand forms of injury. They kept us shut up in the
"church till evening, and, sick as we were, they would not
"allow us to breathe the fresh air, but sent monks and
"soldiers armed with clubs and swords."

VI. The error of Eutyches.

When they came to the confession of faith read by Eutyches and inserted in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, there were several interruptions; among others, the following. Eutyches had anathematized all heretics who said that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST came down from heaven. On this Eusebius observed[4], "He has certainly declined saying that [4] p. 138.
"it came from heaven; but he has not added whence it did
"come." Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "By your greatness, we

A. D. 451. CH. VI.

"challenged him, saying, 'Whence, then, Sir Eutyches[1], did "'it come? say;' to which he vouchsafed no answer." Basil of Seleucia said, "We pressed him to state the mode "of the Incarnation,—whether the WORD became man by "taking flesh upon Him,—and they told us not to search into "that matter, and would not accept our challenge[2]." Dioscorus said, "If Eutyches holds opinions different from those "of the Church, he deserves to be burnt. My only concern "is for the Catholic Faith, not for any man; my regards are "bent only on GOD and my own soul." Basil of Seleucia afterwards added[3], "When Eutyches was asked by the Bishop "Eusebius if he acknowledged two natures in CHRIST, he "said that he acknowledged two natures before the union[4], "but only one after the union[b]. I then said to him, 'Unless

[1 Κύρι' Εὐτυχὴ]

[2 δικαιολογία. Fl. *sommation.*]

[3 p. 139. B.

[4 ἐκ δύο φύσεων εἰδέναι τὸν Χ. πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως]

[b] Much as this and other expressions employed by Eutyches have been canvassed, it is far from evident what his real meaning was. 1. Some may doubt whether he had any definite meaning at all. But although we allow, that, as St. Leo charitably says, (supr. 27. 36,) he erred more from ignorance than design, yet the tenacity with which he clung to his expressions indicates that he thought he was grasping some truth. 2. Some attribute to him the matured system of the later Monophysites. But, as a matter of fact, these disclaimed Eutyches; and, as a matter of probability, it is hardly supposable that an old man, possessing neither learning, nor eloquence, nor philosophical acumen, should have impressed the theology of nations with so marked and lasting a character. He was only the incidental exponent of a widely-prevalent doctrine; Egypt, not Constantinople was the cradle of the heresy on which almost all the polemic of the next two centuries depended. 3. It may seem more natural to connect his views with the older forms of heresy, and this has been often done, but without leading to a solution of our question. When St. Leo makes Eutyches an Origenist (supr. 27. 36,) a Phantasiast (Ep. 30. ed. Ballerin.), an Arian (Ep. 59. 3), a Photinian (Serm. 96. t. i. p. 373), an Apollinarian and Manichee (Ep. 109. 3); and again, *either* an Apollinarian, *or* a Manichee and Marcionite (Ep. 124. 2), *either* an Apollinarian, *or* a Valentinian or Manichee (Ep. 35; Ep. 165), he is clearly not referring to the avowed opinions of Eutyches, but to the necessary deductions from them; he is assigning not their logical equivalents but their logical consequents. The same will apply to Gelasius, De duab. Nat., (ap. Bibl. Max. de la Bigne, t. viii. p. 701. E), who makes him virtually *Nestorian*, and Vigil. Taps. l. ii. adv. Eut. c. 5 (Ibid. p. 726. D), who makes him a Deipassian. These passages prove that dreadful errors were involved in the position he maintained, but not that he held these explicitly, or that he was insincere in his repeated avowals that he believed CHRIST to be perfect man, and anathematized Manes, Valentinus, and Apollinarius: (supr. 27. 28, 31, 39.)

If we confine ourselves to the historical origin of his opinions, this is admitted on all hands to have been his opposition to Nestorius. The contrast between the men is striking. The one active, and noisy, and well-versed in the world; the other buried for thirty years in the quiet of a cloister; the one trained in the arts of rhetoric, of which the other knew nothing: the one a bold rationalist, the other avoiding all speculation on the awful doctrine in dispute, (cf. his oft-repeated *οὐ φυσιολογῶ*); the one despising his Fathers in the Faith, and appealing only to Scripture, the other by what he supposed to be an adherence to the letter of the Fathers (c. 8. infr.) led to adopt expressions utterly discordant with Scripture. Yet, as was observed, the tenor of his other explanations inclines one to think that he did not hold the heretical words in

"'you admit two natures after the union, undivided and A. D. 451.
"'unconfused[1], you admit a confusion and commixture; but CH. VI.
"'if instead of saying, one nature simply, you add, Incar- [1 ἀχωρίστους καὶ ἀσυγχύτους]
"'nate and made man, you think as St. Cyril did, and assert
"'the same thing as we do, for it is evident that the GOD-
"'HEAD, which is from the FATHER, is different from the
"'manhood, which is from His mother.'"

the gross heretical sense. The process by which he glided into error might be something like this. "Nestorius maintains a duality in CHRIST; he makes "a human son and the Divine WORD "to be connected indeed, but not "hypostatically united, which the "economy of our salvation requires. "I, on the contrary, maintain that "the natures of the GODHEAD and "the manhood are united and made "one (ἡνῶσθαι.) But when I say there "is one nature in CHRIST, I say it "not in the sense of Manes, which is "rather akin to the Nestorian theory, "for Manes said 'Those ridiculous "'Galilæans speak of two natures in "'CHRIST; they do not know that the "'essential light mixes not with other "'matter but is incontaminate, inca-"'pable of being united (ἑνωθῆναι) "'with any other substance, though "'they may appear to be connected "'(συνῆφθαι)*.' *I* say not merely "that they are *one* but that they are "*united*, for prior to the union there "were two distinct natures. Not that "they ever *physically* existed apart, "for a single moment, but *in idea* "things must be distinct in order to "their being united. In the abstract "you may conceive the human nature "separate from the Divine, but in the "concrete they are inseparably parts "of one Divine nature." This account is not gratuitous, though the proofs are too long to be here detailed. We will only remark that the opponent of Theodoret in the Eranistes (t. iv. p. 66) after having said, "Before the union "the natures were two; but, since "they coalesced, they make but one "nature;" on being asked when the union took place, answers, "at the "time of the conception," and then goes on to admit that not a moment intervened between the creation of the human nature and the union of natures (p. 67). The account given by Vasquez agrees substantially with the above; (in tert. pt. Thomæ, t. i. Disp. xiv.) Combefis, as quoted and approved by Le Quien (in Damascen. de Hær. c. 82. t. i. p. 100), says, "The Eutychians "said, 'one nature,' not meaning that "the humanity was wanting in Him as "having been either changed or absorbed; but because that is properly "the nature which is pre-eminent, not "the smaller,—that which possesses "another, not that which is possessed "by a higher."

Whether these be true representations of Eutyches's meaning, no one can say, till "*the day shall declare it.*" Meanwhile it is certain that he did not guard his meaning in the way that St. Cyril and the orthodox did, and at a time when a large mass of Apollinarianism did exist, and, what is more, took Eutyches under its tutelage, the pastors of CHRIST'S flock were not to look out whether one who refused to retract plainly erroneous expressions, *might* have a correct meaning. When people complain of Leo (as does Griesbach, Loci Theol. p. 62) for deducing from his words consequences which he never granted, it is enough to say that he was responsible for these conclusions until he could shew that they did not legitimately flow from his statement. Again, the moderns think it easy to dispose of such questions by asking if the whole is not a mere contest of words. It is "a contest *about* words" undoubtedly, "but no logomachy for "all that;" (*ein streit über Worte, aber kein Wortstreit:* Walch, Ketzerh. Th. vi. § 110). The humanity—the Deity of Christ,—the union of natures—these are not mere words, but realities designated by words;—the very highest objects of our contemplative powers; and mysterious, or even inexplicable as the full truth may be, we are not the less bound to drive away all forms of expression that would lead to results contrary to what *is* revealed.

* This remarkable passage is given by Fabric. Bibl. Gr. lib. v. c. 1. p. 285.

A. D. 451. CH. VII.

The magistrates said, "After you had maintained so or-
"thodox a doctrine, what led you to subscribe the deposition
"of Flavian?" Basil of Seleucia replied, "I was delivered
"over to the judgment of a hundred and twenty or thirty
"Bishops; I could not but follow their decision." As Dioscorus taunted him for this [confession], he added, "If it had
"been before magistrates, I would have suffered martyrdom;
"but a son that is judged by his father is not to justify him-
"self[1]." The Easterns and the Bishops who sat on their side, cried out, "We all erred, we all ask for pardon;" this they repeated three times[2].

[1 παρὰ πατρὸς δ κρινόμενος δικαίοις οὐ κέχρηται· παῖς γὰρ πατρὶ δίκαια λέγων τεθνάτω]

[2] p. 141.

Eusebius of Dorylæum next complained[3], that he had not been admitted to the Council of Ephesus, although Flavian had demanded it. The magistrates inquired the reason. Dioscorus and Juvenal tried to exculpate themselves on the ground that Count Elpidius had prevented it by an order from the Emperor. The magistrates said, "This is no suf-
"ficient excuse, when a question of the Faith is pending." Dioscorus said, "Since you accuse me of violating the canons,
"in what way are the canons now observed, when Theodoret
"is admitted?" The magistrates answered, "Theodoret is
"admitted as an accuser; you have heard so from his own
"mouth." "Why then," said Dioscorus, "does he sit in
"the rank of Bishop?" The magistrates said, "The Bishops
"Eusebius and Theodoret sit here in the rank of accusers,
"as you are present in the rank of accused. Let them pro-
"ceed with the reading." They then read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople under Flavian, which were inserted in those of Ephesus[4].

[3] p. 146.

[4] p. 150. E.

VII. St. Cyril's doctrine.

When St. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch was read, the Bishops of Illyricum cried out[5], "We believe as did Cyril. The
"memory of Cyril is eternal." Theodoret said, "Anathema
"to him who speaks of two sons. We adore but one Son,
"our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the only begotten." All the Bishops cried out, "We believe as Cyril, anathema to him
"who believes not so." The Easterns cried out, "Flavian
"believed thus, this is what he advocated; for this he was
"deposed. Eusebius deposed Nestorius; Dioscorus wounded
"the Faith." They meant to say that Eusebius was the first who accused Nestorius. The Egyptians cried out, "GOD de-

[5] p. 171.

"posed Nestorius." The Easterns cried out, "Leo believes A. D. 451.
"thus, Anatolius thinks thus." The Egyptians cried out, CH. VIII.
"We all of us think thus; [let not Satan have any place.]"
After many similar acclamations on both sides, the magistrates said, "And why then did you receive Eutyches, who
"affirmed the contrary, and depose Flavian and Eusebius[1], [1] p. 174.
"who maintained this truth?" Dioscorus replied, "The
"Acts will shew."

They now read a remonstrance of Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, who, to shew that St. Cyril had explained himself in his other writings, quoted the letters to Acacius of Melitene, to Valerian of Iconium, and to Successus of Diocæsarea in Isauria, in which he says that in CHRIST there is but the one incarnate nature of the WORD[2]. When this was read, [2 Supr. 26. 29.]
the Eastern Bishops cried out, "This is what Eutyches says,
"this is what Dioscorus says," meaning that Eutyches and Dioscorus attributed their errors to St. Cyril. Dioscorus said, "We neither say confusion nor division nor change;
"anathema to him who speaks of confusion or change or
"mixture." The magistrates desired the holy Council to declare whether Eustathius's remonstrance accorded with the canonical letters of Cyril.

But before the Council made answer, Eustathius advanced into the middle, and threw down a book, saying, "If I have
"said amiss, there is Cyril's book, let them anathematize it,
"and me too." The Egyptians cried out, "Eustathius has
"well spoken; he is orthodox." Eustathius recited from memory this passage of St. Cyril, "We are not to under-
"stand two natures, but one incarnate nature of the WORD."
He added[3], "Anathema to him who speaks of one nature to [3] p. 175.
"the denial of the flesh of CHRIST as consubstantial with us,
"and anathema to him who speaks of two natures to the
"division of the SON of GOD. I wish also to speak on the
"behalf of the blessed Flavian. He took these words simply
"as they stand[4], and presented them to the Emperor. Let [4 αὐτὰ ξηρὰ ἔλαβεν]
"his autograph copy be read, that all the Council may see
"that there was good reason for receiving it." The magistrates said, "Why then did you depose Flavian?" Eustathius replied, "I was in the wrong."

VIII. Justification of Flavian.

The declaration which Flavian had made in the Council of

A. D. 451. CH. VIII. Constantinople of his faith respecting the Incarnation was now read. After which the magistrates said, "What is the "opinion of the Bishops of the present Council? Did Flavian, "in thus expounding the Faith, preserve the Catholic reli-
[1 θρησκεί-αν] "gion[1], or did he err?" The legate Paschasinus said[2], "He
[2] p. 170. "expounded the Faith in its purity and entirety, and this "exposition is in unison with the letter of the Bishop of "Rome." Anatolius of Constantinople said much the same; so too, after him, Lucentius, the other Bishop-legate; then Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, all declared Flavian's doctrine to be orthodox and in harmony with that of St. Cyril. The Easterns exclaimed, "The Martyr Flavian rightly ex-"plained the Faith." Dioscorus said, "Let the rest of his "words be read and then I will reply; for you will find that "he is at variance with himself and speaks of two natures "after the union." Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "Flavian "spoke in accordance with the words of Cyril, we beg that "what follows may be read, in order that his meaning may "be more clear." The Bishops of Palestine seconded this request. After which Juvenal rose along with them, and crossed over to the other side, thus intimating that he abandoned the party of Dioscorus. The Easterns cried out, "It "is well that GOD brings you to us, O orthodox Bishop, you "are welcome."

Peter, Bishop of Corinth, said, "I was not present at the "Council of Ephesus, for I had not then been ordained "Bishop, but, from what has just been read, I find Flavian's "doctrine conformable to that of Cyril." He then rose, and
[3] p. 179. went to the side of the Easterns, who cried out[3], "Peter thinks "as does Peter; orthodox Bishop, you are welcome." Irenæus, Bishop of Naupactus, with the other Bishops of Hellas and Quintillus, Sozon, and the rest from Macedonia and Crete, with many more, including even some Egyptians, declared themselves for the memory of Flavian, and went over to the side of the Easterns. Dioscorus, seeing himself forsaken, said, "It is plain that Flavian was deposed for maintaining
[4] p. 182. "two natures after the union[4]. I have various passages from "the Fathers Athanasius, Gregory, and Cyril, in which they "say that we are not to speak of two natures after the union,

"but of one Incarnate nature of the WORD. I am ejected "with the Fathers[e]." A. D. 451. CH. IX.

IX. The violent acts of Dioscorus.

They proceeded to read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople[1], and those of the revision made at the request of Eutyches; then they went on with the Acts of the pseudo-

[1] Supr. 27-33. C. Caleh. p. 233.

[e] Eutyches appealed to "Julius, "Felix, Athanasius, and Gregory," (sup. 27. 31), to "Cyril, the two Gre-"gories, Basil, Athanasius, Atticus, "and Proclus" (Baluz. Synodic. c. 223); his monks to "Athanasius, "Cyril, and Gregory" (Labbe, t. iv. p. 280, 1), as Dioscorus does in the text. In answer to these St. Leo gave his deputies a collection of passages from the Fathers: (supr. 27. 51. v. infr. c. 11.)

At the conference held in A.D. 533 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1766), the Acephali quoted the authorities of Julius and Felix, of Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory, and Dionysius; but the orthodox answered that most of them were forgeries of Apollinarius. Previously to this the monks of Palestine had said in their letter to Alkison, (A.D. 511; Evagr. iii. 31,) that some treatises by Apollinarius were ascribed to Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Julius. Leontius (A.D. 610) wrote a tract specially against the Apollinarian frauds, (Galland. VV. PP. t. xii. p. 701:) see also his book de Sectis, Act. viii. (Ibid. p. 651.) and the Collectanea adv. Severianos (ap. Canis. Lect. Ant. t. ii. p. 255. ed. Basnag.). Eulogius (Phot. Cod. 230. p. 272. Bekker.) assigns the passage in St. Gregory to Apollinarius, it is from the "Expos. Fid. κατὰ μέρος." The passage of St. Athanasius (from the De Incarn.) is acknowledged both by Eulogius and Ephrem of Antioch (Phot. Cod. 229) as genuine. It is quoted as such by St. Cyril, De recta Fide (t. v. pt. 2. p. 48); and we can scarcely suppose with Le Quien (Diss. ii. in Damascen.) that he erred from ignorance as to the works of his great predecessor. Montfaucon suggests (præf. in l. De Inc. t. ii. p. 1) that the passage may have been foisted into St. Cyril's works; but this is inconsistent with what Eustathius of Berytus says, Labbe, t. iv. p. 174.

The orthodoxy of St. Cyril on the Incarnation, as ascertained by his other writings, is, we know, unquestionable; it is vindicated by Theodoret himself. (Eranist. t. iv. p. 110, 111.) The seeming faultiness of the particular phrase in question arises from its using the abstract word (φύσις) instead of the concrete. But St. Cyril himself frequently employed the word *not* in an abstract sense:—Thus, especially, ad Anath. 2. contr. Theod. t. vi. p. 209. B. ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἤγουν ἡ ὑπόστασις, ὅ ἐστιν αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος;—and frequently as equivalent to ὑπόστασις: and hence in t. vi. p. 172. B. he says, ὑποστάσει μίᾳ τῇ τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένῃ. Other passages are adduced by Ephrem, *u. s.* p. 259, 260, and Petavius, De Inc. ii. 3. § 5, and iv. 7. § 2. (Dogm. Theol. t. iv. p. 121. 333.) Justinian, in his edict against the three Capitula, (Labbe, t. v. p. 689,) says that St. Cyril in this expression understood ὑπόστασις by φύσις. Ephrem points out that φύσις was used in two ways—of the οὐσία or of the ὑπόστασις; and he describes the error of Eutyches thus (p. 252. b): "he did not deny the hypostatic union, "nor that our LORD JESUS CHRIST "was Incarnate of the Virgin Mother "of GOD, (though this was an after-"thought and maugre his inclination;) "he even anathematized those whom "he formerly had an affection for, "those who say that He brought His "body from heaven; but the being of "the same substance as we (τὸ πρὸς "ἡμᾶς ὁμοούσιον), this although re-"peatedly pressed upon him, he could "never be brought to admit, but, "preaching one substance (μίαν οὐσίαν) "instead of owning His flesh to be of "the same substance with ours, he was "placed under anathema."

The truth is, that in the contest with diverse forms of error the words became more fixed and definite in their application. "Had Eutyches never ap-"peared," says Leontius to the Acephalus, "you and I had perchance been "using the same terms in common." (Galland. t. x. p. 711.) For Eutyches to appeal to the phraseology of St. Cyril in one or two isolated passages, apart from the context, without his qualifying additions, and uninterpreted by the rest of his writings, was of course a mere equivocation.

A. D. 451. CH. IX. Council of Ephesus[1], in which those of Constantinople had been inserted. First came the declaration made by Basil of Seleucia against those who admit two natures after the union, in which he retracts his previous admission at the Council of Constantinople. When they were reading these words at Chalcedon, he said[2], "I call no other witnesses[3]. When I de-
"sired the Bishop John to correct my declaration, I was
"overawed by you, most reverend Dioscorus, for you at
"that time impósed on us a strong necessity. Soldiers
"came running into the Church with arms, whilst Barsumas
"with his monks, the Parabolani too, and many others stood
"by. Let all the Bishops be put on their oaths; let Auxo-
"nius, the Egyptian, be asked, let Athanasius be asked,
"whether they did not say, 'Nay, Sir[4], do not abolish the
"'belief of the whole earth.'" Dioscorus said, "What? did
"I force you?" Basil replied, "Yes, you forced us to this
"abomination by the menaces of that great crowd after the
"deposition of the blessed Flavian. Judge what violence he
"used then, when he was complete master of all, since he
"now disturbs the whole Council, though he has only six
"adherents left. I demand that all the Metropolitans of
"Lycaonia, Phrygia, Perga, and the rest, may declare on
"the holy Gospels if it be not true, that, after Flavian's de-
"position, as we were all in consternation, not daring even
"to open our mouths, and some even running away, he rose
"and said, 'Do ye see? If any one refuses to sign his name
"'he will have to settle with me.' I desire that Eusebius
"may declare on oath, if he did not run in danger of being
"deposed, because he hesitated a little before he spoke."

Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, said, "After that which
"has been just read, a canon was recited to the effect that no
"one should thereafter raise any question about the Faith,
"on pain of being deposed or excommunicated. I said to
"the Bishops who were sitting near me, 'This canon is read
"'with a view to depose Flavian[5].' Epiphanius of Perga
"answered, 'God forbid; if he has any resentment it will
"'fall on Eusebius.' When the canon had been read, Dio-
"scorus immediately said, 'Bid the notaries come in.' They
"brought the form for deposing Flavian, and read it. I got
"up, took some other Bishops with me, and laid hold on his

[1] p. 249. E.

[2] p. 252.

[3] i. e. I will myself confess all: τἀμὰ μὴ 'ξ ἄλλων πύθῃ. Ed. Col. 1266.]

[4] κύρι]

[5] p. 253.

" knees, saying, 'Nay, I conjure you, he has not done any A. D. 451.
" 'thing worthy of deposition.' Dioscorus rose from his chair, CH. IX.
" and standing on his footstool, said, 'So you rebel against
" 'me—call the Counts.' Thus we were forced to sub-
" scribe."

Dioscorus answered, "It is false, I demand a fair trial,
" produce your witnesses." And when Marinian, Bishop of
Synnada got up, Dioscorus said to him, "Did I say in a
" threatening manner, 'Call the Counts?'" Marinian said,
" As he was going to pass sentence[1], I rose with Onesiphorus [1 ἀποφαί-
" and Nunnechius of Laodicea, and others. We held his feet, νεσθαι]
" saying, 'You, too, have Priests, and a Bishop ought not to
" 'be deposed for a Priest.' He replied, 'Though my tongue
" 'were to be cut out, I cannot speak otherwise.' The crowd
" now rushed in. We remained holding him by the knees,
" and entreating him: he then gave vent to these words,
" 'Where are the Counts?' The Counts entered, and
" brought in the Proconsul, with chains[2] and a great multi- [2 κλοιῶν]
" tude. At last we each of us subscribed." Dioscorus re-
plied, "There were not ten, or twenty, or thirty, or a
" hundred persons in all. I will produce witnesses to shew
" that there is not a word of truth in what has been said.
" But your greatness is fatigued; if you think fit, let this
" business be adjourned."

The magistrates, without noticing this interested suggestion
of Dioscorus, proceeded with the reading, in the course of
which they were obliged to light tapers[3]; which shews that [3 p. 300. E.
it was about six o'clock in the evening; for at Chalcedon,
on the eighth day of October, the sun sets at thirty-eight
minutes after five. When they came to the condemnation
of Flavian, the Easterns cried out[4], "Anathema to Dioscorus. [4 p. 305. B.
" He then deposed, let him now be himself deposed. O Lord,
" avenge thyself. Long life to Leo; many years to the Pa-
" triarch." When all the Acts of the Council of Ephesus,
and the subscriptions, had been read, the magistrates said[5], [5 p. 322. E.
" The Faith shall be more fully examined in to-morrow's
" assembly. But since it appears from the Acts which have
" been read, as well as from the confession of some who
" were of most note in the Council, that Flavian of holy
" memory, and the most pious Bishop Eusebius were un-

A. D. 451. CH. X.

"justly condemned, it seems to us but just, (so please it "GOD and the Emperor,) that the Bishop of Alexandria, "Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of "Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia, who "presided at the Council, should undergo the same punish- "ment, and be deprived by the holy Council of the episcopal "dignity, as provided by the canons; and be it understood "that a report will be made to the Emperor of all that passes "here." The Easterns exclaimed, "This is a just decision." The Illyrians said, "We all of us erred; may we all obtain "forgiveness." The magistrates informed the Bishops that they were each of them to draw up in writing a confession of their faith, without any fear of man. Thus ended the first *Actio* or session of the Council of Chalcedon.

X. The second session.

The second was held[1] on the sixth of the ides of October, that is, on the tenth of that month. The magistrates said[2], "In the preceding session, we inquired on what grounds "Flavian and Eusebius had been deposed, and it appeared "that their deposition had been cruel and irregular. Your "object now must be to establish the true Faith, which in- "deed was the chief reason why the Council was assembled. "Let it be your serious endeavour then to expound it in "all its purity, without fear or favour, as you must give an "account to GOD of your own souls and ours, that so those "who seem to hold private opinions may be restored to "unity. For we would have you know, that the Emperor "and we follow the Faith handed down by the three hun- "dred and eighteen Fathers of Nicæa, the hundred and "fifty of Constantinople, and all the other Fathers." The Bishops cried out, "No one makes any other exposition, we "dare not expound the Faith; the Fathers have taught us, "their expositions are preserved in writing, we can say "nothing beyond them[3]."

[1] p. 325.
[2] p. 337.
[3 παρ' ἐκεῖνα]

Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said, "The affair of "Eutyches sprang into sudden importance; the Archbishop "of Rome gave a decision[4] about it, and we follow him; we "have all subscribed to his letter." The Bishops cried out, "That say we all; the expositions that have been given are "sufficient, it is not lawful that another exposition should "be made." The magistrates said, "If you think proper,

[4 τόπος]

"each Patriarch shall choose one or two of his dependent A. D. 451.
"Bishops; these shall come into the middle of the assembly, CH. XI.
"and having consulted together about the Faith[1], shall declare [1] p. 340.
"it before all the Council. If they all agree, as we hope they
"will, there will be no farther difficulty; if some hold con-
"trary opinions, then these will be clearly elicited." Flo-
rentius of Sardis said, "It is impossible for us to give off-
"hand an exposition of faith[2], we therefore beg that we may [2 σχεδιάσαι περὶ τῆς πίστεως]
"have time for reflection, though certainly we, who have
"subscribed St. Leo's letter, have no need of correction."
Cecropius of Sebastopolis said, "The Faith has been well
"explained by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and
"by the holy Fathers Athanasius, Cyril, Cælestine, Hilary,
"Basil, and Gregory, and now by the most holy Leo; we
"therefore desire that their writings may be read." The
magistrates ordered this to be done.

Eunomius, Bishop of Nicomedia, read from a book the Creed of Nicæa, with this date affixed: "In the consulate "of Paulinus and Julian, in the year 636 of Alexander, the "nineteenth of the month Desius, which is, the thirteenth of "the calends of July," that is, June 19, 325. Next, Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, read from a book[3] the Creed [3] p. 341.
of the second general Council of Constantinople. After that he read St. Cyril's [second] letter to Nestorius, and that to John of Antioch. After each of these readings, the Bishops testified by their acclamations that this was their faith. Last of all, the secretary Beronician read from a book which Aëtius presented to him, a Greek translation of St. Leo's letter to Flavian.

XI. Approval of St. Leo's letter.

While this was being read[4], the Bishops of Illyricum and Palestine raised some difficulties about three places where the distinction of two natures is strongly expressed; but on the two first the Archdeacon Aëtius shewed them exactly similar passages from St. Cyril, and Theodoret did the same office for the third[5]. When the reading was ended[6], the Bishops [4] p. 368. C.
[5] p. 369.
[6] p. 368. B.
cried out, "This is the Faith of the Fathers, this is the Faith "of the Apostles; we all believe thus, the orthodox believe "thus, anathema to him who does not believe thus. Peter "has thus spoken through Leo; the Apostles taught thus. "Leo's doctrine is pious and true; Cyril taught thus; be

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"the memory of Cyril eternal. Leo and Cyril teach the "same. Why was not this read at Ephesus? This is what "Dioscorus concealed." After St. Leo's letter, they read the passages which he had selected from the Fathers[1], namely, from St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Cyril[2][d].

[1] p. 357. C.

[2] p. 361, sqq.

[3] p. 369. B. The magistrates said[3], "After this is there any one still in "doubt?" The Bishops exclaimed, "No one is in doubt." Atticus of Nicopolis desired a few days for examining more at leisure the passages of the Fathers, especially the letter of St. Cyril, which contains his twelve anathemas. All the Bishops seconded this request. The magistrates said, "The "hearing shall be deferred for five days. In the mean time, "you shall assemble with Anatolius, to consult in common "about the Faith, that those who are in doubt may be in- "structed." The Bishops all exclaimed, "We believe thus; "none of us is in doubt; we have already subscribed." The magistrates said, "There is no need that you should all "assemble, but since it is fitting that all who are in doubt "should be enlightened, the Archbishop Anatolius shall "select from among the Bishops who have subscribed, such "as shall seem to him qualified to explain the doubtful "points." The Bishops cried out, "We pray for our "Fathers; let the Fathers be present at the Council; carry "our prayers to the Emperor, our prayers to the Empress. "We all sinned, let all receive pardon." It was, probably, Dioscorus's party who said this, their wish being to get him restored to the Council along with Juvenal and the others who had presided at the false Council of Ephesus. The clergy of Constantinople said, "The shouts come from only "a small number, it is not the Council that speaks thus."

[4] p. 372. The Easterns cried out, "Banish the Egyptian[4]." The Illyrians said, "We all transgressed; let all be forgiven. Restore "Dioscorus to the Council, restore him to the Churches." After more exclamations of the same kind the magistrates said, "The things we have discussed shall be executed." Thus ended the second session.

[d] This collection is attributed by Garnier, in Mar. Mercat. pt. 2. p. 218. to Theodoret, but on insufficient grounds, as is shown at length by Quesnel, in Leon. t. ii. p. 1425, sqq. ed. Baller.

A. D. 451. CH. XII. XII. The third session. Dioscorus cited.

The third was held three days after, on the thirteenth of October[1]. The magistrates were not in attendance, and the trial of Dioscorus was conducted in canonical form. Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople and chief Notary, discharged the duties of Promoter[2]. He represented, that Eusebius of Dorylæum had placed before the Council[3] another petition, besides the one to the Emperor, which had been read at the first session. Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, who presided at the Council in place of St. Leo, ordered it to be read. The burden of it was[4], that all the proceedings against Eusebius and Flavian ought to be cancelled, the heresy of Eutyches anathematized, and Dioscorus punished so as to be made an example.

[1] Tertio Idus.
[2] p. 377. E.
[3] p. 380.
[4] p. 381. C.

Eusebius then said, "I desire that my adversary be summoned to confront me." Aëtius said, "Before the Council had assembled, the Deacons Domnus and Cyriacus went as you ordered, to inform Dioscorus that he would be expected to attend along with the other Bishops, and his reply was that he was quite willing, but that his guards would not suffer him." Paschasinus ordered that they should examine if he were not at the door of the Council. The Priests Epiphanius and Elpidius, who were commissioned to do this, being interrogated on their return by Anatolius, stated that they had gone round the church and not found him[5]. Three Bishops, Constantine, Metropolitan of Bostra in Arabia[6], Acacius of Ariarathia, and Atticus of Zela, attended by Himerius, Reader and Notary, were deputed to go to his hotel.

[5] p. 384.

On their arrival, Constantine told Dioscorus that the holy Council desired his attendance in the church of St. Euphemia, in which they had met. Dioscorus answered, "I am under guard; ask the magistrians if I am at liberty to go." Acacius, Bishop of Ariarathia, said, "We are not sent to the magistrians, but to you." Dioscorus still persisted in urging this excuse: but when the deputies were gone, he called them back, and said, "On reflection, my answer is that in the last meeting of the Synod the magistrates came to a decision which the Council, by summoning me now, wishes to undo. I demand that the magistrates and

[6] See Reland. Palæst. p. 666, and Asseman, B. O. t. iii. pt. 2. pp. 595, 730.

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"senate may again be present at the Council." Acacius of Ariarathia declared that the Council had no intention of revoking the orders of the magistrates; but Dioscorus replied, "You tell me that Eusebius has presented a petition against "me, I desire that it may be examined in the presence of "the magistrates and senate." Constantine said, "You told "us at first, that if your guards would permit you, you would "come to the Council; the aide-de-camp of the Master of
p. 386. "Offices[1] has now given his consent; let us have an answer "on this point, if you please." Dioscorus said, "I have now "learned that the magistrates are not there, and this is the "reason why I answer you thus." The Reader Himerius drew up an account of what passed at this interview, and on the return of the deputies he read it in the Council.

They now deputed for the second time three other Bishops, Pergamius, Metropolitan of Antioch in Pisidia, Cecropius of Sebastopolis, and Rufinus of Samosata, with Hypatius, Reader and Notary; they had a written citation entrusted to them.
[2] p. 389. D. On reaching his lodgings, Pergamius[2] informed him of the citation; Dioscorus said, "I have already explained that I "am both detained by sickness, and desire that the magis- "trates may be present at this hearing; as my illness has "increased, I am obliged to delay the matter." Cecropius said, "A short time ago you never spoke of sickness, you "only requested that the magistrates should be present; act "in a way that becomes you, and obey the Council." Dioscorus, on being similarly pressed by Rufinus, asked whether Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eustathius were at the Council. These were the persons who had been excluded along with him. Pergamius said, "We are not commissioned "by the Council to answer that question." Dioscorus said, "I desired the Emperor that the magistrates who previously "attended the Council, might be present at the examination "of my cause, and that the Bishops who are equally im- "plicated with me might also attend." Cecropius replied, "Eusebius accuses you only, and when a cause is to be "examined according to the canons, there is no need that "either magistrates, or any other laymen, should be present." Dioscorus refused to give any other answer. The Reader Hypatius drew up a formal account of this second citation,

which was read in the Council, after which Eusebius' declared that he accused no one except Dioscorus; and demanded that a third summons should be issued[1]. A. D. 451. CH. XIII.

[1] p. 393.

XIII. Petitions against Dioscorus.

In the mean time the Archdeacon Aëtius said that some Clerks and laymen from Alexandria were standing at the door of the Council, and that they had presented petitions against Dioscorus, and prayed for admission. The Council ordered them to come in. They were the Priest Athanasius, the Deacons Ischyrion and Theodorus, and a layman named Sophronius. The legate Lucentius ordered Aëtius to read their petitions, which were all addressed to St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. They began with that of Theodorus, of which the substance was as follows[2]. "I have served nearly [2] p. 396.
"twenty-two years in the Company of Magistrians; Cyril, of
"happy memory, had me for his deputy, especially at the
"time of the Council of Ephesus. To shew his approval of
"my services, he placed me among the clergy of Alexandria,
"and there I remained fifteen years, preferring the service
"of the Church to the advantages which I might have ex-
"pected from my office. But when Dioscorus came to the
"see, he immediately expelled me from my clerical post, not
"bringing any charge or complaint against me, but merely
"because I had enjoyed the affection of Cyril; for he made
"it his aim to expel from the city, (if not to send out of
"the world,) not only the relatives, but the friends of
"Cyril, as opposed to his own doctrine; for he is a heretic,
"—an Origenist,—and blasphemes the holy Trinity. He
"has committed murders, cut down trees, burnt and pulled
"down houses[3]. He has always led an infamous life, as I [3] p. 397.
"am prepared to prove. Lastly, when he was at Nicæa,
"he presumed to pass sentence of excommunication on
"the holy see of Rome in company with only about ten
"Bishops who followed him from Egypt, and who put their
"names to it only on compulsion." The petition then mentions four witnesses, whose persons, it advises, should be secured.

Ischyrion's petition[4] contained the same general charges, [4] p. 400.
and, on coming to particulars, set forth that "the soil of
"Libya being too arid to grow wheat[5], the Emperors were [5 σίτου. Lat. triticum.]
"accustomed to send supplies to the Churches there, mainly

A. D. 451. CH. XIII.

"to provide for the bloodless sacrifice[f], but also for the
"foreigners[1] and the poor of the country. These supplies
[1 παρεπιδημοῦντας] "Dioscorus had prevented the Bishops from receiving, and
"bought it up himself, selling it in the season of scarcity
[2 φρικτὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον] "at a high price; so that from that time the awful unbloody[2]
"sacrifice was never celebrated, and the poor of the country
"and strangers were deprived of their comforts. Peristeria,
[3] p. 401. "of illustrious memory[3], had bequeathed large sums of gold
"to be distributed among the monasteries, the houses for
[4 τοῖς ξενεῶσι, τοῖς πτωχείοις] "receiving strangers[4], [the almshouses[4],] and the other poor
"of Egypt. Dioscorus got it into his hands, and gave it
[5 θυμέλαις] "to dancing women[5] and other persons belonging to the
"theatre. His incontinence is notorious throughout the
"country. Shameless women were continually seen to fre-
"quent the Bishop's house and his bath, especially the
"famous Pansophia, surnamed the Mountaineer, so that she
"and her paramour have often been openly denounced by
"the people of Alexandria. He has also been the cause of
"several murders.

"As to myself I received the honour of the clericate on
"account of my long services to the Church of Alexandria;
"I was also employed by St. Cyril on several journeys, par-
"ticularly to Constantinople; but immediately on Cyril's
"death, embittered by all the proofs of affection which
"St. Cyril had shewn me, this man would not suffer me
"to officiate at the sacred Mysteries; he sent some monks
"and others on to a small estate which was my only means
"of subsistence, and set fire to the buildings, cut down the
"fruit trees, hacked up the land, and made me in very truth
"a beggar. Not satisfied with this, he sent a band of eccle-
[6] p. 404. "siastics, or rather of banditti, with the Deacon Peter[6] and
"the Priests Harpocration and Menas, with orders to make
"away with me and bring my dead body back to him.
"I succeeded in escaping, [but as I imprudently remained]

[f] There are many reasons why wheat was used in preference to other grain, in the Holy Communion: it is more nutritious, finer, purer, (whence its Saxon and German names,) and, lastly, more glutinous and cohesive, and so, more strongly typifying the unity of the parts of that εἷς ἄρτος, mentioned by St. Paul, on which St. Augustine often dilates: (cf. supr. p. 219. marg.) Our own Church directs that the bread shall be "the best and purest Wheat "Bread that conveniently may be got-"ten:" not, perhaps, without a reference to Ps. lxxxi. 16 (in pr. bk. 17). See also John xii. 24.

"in Alexandria, he ordered Harpocration to carry me off A. D. 451.
"and lodge me in a hospital for the wounded; there, too, he CH. XIII.
"sent after me an assassin, as all in the hospital well know,
"since it was only by their assistance that I was saved; nor
"did he deliver me from that unjust imprisonment, until I
"had promised, weak as I was, to leave Alexandria." Ischyrion names six witnesses, who were Dioscorus's own domestics.

The Priest Athanasius set forth in his petition[1] that his [1] p. 405. D.
brother Paul and he were nephews to St. Cyril, whose sister Isidora was their mother; that St. Cyril had in his will left to his successor, whoever he should be, several large legacies, conjuring him by the holy Mysteries, to protect his family, and save them from annoyance. "Dioscorus, however[2], from [2] p. 408.
"the moment he entered on his episcopate, threatened my
"brother and myself with death, and forced us to leave
"Alexandria and come to Constantinople in hopes of finding
"redress, but he wrote to Chrysaphius and Nomus, who
"then, in fact, swayed the empire, soliciting them to put
"us out of the way. We were thrown into prison and subjected to various kinds of ill-treatment, until we had given
"up all we had in the way of moveables and were obliged to
"borrow several sums at extravagant interest. My brother
"died, unable to bear up against his persevering tormenters.
"I remained with our aunts, his wife, and his children, overwhelmed with debt and not daring to shew our heads. In
"the mean time, that we might have no home to retire to,
"Dioscorus converted our houses into churches; mine, which
"is about four stadia distant[3] and could not conveniently be [3 τετάρτῃ στέγῃ ἐπικειμένης]
"made a church of, he enclosed and blocked up.

"Not satisfied with this, he without any reason deposed
"me from the Priesthood, and for seven years we have now
"been wandering from place to place, still pursued as well
"by our creditors as by Dioscorus, not being allowed so
"much as to lodge in the churches or monasteries. I took
"refuge in the monastery of Metanœa at Canopus[4], which [4] Supr. 19. 31.
"has always been considered an asylum, but he prohibited
"me from using the public bath[5] and from buying bread or [5] p. 409.
"any other kind of food, resolving at all hazards on my
"death, so that I was compelled to beg for my livelihood

A. D. 451. CH. XIV. "with the two or three slaves who remained by my side. "The sums of money exacted from us, and derived partly "from our own estate, partly borrowed on usury, amount "to about fourteen hundred pounds of gold[1]. These sums "were given to Nomus and Chrysaphius, the latter of whom, "to complete my misery, seized my little remaining all, and "extorted eighty-five pounds of gold from our aunts, the "sisters of St. Cyril, and forty from my brother's widow and "his orphan children."

[1 χρυσίου λίτρας]

[2] p. 412. D. The last petition was that of the layman Sophronius[2], which ran thus: "I had obtained orders from the Court, against an "officer of Alexandria, named Macarius, who had carried off "my wife; Dioscorus hindered this order from being put [3] p. 413. C. "into execution[3], asserting that he had more right to be "master of that country than the Emperor had; and he sent a "Deacon named Isidorus, with a troop of peasants, who took "away from me all my clothes and all the stock of goods on "which I and my children depended for support, so that I "was forced to save myself by flight. Further, I allege that "Dioscorus has often uttered blasphemies against the holy "Trinity, that he has committed adulteries, and enacted "treason against our Emperor, pretending that he was the [4] p. 416. "master of Egypt[4]; this is proved by Acts made before "various magistrates. Several other persons have felt his "fury, but either poverty or fear has hindered them from "bringing their complaints before you. I desire that Ago- "rastus, his Syncellus, who is here, may be brought for- "ward." These four petitions having been read and attested by the parties present, were inserted in the Acts.

XIV. Condemnation of Dioscorus. The Council next ordered that Dioscorus should be cited the third time[5]. They deputed for this purpose, Francion, Bishop of Philippopolis, Lucian of Byza, and John of Germanicia, with Palladius, Deacon and Notary. They carried [5] p. 416. D. [6] p. 417. a written citation[6], in which the Council declared that they could not admit his excuses, and requested him to come and make his defence on pain of suffering the penalty affixed by [7] p. 420. C. the canons to contumacy. Dioscorus replied[7] that he had nothing to say beyond what he had already said, and in spite of all that could be urged upon him, he still persisted in the [8] p. 422. same answer[8], repeating it seven times. After this report had

been presented to the Council, Paschasinus several times inquired how they were to proceed, and whether the Council thought fit to judge him according to the rigour of the canons; the whole Council declared that they consented to this course. Then the three legates[1], Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, pronounced the sentence in these terms: "The "outrages committed against the canons by Dioscorus, late "Bishop of Alexandria, have been plainly proven by the "evidence adduced both in the former session and in this. "He received to his communion Eutyches, who was con- "demned by his own Bishop[g]. He persists[2] in maintaining "that what he did at Ephesus was well done, though he "ought to mourn for it, and ask for pardon, as the others "have done. He would not permit the Pope Leo's letter to "Flavian to be read. He even excommunicated the Pope. "Several complaints have been presented against him to the "Council. He has been three times cited, and refuses to "pay obedience. Wherefore, the most holy Archbishop of "Rome, Leo, through us and this present Council, with the "Apostle St. Peter, who is the rock and foundation[3] of the "Catholic Church and of the orthodox Faith, deprives him "of the episcopal dignity and every sacerdotal ministry. "The Council, therefore, will decree concerning him in con- "formity with the canons." Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest of the Bishops, delivered their opinions in succession, all, in various ways, expressing their consent and judgment, and all confirming the legates' sentence and the deposition of Dioscorus; there were a hundred and ninety-one Bishops, whose judgments are thus recorded[4]. They all afterwards subscribed in the same order;—the three legates first, for even the Priest Boniface signed before Anatolius. One Bishop subscribed in Persian[5].

A. D. 451. CH. XIV.

[1] p. 424. D.

[2] p. 425.

[3] [πέτρα καὶ κρηπὶς: cf. Gieseler. vol. I. § 92. n. 26.]

[4] p. 426. sqq.

[5] p. 459. C. [alt. p. s.]

The Council informed Dioscorus of his sentence in a short note, which says that he had been deposed on the thirteenth of October for contumacy. They also sent information of it to Charmosynus, Priest and Steward, to Eustathius, the

[g] It belonged to the very essence of Catholic unity, that he who was excommunicate in one Church should be held excommunicate in all Churches; Bingh. xvi. 2. § 10; where the canons on this point are brought together.

A. D. 451. CH. XV. Archdeacon, and to the rest of the clergy of Alexandria[1], who were then at Chalcedon, admonishing them to preserve the revenues of the Church for the future successor. The Council put forth a public notice of their sentence, addressed to all the people of Constantinople and Chalcedon, and declaring that, whereas Dioscorus had given out that he would be restored, he was deluding himself with false hopes. They also sent despatches to the Emperors Valentinian and Marcian, and to the Empress Pulcheria. Such was the third session.

[1] p. 462.

XV. Fourth session. St. Leo's letter again approved.

At the fourth session, held four days after, that is, on the seventeenth of October[2], the magistrates were again present. It had been resolved, as we have seen, at the end of the first session and beginning of the second, that the examination of the point of Faith should be adjourned for five days[3]. The magistrates ordered this resolution to be read over, and then inquired of the legates[4] what decision the Council had come to. Paschasinus replied, "The holy Council follows "the definition of the Council of Nicæa[5], and that of the "Council held at Constantinople under the great Theodosius, "with the exposition given at Ephesus by St. Cyril. More- "over, the writings which the Pope Leo has sent, against the "heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches, have expounded the true "Faith, which the holy Council receives, and which they "can neither add to nor take from." When this declaration of Paschasinus was explained in Greek, the Bishops cried out, "We all of us believe thus; thus we were baptized, thus we "baptize; thus we of old believed, thus we still believe." The magistrates said, "In the presence of the holy Gospels "we desire that each of you declare, whether the exposition "of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nicæa, and "that of the hundred and fifty of Constantinople, agree with "the letter of the most reverend Archbishop Leo."

[2] 16 Kal. Novemb.

[3] p. 468. C.

[4] p. 470. E.

[5] p. 471.

Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, said, "The letter "of the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the Creed of "Nicæa, with that of Constantinople, and with the Acts of "the Council held at Ephesus in St. Cyril's time, which de- "posed Nestorius; wherefore I have given my consent, and "have cheerfully subscribed it." Paschasinus said, in the name of all the legates, "It is clear that the Faith of the "Pope Leo is the same with that of the Fathers of Nicæa

"and Constantinople, and that it agrees with the decisions A. D. 451.
"of the Council of Ephesus in St. Cyril's time, and this CH. XV.
"without any variation. Hence the Pope's letter, which has
"revived the Faith and was required by the heresy of Eu-
"tyches, has been received by the Council as indited by the
"same Spirit." Maximus of Antioch said[1], "The letter of [1] p. 474.
"the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the exposition
"of Nicæa, that of Constantinople, and that of Ephesus,
"and I have subscribed it." Similarly, Stephen of Ephesus, Diogenes of Cyzicus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of Bostra, and all the other Bishops, to the number of about a hundred and sixty, approved of St. Leo's letter, and testified that they had subscribed it, because they had found it conformable to the Faith of the Fathers[h].

The Bishops of Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, Hellas and Crete[2], that is, of all Eastern Illyricum, made their declaration in writing, which was dictated in the name of all, by Sozon, Bishop of Philippi, and ran thus[3]: "We preserve the [2] p. 490.
"Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, which is [3] p. 491. C.
"our salvation, and we wish to die in it. That of the hundred
"and fifty in no wise differs from it. We moreover retain
"the decisions made by the Council of Ephesus, at which
"the blessed Cælestine and the blessed Cyril presided, and
"we are persuaded that the most holy Archbishop Leo is
"most orthodox; we have been instructed concerning his
"letter by his legates Paschasinus and Lucentius, and they
"have cleared up the seeming differences[4] which arose from [4 ἃ ἡ φράσις διϊστᾷν ἠνίττετο]
"the mode of expression. For when we met, by your order,
"at the Archbishop Anatolius's house, they, in the presence
"of the assembly, [at once] anathematized all such as make
"a separation[5] between the Divinity and the flesh of our [5 διϊστᾷν]
"LORD JESUS CHRIST[6], which He united with Himself of the [6 τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ.; cf. Bp. Middleton on 2 Pet. i. 1.]
"holy Virgin, and who do not ascribe to Him the several

[h] The letter was received, not as a final, judicial, decision, but as evidence that was to be weighed, and scrutinized, and accepted only if found to agree with that which was from the beginning. And this is precisely what we meet with in every part of the history of Christian doctrine; it is not new truth that is discovered, but old truth that receives a new expression adapted to the present exigency. In this very letter St. Leo says that the Creed was sufficient to refute all heresies (supr. 27. 35). The above consideration is put prominently forward and repeated with studious solicitude in the definition of Faith (infr. c. 21). Cf. note p at p. 49. vol. viii. 'Libr. of the Fathers.'

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"attributes of the GODHEAD and the manhood[1], without "confusion, change, or division. Being persuaded, therefore, "that the letter is perfectly agreeable to the Faith of the "Fathers, we gave our consent to it, and subscribed it." All the Bishops of Illyricum confirmed this declaration *vivâ voce*. In the same way, the Bishops of Palestine made a common declaration in writing[2], acknowledging that they had thought some expressions in St. Leo's letter implied division and separation, but that the legates had satisfied them.

[1 τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ.]

[2] p. 494. C.

XVI. Restoration of the five Bishops.

When these hundred and sixty Bishops had given their opinions, the magistrates said[3], "If all the other Bishops, who "have not made a declaration individually, hold the same "opinion, let them testify it with their own mouths." The whole Synod exclaimed, "We all give our consent, we are "all of the same opinion, we all believe alike. Restore the "Fathers to the Council; they are Catholic, they subscribed. "Many years to the Emperors, many years to the Empress. "The five subscribed the Faith, they think as Leo does." These five, whose restoration they pleaded for, were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Basil of Seleucia, and Eustathius of Berytus, who had presided at the false Council of Ephesus along with Dioscorus, and who in the first session of Chalcedon were declared to have deserved deposition no less than he.

[3] p. 507. C.

When the Bishops had ended these exclamations, the magistrates said, "We made our report of these matters to "the Emperor, and await his answer. But you will have to "give an account to GOD for having deposed Dioscorus with- "out consulting either the Emperor or us, and also for your "present intercession in behalf of the five, and for all that is "done in the Council." All the Bishops cried out, "GOD "deposed Dioscorus, Dioscorus was justly deposed, CHRIST "deposed Dioscorus." After waiting some hours for the Emperor's answer, the magistrates said, "Our most pious "Emperor leaves it to your discretion to decide about the "Bishops Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eusta- "thius; consider, therefore, how you are to proceed, and "bear in mind that you will give an account to GOD[4]." Anatolius said, "We request that they may be admitted." All the Bishops cried out, "We beg that they may be ad-

[4] p. 510.

"mitted. Restore them to the Council for they are one with A. D. 451.
"us in opinion, and subscribed Leo's letter." The magis- CH. XVII.
trates said, "Let them come in," so the Bishops entered and took their seats, whilst the rest shouted, "This is GOD's "doing; many years to the Emperor, many years to the "magistrates, many years to the senate. This is perfect "union, this is the peace of the Church."

XVII. Representations of the Egyptians.

The magistrates next gave an order for the admittance of some Egyptian Bishops who had presented a petition to the Emperor. They were thirteen in number, and were unanimously ordered to take their seats in the Council. Their petition was in the name of all the Bishops of Egypt, and contained nothing more than that they followed the Catholic Faith, and condemned all heretics[1], and especially those who affirmed that the flesh of our LORD came down from heaven and was not taken of the holy Virgin Mary. The Bishops shouted, "Why do they not anathematize the doctrine of "Eutyches? They have presented this petition insidiously; "let them subscribe Leo's letter. Their object is to trifle "with us and then withdraw[1]." Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "The Council was convened on account of Eutyches,—for "what other reason was there? It was on account of him "that the Archbishop of Rome wrote. We all consented to "Leo's letter, as conformable to the exposition of the Fathers; "let them, too, give their assent." Paschasinus, in the name of the legates, said, "Let them declare whether they consent "to the letter of the Apostolic see and anathematize Eu- "tyches."

[1] p. 511.

Hieracius, as spokesman of the Egyptian Bishops, said, "If any one holds opinions different from those contained in "our petition, be he Eutyches or be he any one else, let him "be anathema. As to the letter of the most holy Archbishop "Leo, all the Bishops know that we in all cases wait for the "advice of our own most holy Archbishop. The Council of "Nicæa decreed[2] that all Egypt should follow the guidance "of the Archbishop of Alexandria, and that none of his

[2] p. 514.

[1] Liberatus (c. 13) says of them, "libellos obtulerunt *cum irrisione*." Tillemont (t. xv. p. 669) thinks that they were the Egyptians mentioned by Eulogius (Phot. cod. 230) who, "turning from Chalcedon, filled the "land with tumult, saying that the "Council had rejected Cyril and re- "ceived Nestorius."

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"Bishops should determine any thing without him." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "That is false." Florentius of Sardis said, "Let them prove their assertion." All cried aloud, "Distinctly anathematize Eutyches's doctrine. He "who does not subscribe the letter, which the Council has "approved, is heretical. Anathema to Dioscorus and all "who cling to him. If they are not orthodox how will "they appoint[1] a Bishop?" Paschasinus said, "Bishops who "have seen so many years, and who have grown old in their "churches, do not yet know the Catholic Belief, and must "wait for the opinion of another[k]!"

[1 ψηφίσασθαι]

The Egyptians cried out, "Anathema to Eutyches and to "those who believe him." But it was still insisted upon, that they must subscribe St. Leo's letter on pain of excommunication. Hieracius said[2], "The Bishops of our province[3] are "very numerous; we are too few to do any thing in their "persons. We beg your Highness and the holy Council to "take pity of us; for if we do any thing without our Archbishop, all the Bishops of Egypt will rise up against us, as "violators of the canons; pity our old age." The thirteen Egyptian Bishops then threw themselves on the ground, saying, "Extend your pity and humanity over us." Cecropius of Sebastopolis said, "The Œcumenical Council is more "worthy of being trusted to than that of Egypt, nor is it "just that ten heretics should be listened to and twelve "hundred Bishops set at naught. We do not require them "to declare their faith for others, but for themselves personally." By these twelve hundred Bishops we may suppose that Cecropius meant the Bishops of the whole world[1].

[2] p. 515.

[3 διοικήσεως]

[k] "The Egyptian Bishops were no "doubt very dependent on their Patri-"arch.... But whatever respect is due "to the primate Bishops, the others "must never forget that they too are "Bishops, and hold their authority of "CHRIST and the Church, not of those "who consecrated them. The Council "of Nicæa in no way authorizes any "such degradation of the episcopate." Tillemont, p. 668.

[1] Or, rather, in the Eastern empire. For it seems probable that the Metropolitans took with them "*half* the "Bishops in their dependence," as we saw St. Cyril do to the Council of Ephesus (xxv. 34); and Lucentius presently after speaks of the Council as numbering 600 (cf. supr. c. 1. note a). Of these only four came from the West, the two Roman legates, and two African Bishops, (which last were rather refugees than deputies, Tillemont, p. 641.) If we add 800 (we are not here pretending to much exactness) for the Bishops in Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, we shall have 2000 for the number of Bishops in the world; or, (as the number of Christians at the close of this century has been conjecturally stated at fifteen millions, Turner's Anglo-S. vol. iii. p. 484. 6th ed.) one Bishop, on an average, to 7500 Christians.

The Egyptians cried out, "We cannot live any longer in the province, have pity on us." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "They are the deputies of all the Egyptians, and ought to agree with the general Council." The legate Lucentius said to the magistrates, "Inform them, in case they be ignorant of it, that ten men cannot prejudge a cause so as to wrest authority from a Council of six hundred Bishops." A. D. 451. CH. XVIII.

The Egyptians shouted, "We shall be murdered, take pity on us." All the other Bishops said, "You see what a testimony they bear to their Bishops!" The Egyptians said, "They will take our lives, have pity on us. Let us rather die here by your hands. Let an Archbishop be appointed here; Anatolius knows the custom of Egypt. It is not from disobedience to the Council, but we shall be murdered in our own country; have pity on us. You have the power; we would sooner die here by order of the Emperor, and you, and the Council. For GOD'S sake consider our gray hairs, and spare ten men, whose lives are in your hands. They wish for our sees, let them take them; we care not to be Bishops any longer; only save us from death. Give us an Archbishop[1], and, if we resist, punish us; elect an Archbishop, we will wait here until he be ordained."

[1] p. 518.

XVIII. Petition of the schismatic Archimandrites.

The magistrates said, "It seems advisable that the Bishops of Egypt should remain at Constantinople for the present, and that no further steps be taken until an Archbishop shall have been ordained to Alexandria." Paschasinus said, "Let them give bail, then, not to leave this city until Alexandria has got a Bishop." The magistrates ordered that they should produce securities, or at the least bind themselves by an oath.

The magistrates and Council next issued an order for the admission of Faustus, Martin, Peter, Manuel, and several other Catholic Priests and Archimandrites, numbering in all eighteen. When they had entered and taken their seats, the magistrates ordered a paper to be read containing the names of eighteen persons who styled themselves Archimandrites, and who had presented a petition to the Emperor; the Catholic Archimandrites were to state whether

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they recognised them all as Archimandrites. Faustus answered in their name, that Carosus and Dorotheus, who headed the list, were so[m], that others of them were only guardians of Martyrs' Churches[1], and that some had only two or three persons[2] under their care, whilst several were entire strangers to them. "We request," they add, "that "the Council would send to their monasteries, to know "whether they really have the authority they claim, or only "assume the title of Archimandrites. As to those who call "themselves monks and are unknown to us and you, let "them be sent away from the city as scandalous persons "and impostors."

[1] p. 521.

[2 δύο ἢ τρία ὀνόματα: cf. Apoc. iii. 4.]

The magistrates, however, proceeded to admit Carosus and Dorotheus with their followers, among whom were Barsumas the Syrian and the eunuch Calopodius. They made them acknowledge their petition, and then gave orders for its recital; but Anatolius said, "The Priests Calopodius and Ge- "rontius, who are among them, were deposed long ago, and "cannot lawfully enter." "No one ever told us so until "now," they replied. The Archdeacon Aëtius walked up to Calopodius, and said, "The Archbishop tells you by "my mouth that you are deposed; depart." "On what "grounds?" said Calopodius. "As a heretic," replied the Archdeacon. The petition presented in the name of the eighteen (so called) Archimandrites, and their partizans[3], both lay and clerical, was now read. Its chief object was, to desire the Emperor's protection against the persecution of some of the clergy, who attempted to procure subscriptions from them by force, and drove them out of the monasteries and other churches where they lived.

[3] p. 524.

Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, then said, "Barsumas, who "came in with them, murdered the blessed Flavian. He "was there, and said, *Stab:* he is not included in the pe- "titions; why did he come in?" The Bishops cried out as with one voice, "Barsumas turned all Syria upside down[4]; "he brought a thousand monks against us." The magistrates said to the monks[5], "The Emperor has convened this "Council according to your desire, and has ordered that you "should be admitted. 'You must therefore listen patiently

[4 ἠφάνισεν]

[5] p. 525.

[m] They also recognise Maximus, the teacher (διδάσκαλος) of Eutyches, p. 517.

" to the regulations which the Council has made respecting A. D. 451.
" the Faith." Carosus, Dorotheus, and the other monks, CH. XVIII.
said, "We demand that the petition which we here present
" may be read." This was a second petition addressed to the
Council. The Bishops shouted, "Drive out the murderer
" Barsumas, send him to the amphitheatre; anathema to
" Barsumas; banish Barsumas." By 'sending him to the
'amphitheatre,' they meant that he should be exposed to
the wild beasts. The petition addressed to the Council in
the name of the Archimandrites and all the brethren in
CHRIST, was recited; it prayed that Dioscorus and the
Bishops who were with him, might be present at the Council.

While this was being read, all the Bishops exclaimed, "Ana-
" thema to Dioscorus, CHRIST deposed him. Drive these people
" away; remove the opprobrium of the Council." Faustus
and the Catholic Archimandrites said, "Away with them,
" they are a reproach to the monasteries." The magistrates
proceeded with the reading of the petition[1]; it turned entirely [1] p. 528.
on the restoration of Dioscorus, whom they represented as
the champion of the Faith of Nicæa; and they protested that
if they met with a refusal, they must renounce communion
with the Council. The Archdeacon Aëtius then read from a
book the fifth canon of Antioch[2], to the effect that the Priest [2] Fleury,
or Deacon, who leaves the communion of his Bishop to hold 12. 12.
separate assemblies, is to be deposed, and, if he continues in
his schism, ought to be ejected by the secular power as a
seditious person. The Bishops cried out, "This canon is
" just, this is a canon of the holy Fathers." The magis-
trates asked the schismatic monks if they consented to the
decisions of the Council. Carosus said[3], "I know the Faith [3] p. 529.
" of Nicæa, in which I was baptized: I know no other. They
" are Bishops; it is in their power to excommunicate and
" depose us. When St. Theotimus[4] baptized me at Tomi, [4 Supr.
" he enjoined me never to admit any other belief." Doro- 21. 5.]
theus said, "I hold the Faith of Nicæa, in which I was
" baptized, and the definition of the Council of Ephesus
" against Nestorius; I know no other faith." Barsumas
said by an interpreter, (for he spoke in Syriac,) "I believe
" as the three hundred and eighteen Fathers did; I was
" thus baptized, in the name of the FATHER, and of the

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"SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, even as our LORD taught "His Apostles themselves[n]." The rest said the same.

The Archdeacon Aëtius went up to them and said, "The "holy Council believes as did the Fathers of Nicæa; but "since in the mean time various disputes have arisen, the "holy Fathers Cyril and Cælestine, and now the most "holy Pope Leo, have published letters explanatory of the "Creed, [not as formulæ of faith or doctrine,[1]] and these "the Œcumenical Council receives with respect. Do you "defer to the judgment of the Council, and anathematize "Nestorius and Eutyches, or not?" Carosus replied, "I "have frequently anathematized Nestorius." Aëtius said to him, "Then do you anathematize Eutyches, as the Council "does, or not?" Carosus said, "Do you not find it written[2], "'Judge not, lest ye be judged'? The Bishops are seated "here, why do you speak?" Aëtius said, "Answer the ques- "tion which the Council puts to you by me; Do you obey "the general Council or not?" Carosus again took refuge in the Council of Nicæa, and concluded[3]; "If Eutyches be- "lieves not as the Catholic Church believes, let him be "anathema."

[1 ἑρμηνευούσας τὸ σύμβολον, οὐ πίστιν ἢ δόγμα ἐκτιθεμένοι]

[2] Mat. vii. 1.

[3] p. 532.

An order was given by the magistrates for reading a petition which had been presented to the Emperor by Faustus and the other Catholic Abbots, against Eutyches's followers, who, though frequently admonished by Anatolius and others, refused to subscribe the confession of Faith. It concluded by praying that these renegades should be punished according to the monastic rule, and be ejected from the monastery[4] in which they lived and held their meetings. Dorotheus attempted[5] to maintain the orthodoxy of Eutyches, and thought it sufficient to say, that He who suffered was of the Trinity[6]. All the Bishops cried out, "Do you subscribe "the letter or not?" meaning St. Leo's. Dorotheus replied, "I believe according to the baptismal form[7]; but for the "letter—I do not subscribe it." The magistrates said, "When the Emperor sent officers to you, you promised to "obey the decisions of the Council; why then do you now

[4 σπηλαίου: supr. 25. 43. p., yet perhaps referring to Luke xix. 46.]

[5] p. 533.

[6 ἐκ τῆς Τριάδος εἶναι]

[7 εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα πιστεύω]

[n] This is the last notice, in the Acts, of that zealot-agitator: nor is any thing certain known of the sequel of his history. The Syrian legends about him are given by Asseman, B. O. t. ii. pp. 1—10.

"withhold your consent?" Dorotheus answered, "Our peti- A. D. 451.
"tion to the Emperor was, that the Council might confirm CH. XVIII.
"the Faith of Nicæa." The magistrates offered to intercede with the Council to grant them a delay of two or three days, but Carosus and Dorotheus assured them that they could not change their opinions. Thus ended the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon, according to the oldest copies. The modern ones have an appendix containing the sequel of the affair of Carosus and Dorotheus, as also that of Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus. We will here give an account of these.

Alexander, Priest and Visitor[1][o], whom the Council had sent [1] p. 536. [περιοδευτής, Lat. *circuitor*]
to the Emperor about the schismatic monks, made his report in these terms: "I told the Emperor, that Dorotheus and "Carosus asserted that he had promised to assemble the "monasteries, and us with them, and to hear our statements "in the presence of the holy Gospel. The Emperor charged "the decurion John and myself to return them this answer; "'If I had myself intended to hear between you, I should "'not have put the general Council to the trouble of assem-"'bling here. The Bishops assembled for this purpose, and "'I directed you to go to them, and receive instruction on "'the points about which you were ignorant, for you may "'be assured of this, that, whatever the general Council "'shall decree and present to me in writing, that I will "'follow, embrace, and believe. Understand this therefore, "'for you shall receive no other answer from me.'"

When the report was ended, the Council cried out, "Long "life to the Emperor, long life to the Empress." The petition which Carosus and his followers had presented to the Emperor, praying for the restoration of Dioscorus, was then read

[o] Or, as we should say, Inspector. De Marca (De Concord. ii. c. 13. § 6) makes the offices of περιοδευτής and χωρεπίσκοπος identical. It would seem, however, that the very object why the first was instituted was to supersede the latter: v. Justel. ad Can. 57 Laodicen. (t. i. p. 90), and Ebed-Jesu, ap. Assem. B. O. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 830. Asseman remarks that among the later Nestorian lawyers the two titles are used as equivalent: which may easily be, since the χωρεπίσκοπος of later times was deprived of the *power of ordination*,—the very point in which, it is presumed, the original institution was found to be inconvenient.

The office is thus described by Balsamon, in Can. 57 Laod. (Bevereg. Synodic. t. i. p. 480): "The Periodeutes "is the same with our modern *Bishop's* "*Exarch*, whose duty it is to itinerate "and take note of spiritual faults, and "to stablish the faithful." See also Suicer. *s. v.* and Neander, Gesch. d. Kirche, B. 2. S. 342.

A. D. 451. CH. XIX. a second time; after which[1] the Archdeacon Aëtius proposed that the canons against schismatics should be read. The Council ordered it, and he read from a book the canons eighty-three and eighty-four, which are the fourth and fifth of the Council of Antioch[2]. We thus see that the Church at that time used the collection entituled, "Code of the Canons of the Universal Church," in the same form that it still exists in[3]. When the canons had been read, the Council, approving of the indulgence shewn by the Emperor and magistrates to the refractory monks, granted them a delay of thirty days, from the fifteenth of October to the fifteenth of November. "On that day," says the Council, "some of the clergy shall "be sent to inform them that they must either submit to "the decisions of the Council, or forfeit all their degrees and "dignities, resigning the headship of their monasteries, and "being excluded from communion. If they leave the city, the "forfeiture shall still take its course; the secular power will, "in accordance with the canons, aid in enforcing the decree "against the contumacious." The fifteenth of October, from which the term allowed them dates, was two days before the fourth session, in which they had been heard; and this special session is dated three days after, or October the 20th.

[1] p. 537.

[2] Labbe, t. ii. p. 563. Cf. Can. Apost. 27. 30.]

[3] v. Bibl. Justel. t. i. p. 44.

XIX. The case of Photius and Eustathius tried.

We must now notice the dispute between Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, which was this. Photius claimed to be sole Metropolitan of the first Phœnicia[4], and complained that Eustathius had availed himself of the credit he had enjoyed under Theodosius the younger to get Berytus erected into a metropolis, and had assumed to himself the jurisdiction and right of ordination to the six churches of Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosias, Arcas, and Antaradus[5]. Eustathius attempted to evade the trial, by representing that the definition of Faith ought first to be subscribed before any other business was entered upon[6]; but the magistrates, notwithstanding, ordered Photius's petition to be read. They next said[7] that the Emperor wished the affairs of Bishops to be regulated not according to the Imperial letters, or the Pragmatic Sanction[8] [p], but according to the canons. They asked

[4] p. 542.

[5] p. 544. E.

[6] p. 540. D.

[7] p. 544. C.

[8] τοὺς πραγματικοὺς τύπους]

[p] The formal decision given by the Emperor in consistory. So *Pragmaticum rescriptum* and *Sanctio* in Collat. iii. Carthag. c. 38, 39. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 1456.)

the Council how they wished the affair to be decided, according to the canons, or according to the Emperor's mandate? The Council said, "According to the canons. The Pragmatic "Sanction shall have no force [against the canons]; let the "canons prevail." A. D. 451. CH. XIX.

Eustathius pleaded in his favour a Council of Constantinople[1]; on which the magistrates asked if it was right to call the assembly of Bishops who were on a visit[2] to Constantinople a *Council*. Tryphon, Bishop of Chios, said, "It is called a "Council, and justice is there administered to all who bring "their grievances before it." Anatolius of Constantinople said[3], "A custom has long prevailed, that Bishops who are "residing[4] at Constantinople should assemble, when occasion "requires, for such ecclesiastical affairs as accidentally occur; that they determine them, and answer those questions which are put to them." This sort of Council is called in Greek, *συνοδὸς ἐνδημοῦσα*[5].

[1] p. 546. [2 ἐπιδημοῦνταν] [3] p. 548. [4 ἐνδημοῦντας] [5 supr. 27. 23. p.]

They read the fourth canon of the Council of Nicæa, which assigns the power of ordination to the Metropolitan with his provincial Bishops. The magistrates asked if one province could have two Metropolitans. The Council answered, that there could never be more than one. The magistrates then said[6], "In accordance with the canons of Nicæa and the judg- "ment of the Council, Photius of Tyre shall have the whole "power of ordaining in all the cities of the first Phœnicia; "and the Bishop Eustathius shall not, in virtue of the "Imperial Pragmatic Sanction, have more than the other "Bishops of the province. Let the Council declare if they "agree to this." The Council said, "This is just judgment, "this is GOD'S judgment; long live the Emperor, long live "the Empress, long live the magistrates."

[6] p. 549.

The magistrates asked what the Council would decree relative to the Bishops who, after being ordained by Photius, had been deposed by Eustathius and reduced to the rank of Priests. The Council said, "We think it right that they "should be Bishops; it is but fitting that they should be "reinstated in the cities to which they were ordained by "their Metropolitan." The Pope's legates said, "It is sacri- "lege to degrade a Bishop to the rank of Priest; if there "be any legitimate grounds for depriving him of episcopal

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"functions, he ought not to retain even the rank of Priest." Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the rest, expressed the same opinion. Cecropius of Sebastopolis proposed that this rule should be made general for all the provinces, and that the Pragmatic Sanction should have no weight in opposition to the canons; and an injunction was issued by the advice of the Council to that effect. This, as well as the preceding special session, is dated the twentieth of October.

XX. Fifth session. The definition of faith rejected.

The fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon was held on the eleventh of the calends of November, or October 22. The magistrates asked what decision had been come to respecting the Faith[1]. Asclepiades, Deacon of Constantinople, read a definition, which it was not thought proper to insert in the Acts. Some persons raised difficulties, and John, Bishop of Germanicia, said, "This definition is not "right; another must be made." Anatolius of Constantinople said to the Council, "Are you satisfied with the defini- "tion?" All the Bishops, except the Romans and some Easterns, cried out, "We are all satisfied with the definition. "It is the faith of the Fathers; he who thinks otherwise is "heretical; anathema to him who thinks otherwise: drive "out the Nestorians." Anatolius said, "Did not every one "yesterday consent to the definition of faith?" The Bishops said, "Every one consented. We do not believe otherwise; "it is the faith of the Fathers: let it be set down, that holy "Mary is the Mother of GOD; let this be added to the "Creed."

[1] p. 556.

The Pope's legates said, "If they do not consent to the "letter of the blessed Bishop Leo, let copies[2] be given to us, "that we may return, and that the Council may be assembled "in the West." The magistrates answered, "If you think "proper, let us assemble with six Bishops of the East[3], three "of Asia, three of Pontus, three of Illyricum, and three of "Thrace, the Archbishop Anatolius, and the Romans, in "the oratory of the church; and when we have thoroughly "examined every thing, a report shall be made to you of "what we determine about our holy Faith[4]." The Bishops exclaimed, "Every one approved the definition;" and seeing John of Germanicia go up to the magistrates, they shouted,

[2 ἀντίγραφα]

[3 ἀνατολικῶν]

[4] p. 558.

"Away with the Nestorians; away with the GOD-opposers[1]: A. D. 451. CH. XX.
"every one yesterday agreed to the definition; let it be sub-
"scribed. He who refuses to subscribe is a heretic; the [1 θεομάχους]
"HOLY GHOST dictated it; let it be forthwith subscribed."

After many similar outbreaks of feeling on the part of the Bishops, the magistrates said, "Dioscorus stated that the "reason of his deposing Flavian was, because he said there "are two natures; the definition says 'of two natures[2].'" [2 ἐκ δύο φύσεων] Anatolius replied, "Dioscorus was not deposed on the score "of his Faith, but because he excommunicated the Arch-"bishop Leo; and because he was summoned three times "and would not appear[q]." The magistrates asked whether they received the Archbishop Leo's letter. The Bishops said, "Yes, we have received it, and subscribed it." "Then let "the contents," rejoined the magistrates, "be inserted in "the definition." The Bishops cried out, "We are for no "other definition; nothing is wanting in this, it sanctions "the letter; the Archbishop Leo believes as we do. He has "spoken as Cyril did. Cælestine and Sixtus confirmed what "Cyril said; let the definition be without fraud." The magistrates said, "Your acclamations shall be carried to the "Emperor;" and they despatched the Secretary Beronician to the palace.

In a short time he returned and said[3], "The Emperor [3] p. 560.
"orders that, according to the suggestion of the magis-
"trates, six Bishops of the East, three of Pontus, three of
"Asia, three of Thrace, and three of Illyricum, with the
"Archbishop Anatolius and the Romans, shall assemble in
"the oratory of the church and determine[4] the Faith, so that [4 τυπῶσαι]
"all doubt and disagreement may be removed. If you ob-
"ject to this plan, let each of you declare his faith by his
"Metropolitan; if you still object, then you must know that
"the Council will be held in the West, since you will not

[q] It appears from Facundus, lib. v. c. 3 (p. 200, ed. 1629), that the Nestorians appealed to this statement as a proof that the Council favoured Eutychianism. Leontius, on the other hand, mentions that the Acephali of his day inferred that since Dioscorus was not convicted of heresy, his deposition was unjust. Leontius rightly says, that had Dioscorus made his appearance he would have been deposed on the ground of heresy: de Sectis, act. vi. (Galland. Bibl. t. xii. p. 643); see also his Apol. C. Calch. (*ibid.* p. 722, and Mansi, t. vii. p. 807). Tillemont, t. xv. p. 679. Walch. Ketzerh., Th. vi. § 65.

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"here come to any agreement concerning the Faith." There was still some opposition, but at last all the Bishops consented to have the affair transacted by commissioners. The magistrates therefore went into the oratory of St. Euphemia, with Anatolius of Constantinople, the four legates, Paschasinus, Lucentius, Boniface, and Julian of Cos; Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea [in Cappadocia], Eusebius of Ancyra; Quintillus, Atticus, and Sozon, Bishops of Illyricum[1]; Diogenes of Cyzicus, Leontius of Magnesia, Florentius of Sardis, Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodorus of Tarsus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of Bostra, Theodorus of Claudiopolis in Isauria; and Francion, Sebastian, and Basil, Bishops of Thrace: in all twenty-two.

[1] p. 561.

XXI. The Definition of Faith approved.

After they had examined the Faith, they came out of the oratory, and when all had taken their seats, the magistrates said, "If the holy Council pleases to be silent, they shall hear "what has been determined in our presence." Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, then read the definition of faith drawn up in the name of the Council. The Creed of Nicæa and that of Constantinople are recited in it at full length[2]; after which they add[3], "This Creed were sufficient for the "perfect knowledge of religion; but the enemies of the "truth have invented novel expressions, some presuming to "corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, and refusing the "title of Mother of GOD to the Virgin, others introducing a "confusion and mixture, and forging a wild and monstrous "opinion that there is but one nature of the flesh and the "Divinity, and that the Divine nature of the SON of GOD is "passible. Wherefore the holy Council, wishing to close "every avenue against their devices and to shew that the "doctrine of the Church is still immoveably the same, has "defined first of all, that the faith of the three hundred and "eighteen Fathers remains inviolable. Moreover, it con-"firms the doctrine which the hundred and fifty Fathers "assembled at Constantinople taught concerning the sub-"stance of the HOLY GHOST; not because they thought the "former exposition incomplete, but to leave on record their "opposition to all gainsayers. And for the conviction of all "who would corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, the "Council receives the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril,

[2] p. 564.

[3] p. 565.

"both to Nestorius and to the Easterns; as being well "adapted to refute the error of Nestorius and to explain the "sense of the Creed. To these the Council with good reason "joins the letter sent by the most holy Archbishop Leo to "Flavian, against the error of Eutyches, both as agreeing "with the confession of St. Peter, and as calculated not more "to destroy error than to establish the truth[r].

"Following therefore the holy Fathers[s], we all with one "voice declare[1], that we ought to acknowledge one and the "same [SON] our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the same perfect in "GODHEAD and perfect in manhood, truly GOD and truly "man; the same composed of a reasonable soul and body; "consubstantial with the FATHER in respect of the GODHEAD, "and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like "unto us in all things, yet without sin; begotten of the "FATHER before all worlds, in respect of the GODHEAD, and "the same in these last days born of Mary the Virgin, "Mother of GOD in respect of the manhood, for our sake "and our salvation; one and the same CHRIST, SON, LORD, "only-begotten, in two natures[2] [t]; without confusion, change, "division, separation[3]; the difference of the natures being "in nowise taken away by the union: on the contrary, the "property of each is preserved, and concurs into one person

[1] p. 568.

[2] v. Evagr. 2. 4 in fine. [ἐκ δύο φύσεων. Lat. *in duabus naturis*] [3 ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.]

[r] St. Leo's letter thus became a symbolical book of the Church Catholic. There is probably no ancient writing of which more copies have descended to us than of this. Besides occurring twice in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (pt. i. c. 7, and Act ii.), it was publicly read in the Italian and other Western Churches during Advent (Baron. a. 449. § 43), and inserted in the Lectionaria; Walch. *u. s.* § 29. Anm. 2.

[s] "Then Theorian, taking up the "definition of Chalcedon, shewed him, "article by article, that it was all com-"piled from the words of the most an-"cient Fathers, especially of Cyril;" Fleury, l. lxxii. c. 20.

[t] That the Latin copies give the true reading (they all have *in duabus naturis*) seems clear from the context. The very object of the Bishops and legates in resisting the first definition was, that the ἐκ δύο φύσεων might be altered into ἐν δύο φύσεσιν. The copy of the definition given by Evagrius (ii. 4) contains ἐν δύο φύσεσι, which was also the reading of the copy brought by Elpidius and Gerontius to St. Euthymius, (Anal. Græc. pp. 56—58, where the phrase recurs four times.) Cassiodore (t. ii. p. 194) has an important passage bearing on this subject, in which *in duabus n.* is read. Indeed, the history of the conferences between the orthodox and the Severians in A.D. 533 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1768. E., sqq.), shews that it was agreed on both sides that the Council had written *in d. n.* Leontius positively assures us that this was the case (de Sectis, act. vi. § 3), and that they had purposely avoided the other expression for the following reason:—they could not reject it, since it expressed partial truth, nor yet could they be content with it, since it did not express the whole truth against Eutyches: v. Tillemont, t. xv. pp. 681 and 919. Cf. Mansi, Coll. Max. t. vii. p. 775.

A. D. 451. CH. XXII. "and one hypostasis; so that He is not parted nor divided[1] "into two persons, but He, one and the same, is SON and "only-begotten, GOD the WORD, our LORD JESUS CHRIST." The Council states that it shall not be lawful for any one to teach or think otherwise on pain, if Bishops or Clerks, of being deposed; if monks or laymen, of being anathematized.

[1] μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον]

When this Definition of Faith had been read, the Bishops all exclaimed, "This is the Faith of the Fathers; let the "Metropolitans subscribe forthwith; let them subscribe in "presence of the magistrates; what has been rightly defined "should not meet with any delay; this is the faith of the "Apostles: we all follow it." The magistrates said, "That "which the Fathers have decreed, and which has satisfied "all, shall be reported to the Emperor." Thus ended the fifth session.

XXII. The sixth session. Marcian present.

The sixth was held three days afterwards, on the eighth of the calends of November, or October 25. There was a large attendance of Bishops and the Emperor Marcian came to the Council in person[2], accompanied by the magistrates who had previously assisted at it, with some others, amounting in all to four and thirty[u]. He made a speech, which was delivered in Latin (as the language of the empire) and was interpreted in Greek. He pointed out what his intention had been in convening the Council, namely, to preserve the purity of the Faith, which had for some time been impaired by the avarice and misdirected zeal of certain persons, (meaning, beyond doubt, Chrysaphius.) He said that they ought not to hold any other belief concerning the mystery of the Incarnation than what had been taught by the Fathers of Nicæa, and by St. Leo in his letter to Flavian. He declared that, after the example of Constantine, his only object in attending the Council was to establish the Faith, not to display his power, and he exhorts the Fathers sincerely to expound the Faith, agreeably to what they had received by tradition. All the Bishops cried out, "Long life to the King, long life to Au-

[2] p. 574.

[u] The presence of the Empress Pulcheria at the Council, which had been denied by Baluze (ap. Mansi, Coll. Max., t. vii. p. 127), and after him by Tillemont (t. xv. p. 920), is established beyond a doubt by the letter from Anatolius to St. Leo, first published by the Ballerini, t. i. p. 1127.

"gusta, long life to the Catholic Princes." The Archdeacon Aëtius then said[1] that he held in his hands the definition of Faith made by the Council; the Emperor ordered him to read it. It was that of the preceding day, which had been subscribed by all the Bishops, to the number of three hundred and fifty-six, beginning with the legates. Diogenes, Metropolitan of Cyzicus, subscribed for himself and six of his suffragans[2] who were absent; so too Theodorus of Tarsus, and twelve other Metropolitans. A. D. 451. CH. XXII. [1] p. 580. [2] p. 601. E.

The Emperor asked[3] if all the Council agreed to this definition of Faith. All the Bishops cried out, "We all "believe thus; we all voluntarily subscribed; we are all "orthodox;" adding various acclamations laudatory of the Emperor and Empress, and praying for their welfare; styling him the new Constantine and her the new Helena. [3] p. 605. D.

The Emperor said[4], "The Catholic Faith having been de- "clared, we think it both just and expedient to take away "all pretext of division for the future. Wherefore, whoso- "ever shall collect a tumultuous assembly and publicly "harangue it about the Faith, if he be a private person, "shall be expelled the imperial city; if an officer, discharged; "if a Clerk, deposed and subjected to other penalties." All the Bishops shouted, "Long live the King, long live the "pious King; you have raised the prostrate Churches, you "have confirmed the Faith; long live the Queen. GOD "preserve your kingdom[5]; you have driven out the heretics. "Anathema to Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus." [4] p. 608. D. [5] p. 609.

The Emperor said, "There are certain Articles which, out "of respect to you, we have reserved, thinking it more "suitable that they should be canonically ordained by the "Council, than commanded by our laws[6]." The Secretary Beronician read them, by the Emperor's order. There were three of them; the first was expressed thus: "We deservedly "honour all who sincerely embrace a monastic life; but in- "asmuch as some persons under the pretext of monachism "disturb the Church and state, it is ordained, that no one "shall build a monastery without the consent of the Bishop "of the city and the proprietor of the land; and that the "monks, as well in the city as in the country, be subject "to the Bishop and live in quiet, applying themselves only [6 v. infr. c. 29.]

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"to fasting and prayer, without mixing themselves up in "ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except in cases of necessity, "when they are employed by their Bishop; neither shall "they receive slaves into their monasteries without the con- "sent of their masters."

The substance of the second article is this: "Whereas "certain of the clergy and monks are led by avarice to "engage in secular affairs, it seems good to the Council, "that no Clerk shall farm any land or undertake the office "of steward, unless he happens to be entrusted by his Bishop "with the care of the Church lands. If after this prohibition "any one shall dare to farm land, either himself or by means "of another, he shall be subject to an ecclesiastical fine; and "if he contumaciously persists, he shall be deprived of his "dignity." The third is to this effect: "The Clerk who has "one church to serve, shall not be appointed to a church in "another city; but shall be content with that to which he "was first appointed; those only excepted who, being driven "out of their own country, have through necessity come to "another church. If any one, after this decree, receive a "Clerk who belongs to another Bishop, both the Bishop who "receives him, and the Clerk so received, shall be excom- "municate until the Clerk returns to his own church."

[1] p. 612.

These three articles having been read[1], the Emperor handed them to the Bishop Anatolius, who, after some acclamations from the Council, said:

"In honour of St. Euphemia and your holiness, we order "that the city of Chalcedon, in which the holy Council has "been assembled, shall have the privileges[2] of a metropolis, "but only nominally, that so the proper dignity of the "Mother-Church of Nicomedia may not be interfered with."

[2] πρεσβεία]

The Council signified their approval of this by acclamations, adding at the end; "We beseech you to release us." The Emperor replied, "I know you are fatigued with so long a "stay, but remain three or four days longer, and discuss the "affairs you wish, in presence of the magistrates, and be "assured that you shall receive every requisite assistance; "and let no one depart till the whole be finished." Thus ended the sixth session.

The last words of the Bishops, praying for their dismissal,

shew, that they thought the Council was ended, because they had agreed about the definition of Faith and had authenticated it by their subscriptions. Having moreover approved the three canons proposed by the Emperor, they thought that nothing more remained to be done for the general interest of the Church. It also appears from the Emperor's answer, that he retained them at Chalcedon, only for special business. Hence the ancients drew a wide line of demarcation between these six first sessions and the following, in which the question was no longer about the Faith. This is the way that the Pope Pelagius II. afterwards spoke of them in his letter to the Bishops of Istria[1], (about A.D. 586.) And Evagrius the historian, who was nearly his contemporary, when giving an analysis of the Council of Chalcedon, dwells at length on the six first sessions, but gives a very brief summary of the proceedings which followed[2]. They both refer the twenty-seven canons to the seventh session, though they are now attached to the fifteenth at the conclusion of the Council; but some old copies are still to be found, which place them at the end of the sixth[3]: and Pope Pelagius says that, rightly considered, they form a part of it, since they have no particular date and the names of the Bishops present are not mentioned[4]. Having made this observation, of which the importance will be seen afterwards, we shall proceed with our account of the sessions of the Chalcedonian Council, according to the common editions.

A. D. 451. CH. XXIII.

[1] Ep. 3. tom. v. Conc. p. 629. D.

[2] Evagr. lib. 2. c. ult.

[3] ap. Baluz. Nov. Coll. p. 1282. [v. Ballerin. in Leon. Op. t. ii. p. 503.]

[4] tom. v. Conc. p. 630. B.

There are three dated on the twenty-sixth of October, which are reckoned as the seventh, eighth, and ninth. In the seventh session the magistrates said, "The Emperor, in "compliance with the prayer of the Bishops Maximus and "Juvenal, has ordered us to take cognizance of the matters "in dispute between them. They have had an interview, "and have made certain oral agreements with each other, "which they have communicated to us, and which we think "reasonable. We have thought it necessary that they should "inform the Council of them, in order that the whole may "be confirmed by your consent." Maximus of Antioch said, "The most reverend Bishop Juvenal and I, after a long "dispute, have agreed, that St. Peter's see of Antioch shall "have the two Phœnicias and Arabia, while that of Jeru-

XXIII. Seventh session. Agreement between Maximus and Juvenal.

A. D. 451. CH. XXIV. "salem shall have the three Palestines[1]. We desire that this "agreement may be confirmed in writing by the decree of "your Highness and of the holy Council." Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "I also agree that the holy Resurrection "of CHRIST shall have the three Palestines, and the see of "Antioch the two Phœnicias and Arabia; and I desire that "you will confirm this arrangement." The legates, Anatolius of Constantinople[2], and seven other Metropolitans, spoke in favour of this arrangement, the rest of the Bishops expressed their consent by acclamations, and the magistrates added their sanction[3]. The origin of this dispute was the attempt formerly made by Juvenal at the Council of Ephesus; which failed, as we before narrated[4], because St. Cyril opposed it.

[1 v. Bingh. ix. 2. § 7-9. Assem. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 594.]

[2] p. 616.

[3] p. 617.

[4] Supr. 25. 58.

XXIV. Eighth session. Theodoret restored.

The eighth session relates to Theodoret. The Bishops cried out[5], "Let Theodoret forthwith anathematize Nesto-"rius." Theodoret said, "I have presented some petitions "to the Emperor, and certain papers to the legates of Arch-"bishop Leo. If it is your pleasure, they shall be read to "you, and you will then learn what my opinions are." The Bishops cried out, "We do not want any thing to be read; "anathematize Nestorius." Theodoret said, "By GOD's "grace I was brought up among the orthodox, was taught "the orthodox doctrines, and have preached them; I reject "not only Nestorius and Eutyches, but every man who holds "what is heterodox[6]." The Bishops interrupted him with the exclamation, "Say plainly, Anathema to Nestorius and "his doctrines, anathema to Nestorius and his followers." Theodoret said, "Of a truth I say nothing but what I think "is pleasing to GOD. Be assured, first of all, that I feel no "anxiety to be restored to my city, or recover my dignity; "no! that is not what has brought me hither; but having "been aspersed, I am come to convince you that I am or-"thodox, and that I anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, and "all who affirm that there are two sons." The Bishops again interrupted him, shouting, "Say plainly, Anathema to "Nestorius and his followers." Theodoret replied, "I will "not say it, until I have explained my belief. I believe—" The Bishops again interrupted him with, "He is a heretic, "he is a Nestorian; away with the heretic." Theodoret

[5] p. 620.

[6] p. 622.

said, "Anathema to Nestorius, to all who refuse to call the "Virgin Mary 'Mother of GOD,' and all such as divide "the only-begotten SON into two sons. As for me, I have "subscribed the definition of Faith, and the most holy Arch- "bishop Leo's letter, and so I believe. Now I have said "this, GOD bless you." A. D. 451. CH. XXV.

The magistrates said, "There is no further difficulty in "reference to Theodoret. He has in our presence anathema- "tized Nestorius; he was received by the Archbishop Leo; "he has cheerfully accepted your definition of faith; and "lastly, subscribes Leo's letter. Nothing remains except to "decree that he be restored to his church, as Leo decided." All the Bishops cried out, "Theodoret is worthy of his see; "let him be restored to his Church: let the Church receive "its pastor, its orthodox doctor. Long live the Archbishop "Leo." The legates then expressed their opinion that Theodoret should be restored to his Church, as having fully vindicated himself. Anatolius of Constantinople said the same[1]. Maximus of Antioch added, "I was persuaded from "the first that he was orthodox, for I had frequently heard "him teach in the church." Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalas- sius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Photius of Tyre, and Constantine of Bostra, were all of the same opinion. All the Bishops shouted, "This is a just decision; this is CHRIST'S "decision: we all approve it." The magistrates said, "In "accordance with the decision of the Council, Theodoret "shall again be put in possession of his church at Cyrus." The Council compelled three other Bishops to anathematize Nestorius; namely, Sophronius of Constantia, John of Ger- manicia, and Amphilochius of Sida; and so ended the eighth session.

[1] p. 624.

XXV. The ninth and tenth sessions. The affair of Ibas.

In the ninth, which was held on the same day, Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, came into the Council, and said[2], "Having "been persecuted by Eutyches, and deposed, whilst I was at "a distance of forty day's-journeys, I addressed myself to the "Emperor, who has given orders that your Highness and the "holy Council should examine my cause. I beg therefore "that you will order the sentence passed by Photius and "Eustathius to be read. For Uranius, Bishop of Himeria, "being a devoted partizan of Eutyches, prevailed on some

[2] p. 625.

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"Clerks to accuse me, and managed to get himself nominated "as judge along with the Bishops whom I mentioned; yet "I was found innocent. I desire, therefore, that what took "place at Ephesus in my absence may be declared void, and "that I may be restored to my church[1]." The magistrates asked the Council what they thought of his statement, and the Pope's legates proposed to read the Acts of the trial, in which Ibas, as he himself asserted, had been acquitted.

[1] p. 628.

First of all, therefore, they read the sentence of arbitration given at Tyre[2] by Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, on the twenty-fifth of February, A.D. 448; from which it appeared that Ibas had explained his faith, and become reconciled to the clergy who had accused him. When this had been read, the judges adjourned the case to the next day[3]; probably because they saw there were several more documents to be read, and that it was now late.

[2] Supr. 27. 20.

[3] p. 632.

On the following day therefore, being the twenty-seventh of October[4], a tenth session was held[5] for determining the affair of Ibas. Ibas appeared in person, and renewed his complaints against Eutyches, who had got him conveyed away through forty successive stages, in the course of which he passed into the hands of twenty different guards, and all on the pretence that he had been deposed at the Council of Ephesus, though in fact he was absent at the time, and his cause had never been heard. The magistrates asked the Bishops their opinion; they declared that no one was ever condemned in his absence. Ibas said, "I beg your favour, "I was not there; I made no defence, I was not suffered to "speak." The Bishops cried out, "They did wrong to con- "demn him thus uncanonically. The proceedings against "an absent person are to be annulled; this is the opinion "we all hold." Patricius, Bishop of Tyana, said, "Yesterday "we heard the sentence of the arbitrators, who recognised "him as a Bishop; we all approve of that sentence." The Easterns exclaimed, "This is a just decision." But some of the Bishops cried out, "We protest against it; there are "some persons desirous of accusing the Bishop Ibas."

[4] 6 Kal. Nov.

[5] p. 633.

These were ordered to come in; they were four in number, Theophilus, a Deacon, Euphrasius, Antiochus, and Abraham. Theophilus said, "We desire that the proceedings against

"Ibas at Berytus may be read, you will then see that he was "justly deposed." After some discussion, the magistrates ordered them to be read. The first document was the commission given by the Emperor Theodosius to the Tribune Damascius[1], then the Acts of the trial held at Berytus[2], on the first of September, 448, in which Ibas had been acquitted. After this, the magistrates proposed to read that part of the Acts of the false Council of Ephesus which related to Ibas; but this the legates opposed, saying[3] that no regard ought to be paid to what was done in that Council, and that the Emperor ought to be petitioned to pass a law, depriving it even of the name of Council. The only exception, they said, was in the case of Maximus, Bishop of Antioch,—implying that his ordination was really independent of this so-called Council. Anatolius of Constantinople gave his opinion in the same way against the Council of Ephesus, with the reservation of what related to Maximus: "The more so," he adds, "be- "cause the most holy Bishop Leo, by receiving him to his "communion, judged that he ought to govern the Church of "Antioch." [The reason of the doubts intimated by this way of speaking was that] although the ordination of Maximus was not made by the authority of the Council, still it presupposed the validity of the deposition of Domnus, which *was* one of the Acts of that Council. Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, and eleven other Metropolitans[4], gave their opinions to the same effect, and the Bishops cried out, "We all say the same."

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[1] p. 637.
[2] Supr. 27. 21.
[3] p. 673.
[4] p. 676.

Then, without reading the Acts of Ephesus, the magistrates invited the Council to state their opinion about the affair of Ibas. Paschasinus, in the name of the legates, said, "On "the shewing of the papers which have been read, we "acknowledge him to be orthodox; it is therefore our "opinion that the honour of the episcopate should be re- "stored to him, as also the church from which he was so "unjustly ejected. As to the Bishop Nonnus, who was a "short time ago appointed in his stead, it is for the Bishop "of Antioch to consider what should be determined con- "cerning him." Anatolius of Constantinople spoke to the same purpose[5], and declared Ibas free from all suspicion, because he had subscribed St. Leo's letter. Maximus of

[5] p. 677.

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Antioch declared the letter of Ibas to be orthodox, and with regard to Nonnus, he said, "He shall continue in the episcopal "dignity until I have examined his case in company with "the Bishops of the province." The other Bishops concurred in this opinion, only demanding that Ibas should anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches. Ibas said[1], "I have "already anathematized Nestorius and his doctrine in writ- "ing, and I now anathematize him a thousand times; for "one has no difficulty in doing that a thousand times, which "can once be done heartily and on conviction. Anathema "therefore to Nestorius, to Eutyches, and to all who affirm "one nature only. I also anathematize all who do not be- "lieve as the holy Council does." The magistrates said, "The decisions of the holy Council about Ibas shall be en- "forced." Thus ended the tenth session.

[1] p. 681. B.

We next come to a document which contains the discussion of Domnus's case; the old copies attach it to the seventh session; it is extant only in a Latin version[2]. It relates that Maximus of Antioch desired the magistrates and Council to allow a charge on the revenues of the Church of Antioch, for supplying a pension to Domnus his predecessor; this was accordingly granted him, the amount of the pension being left to his discretion. It is not known how far this permission was carried into effect, for Domnus had resigned the episcopate and retired to his old monastery in order to be near St. Euthymius; and neither he, nor any one on his behalf, appeared at the Council of Chalcedon[x].

[2] v. Quesn. Diss. ix. in Leon., et Baluz. Præf. in Conc. Chalc. c. 32.

[x] Most of the difficulties connected with this document will disappear if we suppose that Domnus retired from Ephesus immediately after his deposition, leaving friend and enemy equally ignorant of his destination. This would be only natural in one who was so full of remorse as he was; for he returned to St. Euthymius, we are told, "with "his heart full piteously torn and rent, "and wailing bitterly," (Coteler. Mon. Eccl. Gr. t. ii. p. 247).

Let us, then, look at a few of the results of this supposition: 1. Buried in the deserts of Judæa, Domnus would leave as real a vacancy in the Church of Antioch as if he were actually dead; and this was probably the ground on which St. Leo confirmed the ordination of Maximus, to which there were otherwise many objections. 2. Since the sequel of his history, though preserved in the neighbourhood of his Lavra, was for ages unknown even in the neighbouring Greek Churches, we need not be surprised at finding that both Justinian in his Confession (Labbe, t. v. p. 717. D.), and the fifth general Council (*Ib.* p. 546), speak of him as actually dead at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. 3. We can thus account for the *actio* mentioned in the text, which, on the supposition of his death, must be rejected as a forgery. It was not known what had become of him; but the maxim, "De non apparentibus et non

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XXVI. Eleventh and twelfth sessions. Bassian and Stephen of Ephesus.

The eleventh session was held on the twenty-ninth of October[1]. Bassian, who had been Bishop of Ephesus, came into the Council, attended by the Priest Cassian, and desired that a petition which he had presented to the Emperor, and which the Emperor had referred to the Council, might be read. It complained that he had been violently dispossessed of his see[2]. The magistrates asked Bassian to produce the names of those who were involved in his accusation[3]. He replied, "There are several of them, but they are headed by "Stephen, now Bishop of Ephesus; he detains my see and "my estate." The magistrates ordered Stephen to answer for himself, and he said, "The Bishops of the province of "Asia are here; let them come and I will defend myself." The magistrates said, "In the mean time, do you make an- "swer." Stephen said, "This man was never ordained at "Ephesus, but the Church being vacant, he got together a "troop of gladiators and other armed men, with whom he "made his entry and took his seat. After he had been "canonically ejected and most deservedly expelled, forty "Bishops of Asia ordained me upon the suffrages of the "nobles, people, clergy, and city. I have now been fifty "years among the clergy of Ephesus."

[1] p. 684.
[2] p. 685.
[3] p. 688.

Bassian replied, "From my youth I lived only for the poor; "I built an almshouse with seventy beds in it, in which I "received all the sick and wounded. The Bishop Memnon "was jealous of this because I was beloved by every body, "and he did every thing in his power to get me expelled "from the city. He laid his hands on me to ordain me "Bishop of Evasa; I was unwilling to accept the see: he

"existentibus eadem est ratio," though the rule in formal proceedings was not the rule in a case of charity. He had withdrawn for the present; but, for aught that was known, distress might soon drive him back to the city, and it was not fitting that one who had filled so great a see should die in penury. 4. Our supposition falls in with the indeterminate way in which provision is made for him. It is evidently made for a mere contingency: no sum is mentioned as in the case of Bassian and Stephen (infr. c. 26); and the whole is referred to the future consideration of Maximus. Hence we may explain why the *actio* is found in so few copies of the Acts—only in two Latin MSS., while it is, absent from all the Greek, and from Liberatus who translated from copies existing at Alexandria. The provision being in itself hypothetical, and being in fact never called into operation by the appearance of Domnus, was omitted from the very first in some copies, and in others allowed to drop through. In such a case its existence in two good MSS. (v. Ballerin., t. ii. p. 1218), proves more in its favour than its absence from all the rest does against it.

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"held me before the Altar from the third hour to noon, and "treated me with such severity, that the Gospel and Altar were "covered with my blood. I never went to Evasa, nor have "I ever seen the town. On the death of Memnon, Basil "was ordained. He assembled the provincial Council, and "having ascertained the violence I had suffered, they or- "dained another Bishop to Evasa, and restored me to their "communion, with the rank of Bishop. At length Basil "died too, and I, against my inclination, and with great "violence, was placed in the see of Ephesus by the people, "clergy, and Bishops, one of whom, Olympius, is here [1] p. 689. "present. My election was confirmed by the Emperor[1]. "I came to Constantinople, and communicated with Pro- "clus, who afterwards sent me his synodical letters. Thus "I continued for four years, during which I ordained ten "Bishops and several clerks. The Emperor sent a Silentiary "with letters speaking of the peace of the Church; on the "next day, as I came out from Divine Service, they seized "me, placed me in confinement, disrobed me of the sacerdotal "habit, and carried off every thing I had about me; they "then took one of their own body, (this Stephen here,) and "made him Bishop."

Stephen said, "The Bishops are here, let them come for- "ward and depose to the truth. He entered the church with "gladiators, with swords and torches, and placed himself in "the see; and for this reason he was expelled by the most "holy Leo of Rome, the most blessed Flavian of Constanti- "nople, and the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. Hence "it was that the Emperor Theodosius sent Eustathius, the "Chief-Silentiary, to judge between him and the poor, whom "he had injured. Eustathius came to Ephesus, and remained "there three months, investigating the matter."

[2] p. 692. The magistrates said[2], "Let Bassian shew whether he was "established Bishop of Ephesus by the Council of Bishops, "and after the usual form of ordination." Bassian said, "I "was never Bishop of Evasa, I never went thither; the name "of Bishop was forced upon me." Stephen demanded that the canons against translations should be read, which was accordingly ordered by the magistrates; and Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, read the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth

canons, which are the sixteenth and seventeenth of the Council of Antioch[1]. The first inflicts a penalty on any Bishop without a see, who shall occupy a vacant church, even though he should pretend that he was forced to it [by the people:] the second declares the Bishop to be excommunicated who does not go to the church to which he has been ordained. A. D. 451. CH. XXVI. [1] Fleury, 12. 12.

The magistrates said, "Let Bassian shew who appointed "him Bishop." He could only name Olympius, Bishop of Theodosiopolis. Olympius, on being interrogated, said, "After "the death of Basil, I was residing in my own city; the "clergy of Ephesus wrote to me, to come and ordain a "Bishop; I accordingly went thither, supposing that other "Bishops had been summoned[2]. After I had waited three "days in my hotel, some of the clergy came to me, saying, "'The other Bishops are not here, what is to be done?' "I told them, 'It is contrary to the canons that a single "'Bishop should dispose of a church, especially of so famous "'a metropolis.' As I said this, an immense crowd sur- "rounded the house; I did not know where I was; they "took me by force, and carried me to the church; one of "them, an officer named Holosericus, held his naked sword "in his hand. In this manner two or three hundred men "carried me to the episcopal seat with Bassian, and he was "enthroned." Bassian said, "It is false." The magistrates asked the clergy of Constantinople, if Proclus had communicated with Bassian as Bishop of Ephesus. They all said, "Yes; he gave him synodical letters, and placed his name "in the diptychs." [2] p. 693.

The magistrates then asked Stephen how Bassian was deposed, and if he had been himself ordained by the Council. He repeated what he had said before, that Bassian had been deposed by the authority of the Emperor Theodosius and of the Pope Leo; for the rest, he excused himself for not having the proofs of his ordination ready, on the plea that he had not foreseen the matter would take this turn, since he had supposed it settled once for all [by the Silentiary[3].] Lucian, Bishop of Byza, and Meliphthongus, Bishop of Heliopolis, came forward and said, in the name of all the Bishops of the neighbouring sees, that Bassian had been [3] p. 696.

A. D. 451. CH. XXVI. expelled contrary to the canons, not having been tried or accused, after four years of peaceable possession. Stephen again repeated[1] that the Pope Leo had condemned him, and as he had before alleged, that Flavian had condemned him[2], Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said to him, "Sir Stephen, "how powerful is Flavian, even after death!" meaning to reproach him with having condemned Flavian at Ephesus. All the Bishops and clergy of Constantinople said, "It is "truly so; everlasting remembrance to Flavian. Lo! here "is retribution: lo! here is truth. Flavian lives after his "death; the Martyr will pray for us."

[1] p. 697.
[2] p. 689, C.

The magistrates asked the Council what their opinion was; the Bishops cried out, "Justice requires Bassian; "let the canons be observed." The magistrates said, "It "seems to us, that neither party merits to be Bishop of "Ephesus: not Bassian, because he intruded by violence; "not Stephen, because he got in by cabal and artifice: we "think, therefore, that another Bishop should be elected. "But we leave the whole matter to the determination of "the Council." The Council adopted this view of the case, and cried out, "This is a just decision; this decision is of "GOD; you observe the canons and the laws."

The Bishops of Asia fell prostrate before the Council, and said[3], "Have pity on us and our children. If a Bishop be "ordained here, our children will be put to death, and the "city is ruined." We are to understand that the greater part of these Bishops were married, and that they apprehended a riot would follow at Ephesus, if a Bishop should be sent thither who had been elected at Chalcedon. The magistrates asked where the Bishop of Ephesus ought to be ordained according to the canons. The Bishops said, "In the "province[4]." Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "It usually takes place "here[5]; if the Bishop had been ordained at Constantinople, "these untoward events would not have happened. Persons "of no abilities[6] are ordained there; and hence arises all this "disorder." He considers Chalcedon and Constantinople on account of their proximity as the same place. Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, said, "From the time of St. Timothy to "this present, there have been twenty-seven Bishops; they "were all ordained at Ephesus. Basil was the only person

[3] p. 700.

[4 ἐπαρχίᾳ]
[5 τὸ ἔθος ὧδε ἔχει.]
[6 σαλμαγαρίους]

"ordained here, and that was by violence; and occasioned A. D. 451.
"some bloodshed." Philip, Priest of Constantinople, said, CH. XXVI.
"The holy Bishop John deposed fifteen Bishops, when he
"went into Asia, and ordained others in their place[1]. Memnon [1] supr. 21.6.
"was confirmed here. Heraclides and others were ordained
"with the consent of our Archbishop. In the same manner
"the blessed Proclus ordained Basil." The magistrates seeing that this was a question requiring some examination put it off to the next day.

On the following day[2], therefore, they held the twelfth [2] p. 701.
session, in order to decide the case. The magistrates said,
"Our constant attendance at the Council has made public
"business accumulate; wishing, then, to arrive at a speedy
"solution of our difficulties, we beg you to inform us whether
"you have gained any new light about the affair of Ephesus."
Anatolius said, "It is my opinion, that neither of them ought
"to be Bishop of that city; but that a third should be ap-
"pointed because these have intruded contrary to the canons.
"They will of course retain the rank of Bishops, and be
"maintained at the expense of the Church." The legates gave their support to this opinion. The magistrates ordered the Gospel to be brought, and conjured the Bishops to decide this affair according to their conscience. Anatolius of Constantinople repeated his opinion[3], as also did the legates; they [3] p. 704.
were followed by Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal, Thalassius, and eight other Bishops who spoke severally, while the rest expressed their consent by general acclamation[4]. Then the [4] p. 705.
magistrates, in execution of the sentence of the Council, pronounced that Bassian and Stephen should be deprived of the see of Ephesus, retaining however the dignity of Bishops, and receiving annually out of the revenues of that Church, for their necessary and comfortable subsistence[5], two hundred sols of gold[6]; (amounting to about sixteen hundred livres of our money[7];) and that another Bishop should be ordained according to the canons.

[5] τροφῆς ἕνεκα καὶ παραμυθίας]

[6] ἀνὰ διακοσίους χρυσίνους]

[7] As five *aurei* were the legal tender for a pound of silver, we may consider this stipend as equal to forty pounds of silver, or (supr. 26. 15. note z) about 119*l.* 5*s.* in current silver. We learn from Novell. Justin., cxxiii. 3, that the value of bishoprics varied from above thirty pounds of gold to below two pounds; or (one pound of gold being coined into seventy-two aurei) from above 1288*l.* to below 85*l.* 17*s.*

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On the same day, a thirteenth session was held, in which the petition of Eunomius of Nicomedia was read[1]. He complained that Anastasius of Nicæa had encroached on the rights of his metropolis; and that he had excommunicated some of the clergy belonging to the church of Basilinopolis[2].

XXVII. Thirteenth session. Regulation between Nicomedia and Nicæa.

Anastasius denied both facts, and said, "Basilinopolis is a "dependency[3] of Nicæa, like many other cities. An Em- "peror, either Julian or some other, made a city of it, and "placed magistrates in it, who were taken from Nicæa." It was in truth the Emperor Julian, who was desirous of paying honour to the city, for the sake of his mother Basilina[4]. Anastasius continued, "Since that time the Bishop of Nicæa has "twice ordained Bishops there[5]. Some letters are still pre- "served, in which the blessed John, Bishop of Constantinople, "commissions the Bishop of Nicæa to go and regulate that "Church, as belonging to him. I have letters to Proclus." Eunomius answered[6], "Probably the see of Nicomedia hap- "pened to be at that time vacant, and it was necessary to "have recourse to the Nicæan. For my part, I can prove "that many have been ordained by the Bishop of Nicomedia; "I can produce certain decrees of the citizens of Basilino- "polis, in which they requested him to send them a Bishop."

The magistrates ordered the canons to be read, and they read the fourth of Nicæa, which provides that the ordinations of each province should be made by the authority of the Metropolitan. Anastasius attempted to shew that he was the Metropolitan, by virtue of a law of the Emperor Valens, which assigned a metropolitical rank to Nicæa, but at the same time expressly states that this was no new grant, since it had possessed the right before; a clause however is added, that the rights of all others should remain intact. Eunomius, on his side, read a law of Valentinian, of later date than the preceding, which enacts[7] that the honorary title of metropolis, given to Nicæa, should not be any way prejudicial to the privileges of Nicomedia. When these had been recited, the magistrates said, "These laws do not speak "of Bishops, but only of the honour of the cities: that of "Valens, while it assigns to Nicæa the rights of a metropolis, "declares expressly that it takes nothing away from other "cities; the canon decrees that there shall be but one Me-

[1] p. 708.
[2] p. 709. D.
[3] ὑπογεῶν]
[4] Fleury, 11. 43.
[5] C. Calch. p. 712.
[6] p. 713.
[7] p. 716.

"tropolitan in each province; what does the Council say A. D. 451.
"concerning all this?" The Council cried out, "Let the CH. XXVIII.
"canons be observed."

The Bishops of Pontus said, "The canons recognise only "one Metropolitan; it is plain that the ordinations belong to "the Bishop of Nicomedia. The laws assign to Nicæa only "the name of metropolis and to its Bishop the first rank "among his Comprovincials." The Archdeacon Aëtius desired that this proceeding might be in no way prejudicial to the see of Constantinople, which, he asserted, either immediately held, or by its authority superintended, ordinations in Bithynia. The magistrates gave sentence thus: "The "Bishop of Nicomedia shall have the authority of Metro- "politan in the Churches of Bithynia, he of Nicæa[1] having [1] p. 717.
"an honorary precedence only, and being subject, like the "other Bishops of the province, to him of Nicomedia; this "is the opinion of the Council. As to the right of the see "of Constantinople to ordain in the provinces, this shall be "inquired into in its own place."

The fourteenth session was held on the following day, XXVIII.
October 31. A petition was read, which had been presented Fourteenth Session.
to the Emperor by Sabinian, Bishop of Perrha in Syria; it Case of Sabinian and Athanasius.
ran thus: "I lived from my boyhood in a large monastery, [2] p. 720. C.
"in which I held the office of steward[2], thinking of any thing "rather than of being made Bishop. But the Metropolitan, "attended by the Bishops of the province, paid us a sudden "visit, and ordained me Bishop of Perrha, from which see "Athanasius had been deposed for his crimes. At the "Council of Ephesus the Bishop of Alexandria sent him "back to my church, and I was ejected, whilst the inha- "bitants of the city lamented and bewailed my departure. "I demand that justice be done me." They also read a petition[3], to the same effect, directed to the Archbishops Leo, [3] p. 721.
Anatolius, Maximus, and the whole Council.

Athanasius said that the case had been heard and decided by St. Cyril and Proclus, and that it was not until after St. Cyril's death that Domnus of Antioch had made up his mind to renew the prosecution. They read two synodical letters[4] to Domnus, [4] p. 724.
one from St. Cyril and the other from Proclus, containing substantially the same account;—that Athanasius had com-

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plained to the Council of Constantinople about some of his clergy, who wished to dismiss the Stewards of the church to make way for others of their own choosing, and who attempted to erase his name out of the Church registers. As Athanasius had objected to being tried by his Metropolitan, St. Cyril and Proclus desired that Domnus would appoint commissioners to judge him on the spot, in case the city were at any great distance from Antioch. They did no more than *recommend* the course to be pursued, because they possessed no jurisdiction in the Patriarchate of Antioch; and they admitted, that on the Metropolitan's being objected to, the cognizance of the matter devolved of course upon the Patriarch; but that, if prevented by distance, he ought to send delegates to the place.

[1] p. 728. D. Sabinian[1], on his side, demanded that they should read the Acts of a Council held at Antioch, in which Domnus, at the head of twenty-eight Bishops, had tried Athanasius's cause. It appeared from these Acts that Domnus had referred the [2] p. 729. matter to Panolbius[2], who was at that time Bishop of Hierapolis and Athanasius's Metropolitan. Though Athanasius admitted that Panolbius was a personal friend of his, he could not summon courage to submit his case to him, but resigned the Bishopric in his presence by a deed, of which the original was now produced; he then retired to an estate which he had [3] p. 736. in the country of Samosata[3]. The Bishops of the Council of Antioch declared that he had made a false report to Proclus and Cyril. They then read the formal complaints against him, which were full of scandalous facts, and certain papers which proved that, having been summoned by the Council three times, he had refused to come and defend himself. On these grounds, therefore, they divested him of the Priesthood, and directed John, Bishop of Hierapolis, to proceed immediately to the election of a Bishop of Perrha.

When these Acts of the Council of Antioch had been read at Chalcedon, the magistrates said, "If any of those, who "assisted Domnus to depose Athanasius, be present in the "Council, let them come forward." Theodorus of Damascus and six others presented themselves. The magistrates asked them what reasons they had for deposing Athanasius. Theo- [4] p. 752. dorus answered[4], "Some of the clergy belonging to the Church

"of Perrha lodged certain complaints against him; being A. D. 451.
"summoned, he refused to appear, alleging that he feared CH. XXIX.
"foul-play. He was again summoned, but still kept aloof.
"When after a third summons he was not forthcoming, sen-
"tence of deposition was pronounced against him according
"to the canons." The other six Bishops confirmed this statement. The magistrates asked Athanasius why he had not made his appearance at the Council of Antioch. "Be-
"cause," said he, "the Bishop of Antioch, who presided
"there, was my enemy."

The magistrates said[1], "Our opinion is, that Sabinian ought [1] p. 753.
"to remain Bishop of Perrha, since he was ordained by the
"provincial Council after Athanasius's deposition, and that
"he ought not to suffer any damage from a sentence which
"was passed against him without his being summoned or
"heard in his defence. Athanasius, on the other hand, was
"deposed for contumacy, and therefore a mere party order[2] like [2 ἐκ μιᾶς μοίρας κεκενσθείς]
"that of Dioscorus was insufficient to restore him; he ought,
"for the present, to remain quiet. Maximus, Bishop of An-
"tioch, shall assemble his Council and there take cognizance
"of the charges brought against Athanasius, so that his trial
"be ended in eight months. If he be found guilty on all
"the counts, both criminal and civil, or on any one of them
"which be such as deserve deposition, he shall not only be
"divested of the episcopate, but shall also incur the penalties
"of the laws. If, within this limited period, he neither be
"prosecuted nor convicted, he shall be restored to his see by
"Maximus of Antioch; and Sabinian shall retain the epis-
"copal dignity, and act as coadjutor[3], with a pension which [3 ὑποκατάστατος]
"shall be fixed by Maximus, according to the means of the
"Church of Perrha." Maximus, and the whole Council, acquiesced in this suggestion offered by the magistrates.

On the same day, being the last of October, the fifteenth session was held, at which neither the magistrates nor legates were present; for after the formula of Faith had been agreed to, and the private business brought before the Council had been despatched, the clergy of Constantinople asked the legates to join them in discussing an affair concerning their Church. This they refused, saying that they had received no instructions about it[4]. They made the same proposal to the magis- [4] p. 796. C.

XXIX. Fifteenth Session. Canons.

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trates, and these referred the matter to the Council. When the magistrates and legates, therefore, had retired, the rest of the Council made a canon respecting the prerogatives of the Church of Constantinople, which is reckoned the twenty-eighth. The Greeks afterwards tacked on to it all the other canons made by this Council; which in the old copies are placed after the sixth session. I will here give an account of the canons as they are found in the common editions.

[1] p. 756.

The first[1] ratifies the canons made up to that time in the various Councils[z]. The second is against Simony[y] in these terms: "If any Bishop ordain for a sum of money, or make "the unpurchaseable grace a matter of sale, so as to ordain "Bishop, Rural Bishop[3], Priest, Deacon, or other clerk, or if "for a sum of money he promote any one to the office of "steward, defender, sexton[a], or to any other canonical office, "he who ordains shall be liable to the forfeiture of his "dignity, and he who is ordained or promoted shall derive "no benefit from this intended purchase; and the negotiator "of this infamous traffic, if a clerk, shall be deposed, if a "layman or monk, anathematized." By the third canon, the Council forbids all Bishops, clerks, or monks, to farm lands or undertake the charge of secular affairs, except when the guardianship of a minor devolves upon them by law, from which they cannot be excused, or when the Bishop commits to them the care of the church or of the afflicted[b]. This is

[z Supr. 21. 6. l.]

[3 χωρεπίσκοπος.]

[z] *i. e.* All contained in the Codex above-mentioned (c. 18), comprising the canons of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, Antioch (A.D. 341), Laodicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus. Those of Sardica were absent from the Codex of the Eastern Church, as those of Antioch were from that of the Western.

[a] Παραμονάριος, Lat. *mansionarius.* It has been taken to mean a bailiff who looked after the *manse*, glebe, and other Church property. The rendering in the text suits better the duties assigned him of preparing the chrism for consecration, ringing the bells (v. Dufresne, *s. v.*), opening the church, and lighting the candles, (Joan. Diac. vit. S. Greg. l. iii. c. 58).

[b] The Apostolic rule is "No man "that warreth entangleth himself in "the affairs of this life," (2 Tim. ii. 4). "If this be true of all Christians," says St. Cyprian, "how much more of the "clergy, whose occupation lies among "divine and spiritual things" (Ep. 1, (al. 66) ad Furnit.); and therefore he decides that Victor, who had left the priest Faustinus guardian to his children, should be deprived of the privilege of the faithful—no offering and deprecation were to be made in his name. Elsewhere (De Lapsis, p. 123, ed. Oxon.) St. Cyprian inveighs against the worldliness of many Bishops who "left their Cathedra, abandoned their "people, and roamed into foreign provinces in quest of gainful traffic," and to increase their already superabundant wealth. This last circumstance is important as shewing that it was not the mere fact of secular employment, but the motive, that was condemned, as in this canon of Chal-

very nearly the same as the second of the three articles which were read at the sixth session in the Emperor's presence[1]. The fourth canon is the first of these articles; it enjoins an entire subjection of the monks in each city to their Bishops, and orders them [to give themselves up to fasting and prayers, and] not to interfere with either ecclesiastical or secular business[c].

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[1] Supr. c. 22.

"Monasteries once consecrated under the authority of the "Bishop, shall remain such for ever after: their revenues shall "be secured to them, and it shall not be lawful to convert "them into common dwelling-houses[2]. Every cathedral "church shall have a steward elected from among the local "clergy, to administer its revenues under the direction of "the Bishop; that the distribution of them being no longer "secret, the church property may not be squandered away,

[2] can. 24.

cedon (διὰ αἰσχροκερδίαν, διὰ φιλαργυρίαν). Hence as Bingham observes, there were three cases which did not fall under the censure of the laws: 1. When the Church revenues were inadequate to the maintenance of the clergy. The fourth Council of Carthage even enjoins the clergy to earn food and clothing by some handicraft or by agriculture (can. 51, 52, 53, Labbe, t. ii. p. 1204); and this was so recognised a practice that a special immunity was granted them by law, when obliged to support themselves by trade; (supr. xxiii. 4. b.) 2. If their leisure hours were spent in work, that they might not be burdensome to the Church, or might be able to relieve the indigent; nothing was more common than this, even with Bishops and priests, who had a right "to live of the Gospel;" v. Epiphan. Hær. 80. Constit. Apost. l. ii. c. 63 (Labbe, t. i. p. 304) and the notable instance of Zeno of Majuma, ap. Sozom. vii. 28. 3. When the occupation of earlier years was retained out of humility. Spiridion, one of the most eminent Bishops of the Nicæan Council, remained a shepherd all his life: Socrat. i. 12; Sozom. i. 11. These were all allowable, if not commendable; but the money-making clergyman was viewed only with the intense disgust embodied in St. Jerome's "Negotiato-"rem Clericum quasi quandam pestem "fuge." Ep. 34. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 260.

[c] This canon contemplated (1.) partly the large monasteries, which it places under the inspection of the Bishops as the *perpetual* guardians of the Church; providing in some degree against those declensions in piety, which are apt to creep over flourishing communities when the impulse of early zeal is departed: (2.) but mainly, the irregular monks, who either, like Barsumas and Theodosius, wandered over the country, scattering the sparks of sedition and anarchy, or else, like the self-styled Archimandrites, supr. c. 18, got an oratory or a martyr's chapel built, and settling down on it, free, as they supposed, from episcopal control, became so many foci of schism. Subsequent Councils, as those of Agde (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1387. can. 27), Lerida (p. 1611. can. 3), and, according to Gratian, Arles (p. 1624), renewed this canon, and it was confirmed by Justinian, Cod. I. tit. 3. leg. 40. At what time the system of *exemptions* was introduced is not known. Fleury speaks of the third Council of Arles as exhibiting the first trace of it, (infr. xxix. 19); but the earliest express notices of it are, perhaps, those in the petition of the Abbot Peter, ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1646, (cf. p. 1785.) In St. Gregory's time things were so altered that it was necessary to defend the monasteries against the encroachments of the Bishops: v. Greg. M., lib. i. Ep. 12. ii. 41. vi. 29. viii. 13 (ed. Bened.) Conc. Rom. III. ap. Labbe, t. v. p. 1607. Cf. note e.

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"nor the Priesthood subjected to insult[d 1]." The clergy are forbidden, on pain of canonical deposition[2], to seize on the effects of their Bishop after his decease.

[1] can. 26.
[2] can. 22.

"The ordination of Bishops shall take place within three "months, (unless the Metropolitan is obliged to defer it by "some unavoidable necessity,) and the revenues of the vacant "church shall be preserved by the steward[3]. Bishops are "prohibited on pain of deposition from applying to men in "power, or procuring letters from the Prince, in order to "divide a province[4] in two and so have two Metropolitans in "one province. As to the cities which have already been "honoured with the title of metropolis, let them enjoy the "honour only, without prejudice to the rights of the true "metropolis[5]." This canon was evidently called forth by the disputes between the Bishops of Tyre and Berytus, of Nicomedia and Nicæa[6].

[3] can. 25.
[4 ἐπαρχίαν.]
[5] can. 12.
[6] Supr. c. 19, 27.

As the holding of Councils has been neglected, to the detriment of ecclesiastical affairs, the Council decreed according to the canons[7], that the Bishops of every province should meet twice a year in a place selected by the Metropolitans; and that the Bishops who should absent themselves, being in their cities, in health, and having no unavoidable hindrance, should be brotherly admonished[8]. "The clergy and laity "shall not be allowed to accuse Bishops or clergy indis-"criminately, and without examination first made as to the "character of such accusers[9]. Country parishes shall remain "in the hands of those Bishops who have had peaceable pos-"session of them for thirty years[1]. If any dispute should "arise on this point, it may be discussed before a provincial "Council; and if any one complains of wrong done to him "by his Metropolitan, he shall be judged by the Exarch of the "diocese, or by the see of Constantinople. If any new city is "erected by the authority of the Emperor, the order of the "ecclesiastical parishes shall follow the form of the political "government[2]."

[7 C. Nicæn. can. 5.]
[8] can. 19.
[9] can. 21.
[cf. C. Constant. can. 6.]
[1 Supr. 27. 37. u.]
[2] can. 17.

"If one clerk have a dispute with another, he shall not "leave his Bishop and run off to secular tribunals, but he "shall first lay his case before the Bishop, or else at the dis-

[d] Supr. xxvii. 2. One of the charges brought against St. Chrysostom at The Oak related to this point, xxi. 18.

"cretion of the Bishop, before one whom both parties shall "agree to, and all this on pain of suffering the canonical "penalties. If a clerk have a dispute with his own or any "other Bishop, he shall bring his suit before the provincial "Council. If a Bishop or clerk be at variance with his "Metropolitan, he shall resort either to the Exarch of the "diocese, or to the see of Constantinople[1]." [1] can. 9.

No one, either Priest, or Deacon, or possessed of any ecclesiastical rank, shall be ordained without a title[2], that is, unless he be specially appointed to a church in the city or country, or to a monastery. All ordinations without title shall be void, and those who have received ordination of such a kind shall not be allowed to officiate anywhere in contempt of those who ordained them[3]. It is not lawful for a clerk to be at the same time on the clergy-rolls of two cities, namely, of that to which he was first ordained, and of another more important one to which from ambition he has removed. Those who attempt to do so shall be returned to their first church. If however any one shall have been already translated to another church, he shall take no part in business relating to the former, or to the oratories and hospitals dependant on it, on pain of deposition[4]. The ancient canons shall be observed with regard to Bishops and clerks who remove from one city to another[5]. Here they insert the third article, read at the sixth session, which is almost the same as the foregoing[6]. [2 ἀπολελυμένου. cf. supr. 19. 57, r.] [3] can. 6. [4] can. 10. [v. Bingh. vi. 4. § 8.] [5] can. 5. [6] can. 20. supr. c. 22.

"Those who have once been admitted among the clergy "or into the monastic profession, can never afterwards be "employed in any military or secular capacity, on pain of "anathema[7]. We have been informed, that certain of the "clergy and monks without authority from their Bishop, "and sometimes even after they have been excommunicated, "come to Constantinople, and remain there a long time, "raising tumults, and disturbing the peace of the Church "and of private families; wherefore the Council decrees that "they shall be first admonished by the Defender of the "Church of Constantinople to withdraw from the city, and "if they insolently persist in the same practices, he shall "expel them by force, and make them return to their several "places of abode[8]." All these canons against vagrant and [7] can. 7. [8] can. 23.

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seditious monks were made on account of Barsumas, Carosus, and the other supporters of Eutyches and Dioscorus.

The same reason may be assigned for the following canons. "Foreign or unknown clerks shall not officiate in another
[1] can. 13. "city, without letters of recommendation from their Bishop[1]. "The poor, who need assistance, should travel only with
[2] can. 11. "pacific[2] ecclesiastical letters, to be granted after an examina-
[εἰρηνικοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς] "tion of their case; letters commendatory[3] should be given "only to persons of distinction[4]. Conspiracies and cabals
[3 συστατικοῖς] "being crimes prohibited by the secular laws, ought to be
[4 τοῖς ἐν ὑπολήψει Lat. personis quæ sunt suspectæ.] "much more so in the Church: if therefore any clerks or "monks be found conspiring against their Bishops or their "brother clerks, let them be deposed[5]. The clergy of "hospitals and monasteries[6] must submit, according to the
[5] can. 18. "tradition of the Fathers, to the power of the Bishop in each "city, without rebelling against him: those who subvert this "ordinance in any manner whatsoever, will do so at the peril "of canonical correction if clerks, and of excommunication
[6] can. 8. "if monks or laymen[6]."

"As readers and chanters are allowed in some provinces to
[7] can. 14. "marry[7]," the Council decrees that "they shall not take to "wife one who is not orthodox, and [those who have heretofore "contracted such an alliance] shall not baptize their children "among the heretics, nor marry them to heretics, Jews, or "pagans, unless these promise to become converts." It is observable that readers were not allowed to marry in all the provinces, as they are now. "No Deaconess[8] shall be ordained
[8 Supr. 26. 51. m.] "under forty years of age, and that only after a strict ex-"amination. If, after having received the imposition of "hands and waited some time on the ministry, she gives "herself away in marriage, since she has done despite to the "grace of GOD, she and her husband shall both be anathe-
[9] can. 15. "matized[9]. Virgins consecrated to GOD, and monks, shall "not marry, on pain of excommunication; but the Bishop

[6] That is, the chaplains to hospitals and monasteries. Even when any of the monks were in holy orders, the Sacraments were not usually dispensed by them but by a priest ordained to the monastery as a title. The Bishops however claimed jurisdiction not only over these but over all the clerical monks in their diocese. St. Jerome's peremptory denial of this claim is well known (Ep. 38. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 332, 3): on the other hand the third Council of Arles decided that while the lay monks were subject only to their Abbot, the ordained monks owed obedience to their Bishop as well. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1024.)

"[of the place] shall have [a discretionary] power to miti- A. D. 451.
"gate their sentence[1]. Those who are guilty of abduction, CH. XXX.
"though under the pretext of marriage, together with their [1] can. 16.
"aiders and abettors, shall if clerks be deposed, if laymen
"anathematized[2]." Such are the twenty-seven canons of [2] can. 27.
the Council of Chalcedon, received by the whole Church.

XXX. Prerogatives of Constantinople.

The twenty-eighth, which afterwards made so much noise, assigns the second rank to the Church of Constantinople in these terms. "The Fathers with good reason granted to the "see of ancient Rome its high privileges, because it was the "reigning city; by the same consideration the hundred and "fifty Bishops were induced to decide[3] that new Rome, the [3] Conc. Constant. can. 3. supr. 18. 7. "honoured seat of empire and the residence of the senate, "should possess equal privileges in ecclesiastical matters, and "be second in rank: so that only the Metropolitans of "Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and the Bishops of those "dioceses which lie among the barbarians, shall be ordained "by the see of Constantinople, on his receiving a notification "that a canonical election has taken place; but it must be "understood that each Metropolitan of these dioceses shall "along with his Comprovincials ordain the Bishops of the "province according to the canons." Here the word diocese must be taken in its widest sense, as comprehending several provinces[4]. [4] Supr. 18. 7.

The twenty-ninth canon provides that a Bishop should never be reduced to the degree of Priest; as the Pope's legates and Anatolius of Constantinople had said, in the fourth session[5], in reference to the Bishops who had been [5] Supr. c. 19. ordained by Photius of Tyre and deposed by Eustathius of Berytus. The last canon[6] allows the Bishops of Egypt to [6] can. 30. defer their subscription to St. Leo's letter, until a Bishop of Alexandria should be elected; as had been ruled in the fourth session[7]. These are the thirty canons attributed to [7] Supr. c. 17. the Council of Chalcedon.

The sixteenth and last session was held on the following day[8], November 1. The Pope's legates directed Paschasinus [8] p. 792. to address the following remonstrance to the magistrates[9]: [9] p. 795. "Yesterday, after you and ourselves had withdrawn, some-"thing, we are told, was transacted which we consider to be "opposed to the canons; we desire it may be read, that all

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" our brethren may see whether it be just, or not." The magistrates ordered it to be read, but Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, interposed and said, "It is acknowledged " that what regards the faith was definitively settled, but it is " the custom of Councils, after the most important matters " have been decided, to examine and decide other points that " require to be adjusted. We, that is, the Church of Constan- " tinople, had certain matters that required to be discussed: " we asked the Bishops who are come from Rome to take " part in the inquiry; they declined, on the plea that they " had no directions about it; you then ordered the Council " to consider the affair. When you had withdrawn, the " Bishops rose and demanded that it should be dealt with as " a matter of public concern. An account of what took place " is given in this Act, which was not drawn up clandestinely[1] " or by stealth, but in due form and canonically." The magistrates ordered it to be read: Aetius presented the paper, and Beronician the secretary read it. It was the twenty-eighth canon just referred to, and was subscribed by a hundred and eighty-four Bishops.

[1 ἐν παραβύστῳ]

Then Lucentius, one of the legates, said[2], "observe, first of " all, that the Bishops were taken by surprise and forced into " subscribing, before the canons here mentioned were written " out." The Bishops shouted "No one was forced." Lucentius said: "Moreover they have omitted the canons of the " three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and mention only " those of the hundred and fifty, which are not among the " synodical canons, and which they say were made about " fourscore years ago. If they have so long enjoyed this " privilege, what more do they now require? If they never " have enjoyed it, why do they now require it?" Aetius the Archdeacon, speaking of the legates, said; "If they have " received any injunctions on this head, let these be pro- " duced." Boniface the Priest read a paper which contained the following order of Pope St. Leo: "Do not suffer the " decrees of the Fathers to be infringed or encroached upon " by any rash changes; preserve in all things the dignity of " our person, which you represent; and if any, as may " happen, relying on the splendour of their cities, should " attempt any usurpation, do you oppose them with be-

[2] p. 809. c.

"coming resolution." The magistrates said, "Let the "canons be produced by both parties." A. D. 451. CH. XXX.

Paschasinus read the sixth canon of Nicæa[1], beginning with these words, "The Church of Rome always had the "primacy," which words are not in the Greek[2]; no dispute however was raised on that point, and he proceeded with the sixth canon, which preserves the privileges of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and the rights of the Metropolitans, and the seventh, which preserves to the Bishop of Jerusalem an honorary rank without any jurisdiction. The secretary Constantine also read the sixth canon of Nicæa, from a book presented him by Aëtius the Archdeacon, but omitted the seventh. He then read the decree of the Council of Constantinople held under Nectarius, containing first, the definition of Faith[3], and next, the canon concerning the hierarchy, which after confirming the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Alexandria and of Antioch, and of the Councils of the three great dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace[4] concludes thus; "the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the precedency of "honour next after the Bishop of Rome."

[1] p. 812. Fleury 11. 20.

[2] i. e. the Greek of the Nicæan Council.]

[3] Supr. 18. 6.

[4] 18. 7.

The magistrates said, "Let the Bishops of the dioceses of "Asia and Pontus declare whether they subscribed of their "own free will or compulsorily, to what was above recited." They advanced into the centre, and Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "I subscribed of my free choice; I say it as in GOD'S pre-"sence." Florentius of Sardis, and thirteen others, severally made the same declaration, affirming that the canon agreed with the recognised custom. Some of them deposed that they had been ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople. Eusebius of Dorylæum said[5], "I willingly subscribed; for "when I was at Rome, I read this canon to the Pope, in the "presence of the clergy from Constantinople, and he received "it." He means the canon of the Council of Constantinople. The rest of the Bishops cried out, "We subscribed volun-"tarily." The magistrates asked what those had to say who had not subscribed. Eusebius of Ancyra declared that he wished not to interfere with ordinations, although he had a right to ordain the Bishops of Galatia; but he desired that nothing should be paid for ordinations. Philip a Priest of Constantinople said[6], "The canon provided against this

[5] p. 816. B.

[6] p. 817.

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"abuse," meaning the second canon of Chalcedon. Eusebius of Ancyra answered, "God be praised, the reputation of "Archbishop Anatolius is without spot, but no one is im- "mortal."

The magistrates said, "It appears from the depositions, "first of all, that the primacy and precedency of honour[1], "should be preserved, according to the canons, for the Arch- "bishop of old Rome, but that the Archbishop of Constanti- "nople ought to enjoy the same privileges[2]; and that he "has a right to ordain the Metropolitans of the dioceses of "Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, in the manner following. In "each metropolis, the clergy, the proprietors of lands, and "the gentry, with all the Bishops of the province or the "greater part of them, shall issue a decree for the election "of one whom they shall deem worthy of being made Bishop "of the metropolis. They shall all make a report of it to the "Archbishop of Constantinople, and it shall be at his option "either to enjoin the Bishop-elect to come thither for ordi- "nation, or to allow him to be ordained in the province. As "to the Bishops of particular cities, they shall be ordained by "all or the greater part of the comprovincial Bishops, under "the authority of the Metropolitan, according to the canons, "the Archbishop of Constantinople taking no part in such "ordination. These are our views, let the Council state "theirs." The Bishops shouted, "This is a just proposal: "we all say the same, we all assent to it; we pray you dis- "miss us;" with other similar acclamations. Lucentius, the legate, said, "The Apostolic see ought not to be degraded "in our presence; we therefore desire that yesterday's "proceedings, which violate the canons, may be rescinded; "otherwise let our opposition be inserted in the Acts, "that we may know what we are to report to the Pope, "and that he may declare his opinion of this contempt of "his see and subversion of the canons." The magis- trates said[3], "The whole Council approves of what we "said." Such was the last session of the Council of Chal- cedon.

[1 τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ τὴν ἐξαίρετον τιμήν]

[2 τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων τῆς τιμῆς]

[3] p. 820.

XXXI. End of the Council of Chalcedon.

The preceding account has been derived from the collection of Acts as it now stands. This differs on some points from that which was followed by Evagrius the historian, and which

still survives in some old copies[1]. These give the order as follows. The first session is the same as in ours; the second is the condemnation of Dioscorus; the third is that which we put second, in which the letters of St. Cyril and St. Leo were read. The fourth is the same as ours, containing the scrutiny of the definition of the Faith. In the sixth, the definition is again read and subscribed in the presence of the Emperor Marcian, and three canons approved. The seventh, in these old copies, contains the rest of the canons. The eighth, is the approval of the concordat between Maximus and Juvenal. The ninth, which we reckoned seventh, is the Justification of Theodoret: the tenth and eleventh, that of Ibas: and so on of the others; that is, the twelfth and thirteenth contain the affair of Ephesus: the fourteenth, that of Basilinopolis: the fifteenth, the affair of Sabinian of Perrha: the sixteenth and last contains the debate about the prerogatives of Constantinople. A. D. 451. CH. XXXI.

[1] Evagr. 2. c. ult. v. Baluz. præf. in C. Calch. [§ 14. p. 966.]

The cause of this diversity lies in the fact that at general Councils, the Bishops of great sees had each their own notaries to take down or copy the Acts, according to the use they had for them. All were anxious to take with them, and publish in their provinces, what related to the Church in general, that is, the definitions of Faith and the canons; on the other hand, the proceedings in reference to private matters would not have much interest except for those who were personally concerned, and so were less exact; some omitted them entirely, others inserted one part and omitted the rest; and when the same pieces were inserted, their arrangement varied, following in one case the order of time, in another the relative importance of the subjects.

The Bishops remained some time at Chalcedon or Constantinople, before they separated; and sent an address to the Emperor Marcian[2], in which they thank GOD for the zeal shewn by him and by the Pope, whom they commend for his doctrine and piety. They remark, that the same rule had been observed in this as in former Councils; new errors being confronted by new definitions, without making any change in the creed. They explain at large the mystery of the Incarnation. They vindicate St. Leo's letter to Flavian from the charge of novelty, and prove that it agrees with Scrip-

[2] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 1.

A. D. 451. ture, the Nicæan Creed, and also with the Fathers, from
CH. XXXI. whom they quote some select passages[1].
[1] p. 828. E.
[2] pt. 3. c. 2. They also sent a synodical letter to St. Leo[2], in which they acknowledge him as the interpreter of St. Peter, as their head, and their guide, whose letter had ministered to them spiritual nourishment. They state their number at five hundred and twenty[f], and remark that none had been cut off from the Church except Dioscorus, whose crimes and
[3] p. 836. E. impenitence they detail at large: after which they add[3], "We "inform you that we have made some other regulations for the "better ordering of affairs, and the confirmation of the eccle- "siastical laws; persuaded that your holiness, when informed "of them, will readily approve and sanction them. For we
[4] p. 837. "have by a synodical decree[4] authorized the custom which "obtained of old, that the holy Church of Constantinople "should ordain Metropolitans to the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, "and Thrace: and this not so much for the advantage of the "see of Constantinople, as for the peace of the metropolitan "cities in which disturbances frequently occur on the decease "of the Bishops, the clergy and laity having then no one to "control them. This your holiness must know well, espe- "cially as regards the Church of Ephesus[g], which had often "been a source of anxiety to you.

"We have also confirmed the canon of the hundred and "fifty Fathers assembled at Constantinople under Theodo- "sius the Great, which decrees that the Bishop of Constan- "tinople shall take rank next after your holy see, being "convinced that as you ungrudgingly communicate of your "own wealth to your brethren, you will also continue to "care for the see of Constantinople, and will extend to it the "splendour of your Apostolic power. True it is that your "legates strenuously opposed this decree, doubtless from a "desire that you might have the honour of originating "it, and so might be esteemed no less as the upholder of

[f] "We seemed," they say, "to be- "hold the heavenly Bridegroom con- "versing among us: for if where two "or three are gathered together there "He promised to be in the midst of "them how much more intimately pre- "sent did this imply He would be with "520 Bishops, who thought nothing "either of country or of fatigue com- "pared with the assurance of their "unity of faith in Him."

[g] The metropolis of the Asian diocese, as Cæsarea and Heraclea were of the Pontic and Thracian respectively.

"discipline, than as the defender of the Faith. On this "point, however, we deferred to the wishes of the Emperor, "the senate, and the whole imperial city. We beg you, "therefore, to honour this our decree with your suffrage; "and to accomplish the just desires of your children, who "have worked with you in attaining so glorious a result. "You will also oblige the Emperors who confirmed your "decision as a law, and the see of Constantinople will ever "manifest to you its lasting gratitude, by its attachment[1] "and its zeal." St. Gregory says that the Council of Chalcedon even offered to the Pope the title of œcumenical, or universal Bishop[2], [but that St. Leo and his successors constantly rejected it as anti-catholic in principle.]

A. D. 452. CH. XXXII.

[1 δμόνοιαν] Lib. iv. Ep. [32,] 36, [38.] lib. vii. [Ind. I.] Ep. 30. [=v. 20, 43, 18. viii. 30. ed. Bened.]

XXXII. Letters from the Gallic Bishops to St. Leo.

Before this letter reached St. Leo, he had received letters from several Bishops of Gaul; the first, from Ceretius, Salonius, and Veranus[3], who, it is thought, were Bishops in the province of the Maritime Alps[4]; the second, from Ravennius of Arles and forty-three others[5]. Salonius and Veranus were brothers, sons of St. Eucherius, afterwards Bishop of Lyons; and Veranus was Bishop of Vence. These three Bishops thank the Pope for the instruction he had given them in his letter to Flavian, and send him their copy of it, desiring him to correct it, that it may be communicated not only to the Bishops of Gaul, but also to several laymen, who desired to read and transcribe it.

[3 v. Quesn. ad Ep. Ceret. [t. ii. p. 863.] [4 post Ep. 76. t. i. p. 577.] [5 p. 579.]

The forty-four Bishops who wrote a synodical letter to St. Leo, belonged, as has been conjectured, to the seven provinces of Gaul[6]. At the head is Ravennius of Arles; then follow Rusticus of Narbonne, Venerius of Marseilles, Maximus of Riés, (who had been Abbot of Lerins,) Nectarius Bishop of Digne, Constantius of Uzés, Ursus of Senés, Ingenuus of Embrun, who was the bearer of this letter. The rest are not so well known. They apologize for being so tardy in sending their acknowledgments to St. Leo for his letter to Flavian; "We read it," they continue, "with great "joy, which we soon communicated to all in Gaul. Many "recognised in it the Faith which they received from their "forefathers; some found in it the instruction and authority "which they needed for the confirmation of their faith. We "should have wished to write to the Emperor also, in-

[6 v. not. Quesn. [p. 867.]

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"forming him of the anxiety we have suffered; but the "news we received from the East led us to think that this "was unnecessary, and that the error was now laid bare and "destroyed." The rest of the letter is taken up with eulogizing St. Leo, who, on his part, returned them an answer[1], praising the faith and doctrine of the Bishops of Gaul. "I should have been glad," he says, "to have received your "letters at the time you promised, that so our brethren "whom we have sent to the Council might have taken your "declaration along with them." He observes that, after the decision of a Council of about six hundred Bishops, neither ignorance nor obscurity can be allowably pleaded respecting the Faith of the Incarnation; he proceeds, however, to exhibit briefly how that doctrine stands opposed to the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches. "Our brethren the legates," he says, "have acted so well, that not only the Bishops, but "also the princes and powers, the clergy, the people, all "ranks are fully convinced that it is the Apostolic Faith "which we preach, as handed down to us, and which we "maintain, having now on our side the consent of the whole "world. Give thanks, therefore, to GOD, and pray for the "speedy return of our brethren, that we may be able to "instruct you more fully about all that has happened. We "were unwilling to detain our brother Ingenuus till their "arrival, lest you should be so much longer ignorant of this "cheering news, which we desire you to communicate even "to our brethren the Bishops of Spain." This letter bears date the first of February, 452[2]. It appears that the Pope knew in general what had been done at the Council of Chalcedon, but had not yet the Acts, which his legates were to bring him.

[1] Ep. 77. (al. 52.)

[2] Herculano Cos.

When these arrived, St. Leo wrote again[3], briefly, to Rusticus, Ravennius, Venerius, and the other Bishops of Gaul, telling them that the truth had triumphed, and that heresy, with its authors, had been unanimously condemned. A copy of the sentence pronounced against Dioscorus by the legates accompanied this letter.

[3] Ep. 82. (al. 94.)

He had written in the same manner to the Bishops of the province of Milan, as appears from the synodical letter[4] which they sent him in reply. They declare that St. Leo's letter to

[4] Post Ep. 77.

Flavian had been read in their Council; that they had found it agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, to the doctrine of St. Ambrose, and also to universal tradition; and had therefore conformed to it in order to condemn the errors against the Incarnation. This letter is signed by Eusebius, Bishop of Milan, a Greek by birth[1], who is honoured as a Saint by the Church, on the twenty-second of August[2]; by St. Maximus of Turin, honoured the twenty-fifth of June[3], some of whose homilies are still extant; and by ten other Bishops. A. D. 452. CH. XXXIII.

[1] Ennod. Epigr. 84. [ap. Galland. t. xi. p. 209.]
[2] Martyr. R. Aug. 22.
[3] Jun. 25.

XXXIII. Letters against Anatolius's pretensions.

Lucian the Bishop, and Basil the Deacon, came soon after to Rome with letters from the Emperor Marcian, the Empress Pulcheria, Anatolius of Constantinople, and Julian of Cos, all having the same end in view—to persuade the Pope to approve the canon of the Council of Chalcedon, touching the prerogatives of the Bishop of Constantinople. We gather this from St. Leo's answers, and from the Emperor's letter, (still extant[4]) dated the fifth of the calends of January, in his own consulate, that is, December 28, 451. Lucian and Basil acquitted themselves faithfully in their commission, and used every effort to induce St. Leo to authorize Anatolius's claims, but without success, as is evident from his answers, all of the same date, the eleventh of the calends of June, in the consulate of Herculanus, or May 22, 452.

[4] Post Ep. 77, ex Collect. Holsten. [p. 592.]

"Anatolius," he says[5], "ought to be content that I have "listened to lenity more than to justice, in allowing his ill-"grounded ordination, and overlooking his audacious pro-"cedure of ordaining the Bishop of Antioch[h]." We should remark that Anatolius had been ordained Bishop of Constantinople by Dioscorus, after the unjust deposition of Flavian; and that he had himself ordained Maximus to the see of Antioch as successor to Domnus, who had also been unjustly deposed; and that for the sake of peace St. Leo had consented to both these ordinations. "This indul-"gence," says St. Leo[6], "ought to inspire him with modesty "rather than with ambition. He ought to imitate the "humility of his predecessor Flavian, and not to presume "on a concession, which he has wrung from some of his

[5] Ep. 78. (al. 54.) c. 2. 5. Ep. 80. (al. 53.) c. 2.

[6] Ep. 79, (al. 55), c. 3.

[h] Comparing this act of Anatolius with the aggressive movements of his predecessors in the see, one can hardly doubt that, but for this timely interference of St. Leo, he would have gradually compassed the subjugation both of Antioch and Alexandria: (v. Quesn. in Ep. 80. t. ii. p. 874).

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"brethren[1], but which can avail nothing against the canons, "especially those of Nicæa, whose authority is eternal and "inviolable, and can never be abrogated by any other "Council, however numerous[2].

"The city of Constantinople has its privileges, but these "are only secular[3]; it is a royal city, but it cannot become "an Apostolic see. No dishonesty can tear away from the "Churches their just rights as established by the canons, "nor can the primacy of so many Metropolitans be invaded "to gratify the ambition of a single man[4]. Alexandria ought "not to lose the second rank for the crimes of an individual "like Dioscorus, nor Antioch the third[5]. This encroachment "has been tolerated for about sixty years; but the Bishops "of Constantinople never sent to the holy see any notice of "the presumed canon, which is now alleged in its defence[1]."

[1] c. 2.

[2] Ep. 80. c. 2. 4.

[3] Ep. 78. c. 3.

[4] Ep. 79. c. 2.

[5] Ep. 80. c. 5.

[1] The reference is probably to the third canon of Constantinople, notwithstanding the discrepancy of dates, (Quesn. in Leon. t. ii. p. 873). The Council appears to have sent its Definition of Faith to Rome, as being expository of objective truth, which if binding on one was binding on all; but to have omitted sending the canons, as relating simply to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the East.

At any rate, this is a question of minor value: for (as was observed, supr. xxi. 7. n) the canon conferred only a precedence *in rank*, which, however important for the *prestige* it afforded, involved no actual increase of power. This last was the accretion of many years; aided by the necessities of the times, favourable emergencies, imperial edicts, and the natural gravitation of power towards the royal city. The Patriarchal authority, says De Marca, consisted of two parts, *πρωεδρία*, or priority of honour, and *προστασία*, or administrative power; the latter comprising the right of ordaining Metropolitans, and of adjudicating in a Patriarchal Synod on appeals from the provinces. The Council of Constantinople, by its third canon, gave the Bishop of that city only the first of these (*πρωεδρία*). Indeed, after enacting the second canon it could do no more: for it had there confirmed the independency of the great dioceses, and assigned the administration of each province to its own several Synod. *Vid.* tract. de Instit. Patriarch. CP., (De Conc. t. iv. p. 176. sqq. ed. 1789). This regulation, however, was soon set aside in practice. There had always been great difficulty in enforcing the old canonical semestral council; in many cases it had fallen into entire desuetude (can. Calch. 19). Where it was kept up, cases would still constantly occur, which called for an immediate decision: and a Metropolitan then had only two courses to choose between,—he must either defer the suit or hazard the unpopular experiment of again summoning his Bishops from the country. On the other hand, Constantinople had always a large number of Bishops of every grade residing in it, (sometimes including Patriarchs, C. Calch. act. iv. p. 545,) who could easily be collected by a message from the Bishop. The consequence was that this *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα* (supr. xxvii. 23. note p.) became a recognised part of the ecclesiastical machinery, and, as time ran on, gained a prescriptive authority, (*συνήθεια ἄνωθεν κεκράτηκε*, says Anatolius, C. Calch. p. 547). The Bishop of Constantinople, who presided in it, not only as the local Bishop, but by virtue of his right of *πρωεδρία*, was thus supplied with that necessary element of Patriarchal *προστασία*, a Patriarchal Synod. The other element, the right of ordaining Metropolitans, grew up in an equally (to human eyes) casual manner; (supr. xxi. 7. n. De Marca, *u. s.*, p. 189, sqq.)

So much indeed seems to have been admitted by all parties,—that the Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of

For all these reasons the Pope advises the Emperor and Empress to put a curb on the ambition of Anatolius, and he exhorts the Emperor himself to practise humility and charity, declaring that he will never consent to such an attempt, and that Anatolius, by persisting in it, will cut himself off from the peace of the universal Church. The Pope, however, did not execute his threat, nor proceed so far as excommunication. To Julian of Cos he says[1], "You ought to love the "constitution of the universal Church more than the in- "terests of any individual, and should not ask of me such "things, as neither I can grant, nor you obtain, without "involving both of us in guilt."

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[1] Ep. 81. (al. 105.)

XXXIV. Laws in favour of the Council.

The Council of Chalcedon was not received so peaceably in the East as in the West. The Emperor did every thing on his part, that could be done, to further the execution of it; but he met with resistance in Egypt and Palestine. First, an edict was issued at Constantinople on the seventh of February, A.D. 452[2], making it illegal to dispute publicly about religion: the clergy were prohibited on pain of deposition; officers, on pain of losing their places; and others, of being expelled from Constantinople and punished according to their deserts. "It is impious and sacrilegious," says the Emperor[3], "to allow one's self to examine any thing accord- "ing to one's private judgment, after the decision of so many "Bishops." And afterwards, "It were an insult to the de- "cree of the Council, to raise disputes on what has been "decided." This edict is directed to "our citizens of Con- "stantinople." It failed, however, of its intention; for there were many restless spirits, who still continued to dispute publicly on the mysteries, in the presence even of Jews and

[2] Sporatio Cos.

[3] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 3. [p. 840.] Cod. [Just. lib. I. tit. I. sive] de Sum. Trin. leg. 4.

Constantinople was, when viewed in reference to the canons, an anomaly and a usurpation. But it came before the Fathers of Chalcedon as a *fait accompli*; supported moreover by the whole weight of the existing civil power. The point therefore, which they had to consider, was, whether the boundaries of the respective Exarchates or Patriarchates were things once for all unalterably settled by positive Divine law, or were ecclesiastical arrangements made with a view to the general good and peace of the Church, and liable to vary with the varying dispensations to which the Church was providentially subjected:—whether, in fact, the Nicæan canons, (made, as St. Leo says, ad commune *bonum*, ad perpetuam *utilitatem*,) were in their own nature immutable, or whether by confirming the ἐκ παλλοῦ κράτησαν ἔθος (Synodic. ad Leon., Labbe, p. 838. A), which assigned the ordination of the Pontic, Thracian, and Asian Metropolitans to the see of Constantinople, they were not acting in the spirit, while violating the letter, of the ever-famous rule of Nicæa, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω.

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heathens; a second prohibition, therefore, was issued, similar to the former[1], enjoining all persons to submit to the Council of Chalcedon. This latter edict is dated the thirteenth of March, in the same year, and like its predecessor was published at Constantinople; it was directed to the Prætorian Præfects of the East and of Illyricum, to the Præfect of Constantinople, and to the Master of the Offices.

[1] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 4.

On the sixth of July, in the same year, the Emperor Marcian, in a rescript addressed to the same officers[2], repealed a law which, at the instigation of Chrysaphius, Theodosius the younger had issued against Flavian[3], patronizing Eutyches, and confirming the pseudo-Council of Ephesus. The rescript vindicates the memory of Flavian, and acquits the persons of Theodoret and Eusebius of Dorylæum. On the twenty-eighth of the same month he enacted another law[4], in which he ordains that the Council of Chalcedon shall be obeyed; the followers of Eutyches are subjected to the same penalties as the Apollinarians, whose errors he had adopted; they are forbidden to call any of their own body Priests, or Clerks, and Eutyches himself is deprived of the title of Priest; if, in the face of this prohibition[5], they should still ordain Bishops, Priests, and other clergy, both the ordainers and the ordained are to be punished with perpetual exile and confiscation of their estates. They are forbidden to hold assemblies, or build monasteries; in case this provision be infringed, the places or sites are to be confiscated, the proprietors or tenants punished. "They shall not receive any legacies, "[they shall be unable to bequeath any property by will,] "they shall be disqualified for all posts under government, "and shall be excluded from Constantinople and every other "metropolitan city. The clergy more especially, and the in-"mates of Eutyches's monastery, shall be seized and driven "out of the Empire. The books belonging to the sect shall "be burnt; capital punishment inflicted on the teachers, "and those who attend their lectures shall be fined each ten "pounds of gold[6]."

[2] c. 11. p. 865.

[3] Supr. 27. 41.

[4] c. 12. p. 868.

[5] p. 869.

[6] [ὁ λιτρῶν χρυσοῦ] p. 872.

XXXV. Proterius Bishop of Alexandria.

Dioscorus was banished to Gangra in Paphlagonia[7]; four Bishops who had come with him, but who had taken their seats in the Council of Chalcedon, after having anathematized Eutyches, condemned Dioscorus, and subscribed to

[7] Liberat. c. 14.

St. Leo's letter, returned to Egypt. They carried letters from the Emperor, addressed to Theodorus, Governor of Egypt, authorizing them to proceed to the election of a Bishop of Alexandria, but this was not effected without opposition; for most of the citizens would not hear of another Bishop whilst Dioscorus was alive. At last they elected Proterius, whom Dioscorus had made Arch-priest and left in care of the Church. He was therefore ordained and installed in presence of these four Bishops, whose names were Athanasius of Busiris, Nestorius of Phlagona, Auxonius of Sebennytus, and Macarius of Chabasena. A. D. 452. CH. XXXVI.

The people of Alexandria were now broken up into parties, some demanding Dioscorus, others supporting Proterius[1]. Dioscorus's party attacked the magistrates, and stoned the soldiers who had come up to prevent a riot. The troops were routed, and, taking refuge in an old temple of Serapis, were besieged in it and at last burnt alive. The Emperor on hearing this sent off two thousand picked men, who, meeting with a fair wind, reached Alexandria in six days. The fresh troops committed great excesses on the wives and daughters of the citizens, who were now in worse plight than before. The lower orders were also made to feel the vengeance of the law, being deprived of their ordinary dole of corn, the use of the baths, and the spectacles. But Florus, who had both the civil and military government, yielding to the persuasions of Priscus the rhetorician, soon restored all to them, and so gained a temporary respite from sedition. Proterius, however, still held a very perilous post[2], and during the greater part of his Pontificate was obliged to have an escort of soldiers[k]. [1] Evagr. 2. 5. [2] Liberat. c. 15.

The agitation extended to Palestine. Stephen Bishop of Jamnia, and John Bishop of the Saracens, both of them disciples of St. Euthymius, had attended the Council of Chalcedon[3]. Peter Bishop of the Saracens had been sometime dead. His successor Auxolaus, had assisted at the false Council of Ephesus, and sided with Dioscorus; on which account he fell into disgrace with St. Euthymius, and, dying, was succeeded by John. After the Council of Chalcedon, XXXVI. Theodosius usurps the see of Jerusalem. [3] vit. S. Euthym. [ap. Anal. Gr.] p. 54.

[k] Hence the Egyptians called him contemptuously the Melchite (or, King's) Bishop. Ludolf. Hist. Æthiop. l. iii. c. 8.

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therefore, Stephen and John hastened back to St. Euthymius to bring him the definition, from fear of incurring his indignation, as Auxolaus had done. St. Euthymius having read the definition of the Faith propounded by the Council, approved it and received it as Catholic.

On this being noised abroad, all the monks of Palestine were going to receive the Council of Chalcedon, when a sudden diversion was made by Theodosius. He had been a monk, but having been convicted of some crime by his Bishop, had been expelled from his monastery[1]. On coming to Alexandria, he attached himself[2] to Dioscorus; but was seized as a seditious person, severely whipped and led through the city on a camel[3]. He went to the Council of Chalcedon, apparently with Barsumas, and returning rapidly to Palestine exclaimed, with some few adherents, that the Council had betrayed the Faith. He wrote some letters[4], slandering the Council as if it had said, there were two SONS, two CHRISTS, and two Persons to be adored; in short, as if it had ratified the heresy of Nestorius. He also circulated a falsified translation of St. Leo's letter to Flavian[5]. By this means he seduced a large number of monks and other simple folk, but especially the Empress Eudocia, (the relict of Theodosius,) who had retired to Jerusalem, and who had been formerly prevailed on by Chrysaphius to patronize Eutyches. She drew the greater part of the monks and people to Theodosius's side. When Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem returned from the Council, they wished to compel him to retract and anathematize the Catholic doctrine, which he had subscribed; they even sent an assassin to murder him, but he, missing his aim, revenged himself by killing Severian Bishop of Scythopolis. Juvenal fled to Constantinople; while the schismatics assembled in the Church of the Resurrection, and ordained Theodosius Bishop of Jerusalem.

[1] Evagr. 2. 5. Coteler. Mon. Gr. t. i. p. 415.
[2] ἀπελάβετο. Fl. attaqua.]
[3] ὑσα κακούργοις, says Evagr.]
[4] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 15. p. 877. D.
[5] Leo. Ep. 97. (al. 83.)

He ordained Bishops for several cities in Palestine, chiefly in the place of those who had not yet returned from the Council[6]. He raised a great persecution at Jerusalem against those who would not embrace his communion. Some were scourged, others were plundered of their property, or had their houses burnt. The gaol was broken open, and the criminals set at liberty[7]. Ladies of high rank were insulted[8].

[6] Niceph. 15. 9.
[7] Conc. t. iv. p. 857. B.
[8] p. 861. B.

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They forced people to anathematize, orally and in writing, both the Council of Chalcedon and the Pope St. Leo. A Deacon named Athanasius said one day to Theodosius, in the middle of the church, as he was seated on the throne; "Cease to wage war upon CHRIST and to scatter His flock, "and learn to know the affection we bear to our true Pastor. "We cannot listen to the voice of the stranger." As he was thus speaking, he was dragged out by Theodosius's guards, who, after putting him to every kind of torture, beheaded him; his body was drawn through the streets by one of its feet, and then thrown to the dogs. The Church celebrates his memory as a martyr on the fifth of July[1].

[1] Martyr. R. 5 Jul.

Dorotheus, governor of Palestine, was at that time employed against the barbarians in the country of the Moabites[2]. On hearing of what had occurred at Jerusalem, he immediately returned at the head of some select troops to restore order; but the partizans of Theodosius and Eudocia closed the gates against him, and would not allow him to enter, until he had promised to join the schism as all the monks and citizens had done. By this means Theodosius retained the see of Jerusalem for twenty months.

[2] [περὶ που τὴν Μωαβίτιν]

XXXVII. St. Euthymius opposes Theodosius.

He attempted to draw even St. Euthymius over to his party[3]. First of all, he sent for him; but the holy man would not come to Jerusalem. Theodosius sent to him two Abbots, Elpidius the disciple and successor of St. Passarion, and Gerontius, who governed the monastery of St. Melania. St. Euthymius said to them, "GOD forbid I should ever take "part in the bloody deeds of Theodosius or in his error." Elpidius and Gerontius answered, "We are then to receive "the Nestorian dogma, authorized by the Council of Chal- "cedon in the formula which they put forth, saying that "'CHRIST is acknowledged in two natures.'" St. Euthymius replied, "I have not read all the Acts of the Council, but, as "for the Definition of Faith, I find nothing objectionable in "it." He then explained to them how the Council acknowledged the two natures in CHRIST, without any division of persons, according to the doctrine of St. Cyril[5]. Elpidius approved of his discourse, and owned that it agreed with the Catholic Faith, though he did not immediately leave the communion of Theodosius; but Gerontius continued obsti-

[3] vit. S. Euthym. p. 56.

['] ἐν δύο φύσεσι γνωρίζεσθαι τὸν Χρ.]

[5] p. 59.

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[1 ἐπὶ τὴν πανέρημον]

About that time lived a famous hermit named Gerasimus, a native of Lycia, who, after having long practised a monastic life in his own country, had lately come to live as an anchoret in the desert near Jordan. He, like the other hermits, had been seduced into the error of Theodosius, but, hearing the virtues of St. Euthymius spoken of, he came to visit him at Rubas. After staying some time with him, he gave his consent to the definition of the Council of Chalcedon, and renounced the communion of Theodosius; and in this he was followed by four other hermits, Peter, surnamed Turnites, Mark, Jullo, and Sylvanus. Gerasimus built a lavra and a monastery, a quarter of a league distant from Jordan. The lavra consisted of seventy cells[2], separate from each other; in the middle was a cœnobium, in which probationers and young people resided[1]. The cells of the lavra were for monks who had reached some measure of perfection. These remained each alone in his cell for five days in the seven, from Monday to Friday; and when they came out, they left their doors open, to shew they had nothing which others were not welcome to take. On Saturdays and Sundays they came to communicate with the monastery. St. Gerasimus died in the year 474, on the fifth of March[3]; the day on which his memory is honoured by the Church[4].

[2 Coteler., t. ii. p. 274.]

[3 Vit. S. Cyriaci p. 107.]

[4 Martyr. R. 5 Mart.]

XXXVIII. The Abbot Gelasius opposes Theodosius.

The Abbot Gelasius, too, supported the Council of Chalcedon against Theodosius[5]. The latter, at the beginning of his schism, visited him in his monastery, and maligned the Council, as having sanctioned the doctrine of Nestorius. Gelasius, knowing the man, brought a young child who was one of his disciples, (who had been killed by an accident, and afterwards restored to life by Gelasius,) and said to Theodosius, "If you wish to dispute about the Faith, here is one

[5 Cotel. t. i. p. 415.]

[1] St. Jerome speaks of monasteries as military schools in which the future eremite warrior was to be trained. Ep. 95, al. 4. (t. iv. pt. 2. p. 773.)

"who will answer you, for I have not leisure to hear you." Theodosius took his departure in confusion. In the course of time, after he had usurped the see of Jerusalem[1], he sent for the Abbot Gelasius, and with mingled caresses and threats led him into the chancel[2], and said to him, "Anathematize Juvenal." Gelasius, nought dismayed, answered, "I know no other Bishop of Jerusalem than Juvenal." Theodosius, fearing that the others might follow this example of pious zeal, drove him out of the church. He was seized by the schismatics, who piled up wood around him, threatening to burn him. But when they saw that he still remained undaunted, they feared that the people, who held him in great reputation, might raise an insurrection; so they let him go.

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[1] p. 416.

[2 ἱερατεῖον]

The disinterestedness of the Abbot Gelasius is exhibited in the following anecdote[3]. He had a book written in parchment, valued at eighteen sols of gold[4], or a hundred and forty-four livres. It contained both the Old and New Testament, and lay in the church, that any of the brethren who chose might read it. A foreign friar[5] stole it, and the aged Saint did not pursue him, although he perceived the theft. The other went into the city, and tried to sell it, and, having found a purchaser, asked sixteen sols for it. The person who wished to buy it asked permission to examine it, and with this view took it to the Abbot Gelasius, who said, "Buy it: "it is a fine copy, and well worth the price." The purchaser came back and said to the seller, "I have shewn it to the "Abbot Gelasius, who tells me it is too dear, and not worth "the price you ask for it." The seller said, "Did the old "man say nothing else to you?" "Nothing," answered the other. "Then," said he, "I am no longer willing to sell it;" and touched with compunction he came to Gelasius, and entreated him to take the book back: but he refused. The friar[6] said, "Unless you take it, I shall have no rest." Then he received it. The foreign friar was converted by means of this incident, and remained with him to the day of his death.

[3] Ibid. p. 410.

[4 νομισμάτων; about £10. 15s.]

[5 τις ἀδελφῶν ξένος]

[6 ὁ ἀδελφός]

In the mean time the West was infested by the ravages of Attila, who had now repaired his losses of the former year, and entering Italy by Pannonia overran several provinces without opposition[7]. Great fears were entertained for Rome,

XXXIX. St. Leo stops Attila.

[7] Chr. Prosp. ann. 452. ap. Ronc. t. i. p. 671. Chr. Cassiod. cod. a. [t. ii. p. 230.]

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which he was on the point of attacking, but his people diverted him from it, by the example of Alaric, who died soon after he had pillaged it. The Emperor Valentinian, and even Aëtius, thought of abandoning Italy, but first of all they deemed it politic at least to offer proposals of peace. They therefore sent to Attila a deputation consisting of the Pope St. Leo, with Avienus, of consular rank, and Trygetius, of præfectorial. They found him in Venetia, at a place named Ambuleio[1], at the passage of the Mincio[2]. Besides the report of his cruelties, his very appearance was terrible[3]. Though small in stature he had a stately gait, a broad chest, and large head; he had small lively eyes always in motion, a flat nose, thin beard, gray hair, and brown complexion. This description clearly points out his origin; the same features characterize the Tartars of the present day. He was very brave, yet he fought less with his hands than with his head; his plans were projected with great ability. He shewed himself placable enough to those who submitted to him, and was a steady friend when he had once pledged his word. Just as he was hesitating whether to attack Rome or not, this embassy decided him. He was so pleased with the sight of St. Leo, that he listened favourably to his propositions, put a stop to hostilities, and retired beyond the Danube, holding out hopes of a lasting peace.

[1 Mambolejo, *Jorn.*]

[2 Jornand. [De reb. Get.] p. 124, ed. Lindenbrog.

[3 Id. p. 116.

The Emperor Valentinian was at Rome, where he made a law on the fifteenth of April, in this year[4], (452,) which limited the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the privileges of the clergy. It sets out[5] with remarking that frequent complaints were made of the decisions of Bishops; to remedy which, it declares that "the Bishop has no power of trying even Clerks, "except with their consent, and by virtue of a compromise[6]. "For it is certain, that Bishops and Priests are not by law "able to hold a civil court[7], and that they have cognizance "only in religious causes, according to the enactment of "Arcadius and Honorius, inserted in the code of Theodosius. "The clergy are bound to answer before the Judges, whether "in civil or criminal cases; only Bishops and Priests shall "have the privilege of making their defence by attorney[8] in "criminal matters. No serf or slave, of what quality soever[9], "shall undertake the clerical office, or embrace a monastic

[4 17 Kal. Majas Herculano Cos.

[5 Novel. Valent. tit. 12.

[6 præeunte tamen vinculo compromissi]

[7 forum legibus non habere]

[8 per procuratorem]

[9 originarius, inquilinus, servus, vel colonus]

" life, with a view to escape from the duties of his condition. A. D. 453.
" The clergy shall not engage in any traffic, if they wish to CH. XL.
" enjoy their privileges, but shall be wholly employed in their
" ecclesiastical functions."

XL. Aëtius Archdeacon of Constantinople injured.

Julian of Cos, the Pope's resident at Constantinople, sent him a letter, expressing great sympathy with his misfortunes and lamenting the evils which the incursion of the barbarians had inflicted on Italy[1]. At the same time he informed him of a new enterprise of Anatolius; he had removed the Archdeacon Aëtius, who had been always Catholic, having opposed both Nestorians and Eutychians, and had ordained him Priest of a cemetery church, in order that he might bestow the Archidiaconate on a person named Andrew, a friend of Eutyches and one of Flavian's accusers. St. Leo wrote about it to Marcian and Pulcheria[2], complaining that Anatolius under the pretence of promoting Aëtius had degraded him. For, having no fault to find either with his faith or his morals, he had deprived him of the office of Archdeacon, (which conferred great influence, since it comprised the administration of all the affairs of the Church,) and condemned him to a sort of exile by fixing him to a cemetery outside the city and in an obscure place, and this only because Aëtius had always been attached to St. Flavian and the Catholic faith[3]. Thus Anatolius incurred the suspicion of never having cordially renounced the errors of Eutyches. He had even violated the Apostolical tradition, by holding the ordination on Friday, instead of on Saturday night [m].

[1] Leo. Ep. 86. (al. 56.)

[2] Ep. 84. 85 (al. 57, 58.)

[3] Supr. 27. 33.

St. Leo begs the Emperor and Empress to induce him to alter his proceedings: he at the same time recommends to them Julian of Cos, whom he says he has appointed his legate, to transact at their court all that related to the faith and peace of the Church, against the heretics of the time. This is the first mention of papal legates resident at Constantinople; they were afterwards called apocrisiaries or correspondents,—the name previously given to the persons employed there by the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch to negotiate the affairs of their Churches. But those of the Pope were stationed there for the general interests of the Church[4], to maintain its faith and discipline, to keep a close watch over

[4] v. Quesn. not. 6 ad Ep. 84 [t. ii. p. 884.]

[m] Cf. supr. xxvii. 3. Quesn. in Ep. Leon 11. (t. ii. p. 814.) Bing. iv. 6. § 7, 8.

A. D. 453. CH. XLI.

the Bishops of Constantinople, and to prevent them and the other Patriarchs of the East from attempting any thing injurious to the universal Church. These letters are dated the tenth and the eleventh of March, in the consulate of Opilio, or A.D. 453.

St. Leo wrote at the same time, and on the same subject, to Julian, of whom he further requested information as to the origin of the disturbance among the monks of Palestine[1]; whether it was from affection to Eutyches, or from an indiscreet zeal against Juvenal of Jerusalem, who had taken his part. He also desires an account of the monks of Egypt, and of the Alexandrian Church, observing that he had sent a letter to the new Bishop. He asks Julian to get the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon translated accurately into Latin, and collected into one volume.

[1] Ep. 86. c. 3.

XLI. Letter of Marcian to the monks of Palestine.

A few days only elapsed before he learnt the cause of the tumult in Palestine, and the measures which the Emperor had adopted for its suppression[2]. The Abbots and monks of Jerusalem and its environs addressed a petition to the Empress Pulcheria[3], pretending to justify their conduct and to throw the blame of the excesses, which had been committed, upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem and some foreigners. By the advice of the Bishop Juvenal, who was at Constantinople, the Emperor Marcian wrote a letter to them, saying that they ought to maintain peace, and live in submission to the Bishops, without setting up to be teachers. He then remarks[4] that he has received well authenticated accounts of all that had occurred at Jerusalem; and after recounting their atrocities, "You have not done this," he says, "for the "defence of the Faith, but to usurp the preferments, of "which you are utterly unworthy. For the rest, we wonder "how you can anathematize Eutyches, and yet deliver your- "selves over to Theodosius, who treads in his steps, and is "the cause of all these disorders. You will have to answer "for your impiety and crimes before our LORD and SAVIOUR "CHRIST, who will not leave them unpunished; but as to "ourself, we wish not to inflict punishment on monks. Only "we have ordered that the city of Ælia be kept under, that "peace for the future be better secured in it, and that "those who shall be found guilty of murder or arson[5] shall

[2] Ep. 88.
[3] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 9. [p. 856.]
[4] p. 857.
[5] p. 860.

"be punished. And whereas you take offence at the ex- A. D. 453.
"pression *two natures*, as if it were a novelty; know that CH. XLII.
"you ought not to busy yourselves with such questions,
"which are too nice for your understanding. We, for our
"part, following the doctrine of the Fathers, believe that
"our LORD JESUS CHRIST is very GOD and very man." He then explains the doctrine of the Incarnation, especially as contrasted with the error of Nestorius, and he fully vindicates the Council of Chalcedon from the charge brought against it of being Nestorian. He adds[1], "We gave orders that no one [1] p. 861.
"should be forced into subscribing or assenting against his
"will; for it is not our desire to drag any one into the path
"of truth by threats or violence.

"And whereas you charge the Samaritans with having
"profaned the churches, and committed murders, and other
"dreadful deeds; know, that we have ordered the Count
"Dorotheus to make a close inquiry into the matter, to re-
"store to both Churches and private persons whatever has
"been taken from them, and to inflict the penalty of the
"law upon the guilty; but you have no right to avenge
"yourselves. We have, moreover, enjoined the Count Doro-
"theus to remove the quarters of the Ælian garrison from
"your monasteries. Live, then, in peace, not forsaking the
"Catholic Faith, nor holding separate assemblies[2], since you [2 παρασυνάξεις]
"know the heavy penalties imposed by the Christian Princes,
"our predecessors, on those who so assemble. We have
"written thus much to you at the request of the Bishop
"Juvenal, and in the hope that this mark of our clemency
"will lead you to repent and change your conduct."

XLII. Death of St. Pulcheria.

The Empress Pulcheria wrote a letter to the same monks, which was very similar in substance, being chiefly intended to justify her faith and that of the Council of Chalcedon against the calumnies of schismatics[3]. She wrote a private letter to Bassa[4], who at that time presided over a nunnery at Jerusalem, and who also founded a monastery in honour of St. Mena, of which she appointed Andrew, from St. Euthymius's lavra, to be the Abbot[5]. To this Bassa, then, Pulcheria wrote, some time afterwards, and informed her, that if any of the nuns had, in their simplicity, been imposed on by the calumnies of Theodosius, they ought to undeceive

[3] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 14.
[4] Ibid. c. 13.
[5] Vit. S. Euthym. [Anal. Gr.] p. 67.

A. D. 453. CH. XLIII.

themselves, and acknowledge the sincerity of her faith and the purity of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Empress Pulcheria died in the course of this very year[1], aged fifty-four years. The Church honours her memory, as a holy virgin, on the tenth of September[2]. A little before her death she had completed the court of the church of St. Laurence in her palace at Constantinople, a work of consummate beauty[3]. She built various other churches: that of Blachernai, that of Chalcopratia, and that of Hodegoi,—all three in honour of the Holy Virgin[4]. In the last she placed the picture which the Empress Eudocia had sent her from Jerusalem, said to have been painted by St. Luke. She founded several hospitals and monasteries, to which she assigned revenues[5]. In her will, which was faithfully executed by Marcian, she left the whole of her property to the poor.

[1] Vincomalo et Opilione Coss. Chr. Marcellin. [p. 292.] Chr. Pasch. [p. 320. ed. Par.]
[2] Martyr. R. 10 Sept.
[3] Cange. Const. l. iv. c. 6. § 57.
[4] Ibid. c. 2. [§ 6. 9. 24.] Theod. Lect. l. 1. init. et § 5.
[5] Sozom. 9. 1.

XLIII. St. John Baptist's head found at Emesa.

In this same year, 453, the head of St. John Baptist was found at Emesa in Phœnicia[6], where it had been long hidden under ground, in a cavern near which some monks had taken up their residence. The Superior of the monastery, during Marcian's reign, was the Priest Marcellus, a man of irreproachable life, to whom St. John Baptist appeared twice in a dream, about the beginning of February; and one of his monks, named Isaac, perceived fire at the mouth of the cavern[7]. Marcellus was once more warned, and led by a star of fire to a vault in the cavern, beneath which he found the urn in which the head of St. John was, with the hair still upon it. He lighted a lamp, burnt incense, and worshipped GOD with joy and fear. He then took with him two of the neighbouring Abbots, Gennadius and Cyriacus, and they three together went to Uranius, Bishop of Emesa, and reported what they had seen. He desired them to keep it secret, and on the morrow he came to the cave with his Priests and Deacons. He raised the urn with the head inside, and carried it into the sacristy of the church, to be kept there till a new one should be built for this relique. This translation was made on Tuesday the twenty-fourth of February, 453. They afterwards built a church at the monastery by the cavern, and the head of St. John was transferred thither in procession on the twenty-sixth of the following October. From this time we hear nothing of the

[6] Chr. Marcellin. [p. 290.] Chr. Pasch. *u. s.*
[7] Marcellus, ap. Du Cange, Traité Hist. du chef de S. Jean Bapt. [p. 220.]

translation of St. John's head to Constantinople under Theodosius the Great[1]; whether it was that they had discovered it not to be the true head of St. John Baptist, or from some other reason. A. D. 453. CH. XLIV.-CH. XLV.

[1] Supr. 19. 49.

XLIV. Juvenal reinstated.

The Emperor Marcian did not content himself with the gentle correction he had administered to the misguided monks of Palestine. He gave orders to the governor Dorotheus to apprehend the pretended Bishop Theodosius, with a view to his punishment; but he escaped and took refuge in the fastnesses of Mount Sinai[2]. Many of his accomplices, both laymen and monks, were subjected to corporal punishment. After the flight of Theodosius, Juvenal was re-instated in his see at the end of twenty months, that is to say, in July 453. He immediately deposed all whom Theodosius had ordained, and held a Council, from which he wrote a synodal letter[3], 'to the [Priests,] Archimandrites, and monks of Palestine,' shewing them, that the Council of Chalcedon had only confirmed the Faith of Nicæa, and that the suspicions and mistrust which had been insinuated into them by the schismatics were groundless. This letter was subscribed by Juvenal of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Cæsarea, Paul of Paralus, and all the Bishops of the three Palestines. The Emperor Marcian directed a letter to this Council[4], in which he repeats the declaration of his faith, and exhorts the Bishops to endeavour to reclaim their flocks and especially the monks who had been seduced by the calumnies of Theodosius. He mentions that he had written to the Bishop Macarius, and to the Archimandrites and monks of Mount Sinai, (whither the arch-schismatic had retired,) to inform them of his crimes, and put them on their guard against his wiles.

[2] Niceph. 15. 9.

[3] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 20.

[4] Ibid. c. 15.

XLV. St. Leo writes to the Bishops of the Council.

The schismatics gave out[5] that St. Leo did not approve of the Council of Chalcedon, the whole pretence being grounded on the fact of his having disallowed the canon about the precedency of the Bishop of Constantinople. St. Leo's letter to Anatolius, it is true, might easily have disabused them; but Anatolius did not care to publish it, and he is even charged with having circulated this calumny. The impression it made was so serious that the Emperor Marcian advised St. Leo to explain himself distinctly on the point. He thought he had done this sufficiently, previously to the Council, by his letter

[5] Leo. Ep. 88, 89, 90.

A. D. 453. CH. XLV.

to Flavian, and afterwards by those which he had written to the Emperor, the Empress, and to Anatolius. However, to satisfy the Emperor, he wrote once more[1] a letter addressed to all the Bishops who had assisted at the Council of Chalcedon, in which he declares that he approves every thing they had decreed relating to the Faith, and that whosoever shall presume to maintain the error of Nestorius, or of Eutyches and Dioscorus, ought to be cut off from the Church. But he protests at the same time, that he will inviolably observe the canons of Nicæa, and oppose ambition, whatever Councils it may allege in its defence, and that he had but practised this resolve when he opposed the attempts of the Bishop of Constantinople. This letter is dated the twenty-first of March, 453[2].

[1] Ep. 87. (al. 61.)

[2] 12 Kal. April. Opilione Cos.

St. Leo wrote at the same time to the Emperor Marcian, and to the Empress Pulcheria[3], who was still alive, to thank them for the care they had taken to bring back the monks of Palestine by gentle means. He wrote moreover to Julian of Cos on the same subject[4]. Speaking of the injury done to the Priest Aetius, he says[5], "We must put up with that for "the present, lest I should seem to overstep the due bounds "of gravity. Anatolius urges his claim so steadily, that he "even attempted to make all the Bishops of Illyricum sub-"scribe to it. I have not written to him, though you were "of opinion I ought, because I see clearly that he is unwilling "to correct his error."

[3] Ep. 89, 90. (al. 59, 60.)

[4] Ep. 88.

[5] c. 4, 5.

In the same letter, he remarks[6], that he had received a private injunction from the Emperor to write to the Empress Eudocia, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of June[7], exhorting her to reclaim the mistaken monks of Palestine, and to point out to them, that the Catholic Faith equally condemns the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches. He wrote also to the monks themselves[8], attributing the origin of their mistake to the corrupt translation of his letter to Flavian. He dwells at some length on the subject, and after having instructed these monks, who for the most part were very ignorant, he severely reproves them for their outbreak, and admonishes them to make reparation for it[9]. This is one of the most eloquent of all St. Leo's letters.

[6] c. 3.

[7] Ep. 96. (al. 66.)

[8] Ep. 97. (al. 83.)

[9] c. 8, 9.

He observes in two other letters which belong to this year,

that it was not proper for monks to preach. He says to Julian of Cos[1], "As it belongs to the Imperial power severely "to suppress the tendencies to tumult and sedition, so it "belongs to the sacerdotal authority not to allow the monks "any licence of preaching against the Faith, and to hinder "them from taking upon them what belongs only to Bishops;" and to Maximus of Antioch[2], "You ought also to provide that, "except the LORD's Priests, no one shall have the hardihood "to assume the right of teaching and preaching, whether he "be a monk, or a layman who prides himself on his reputa- "tion in some science. Order must in all things be ob- "served in the Church, and each of its members must be "content with his function." He repeats this in a letter to Theodoret[3]. It was called forth by the monks of Eutyches's party, and in particular by one George[4], who, with the permission of Thalassius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, had taken upon himself authority to write and preach.

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[1] Ep. 91. (al. 82.) c. 2.

[2] Ep. 92. (al. 62.) c. 6.

[3] Ep. 93. (al. 63.) c. 6.

[4] Ep. 91.

XLVI. Letters to Maximus and Theodoret.

Maximus of Antioch had written to St. Leo by the Priest Marian and the Deacon Olympius, and these had informed him that there were still in the East a great number of Nestorians and Eutychians, who dealt out reciprocal anathemas against each other. St. Leo exhorts Maximus to hold fast by the Faith of St. Peter, "whose successors," he says, "we both "are. Never suffer them to wound this Faith in the Eastern "Churches, least of all in those which the canons of Nicæa "assigned to the see of Antioch. I have so great reverence "for these canons, that I will never permit them to be vio- "lated by any innovation. Maintain carefully the privileges "of the third see; and, if you have any thing to urge about "this matter, explain it in your letters, that I may be able "to answer you more exactly.

"Ambition often takes occasion to insinuate itself into "general Councils; as in the Council of Ephesus[5] Juvenal "thought to have usurped the primacy of Palestine, and to "establish his pretensions by some forged writings; but "St. Cyril opposed it, and wrote hither to inform us of the "attempt, and to prevent it from receiving our sanction. "We have found in our archives the original of his letter, of "which you have sent us a copy. If my brethren, sent as "envoys to the Council which related only to the Faith,

[5] Supr. 25. 58.

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"have done any thing beyond that, it cannot have any force, "since in that case they have exceeded their powers. You "will see our attachment to the Nicæan Council, by the "copies of the letter which we sent to the Bishop of Con- "stantinople to repress his ambition, and which you will "communicate to all our colleagues."

[1] Ep. 93.

The tendency of St. Leo's letter to Theodoret[1] is to console him, and confirm him in his adherence to the good side. It begins with these remarkable words: "We glorify our LORD, "for that He has not suffered us to lose any of our brethren, "but has confirmed that by the irrevocable consent of the "whole brotherhood, which He had before determined by "our ministry, and has shewn that what was decreed by the "first of all sees, [and] has been approved by the judgment "of all Christendom, [proceeded from Himself.] For, in order "that the consent of the other sees might not seem to be "adulation, and that no other unfavourable suspicion should "arise, some were, at first, found who doubted about our de- "cision. But the truth shines more brightly, and makes a "deeper impression, when what the Faith had taught before- "hand is afterwards confirmed by examination. The power "of the sacerdotal ministry is the more conspicuous when "superiors so maintain their authority as not to diminish the "liberty of the inferiors; and the examination turns to the "greater glory of GOD." We here see that the decision of Faith pronounced by the Pope was examined by the other Bishops with entire freedom; and that, when it has been confirmed by their consent, no one is any longer permitted to call it in question. St. Leo afterwards says to Theodoret[2]; "Though you have no need of instruction, we think it right "to inform you, on this occasion, that in combating the "enemies of the Church we ought to weigh our discourse "with great caution. We are not now to dispute of things "doubtful, but to give plenary authority to the decrees of "the Council of Chalcedon. We must leave the enemies of "the Church no room for calumny, as if, in opposing the "Nestorians and Eutychians, we conceded any thing to the "one or the other. We must equally condemn both, and "unhesitatingly anathematize them whenever the profit of "our hearers demands it. You have lately learnt this by

[2] c. 4, 5.

"experience. But blessed be GOD, whose invincible truth A. D. 453.
"has shewn you to be entirely free from all stain of heresy, CH. XLVII.
"according to the judgment of the Apostolic see." He then requests Theodoret to inform him of the progress made by the sound doctrine[1] in the East. Any one who reflects on the past conduct of Theodoret, will easily see the usefulness of this advice.

[1] doctrina Dominica]

XLVII. Death of Theodoret.

It is thought that Theodoret lived four or five years after this, until about the year 458. His treatise of *Heretical Fables* is referred to his last years; it was certainly composed after the Council of Chalcedon, since he speaks in it of the heresy of Eutyches as actually condemned[2]. This work was written at the request of Sporatius, one of the commissioners of the Council, and Consul for the year 452, to whom he gives this commendation[3], that in the midst of a Court, and in the multiplicity of public business, he made the knowledge of Divine things and the study of truth his first care[n]. The work is divided into five books; the first contains the heresies which maintained two First Causes, and affirmed that GOD was incarnate only in appearance, beginning with Simon Magus and ending with Manes. The second treats of those who said that CHRIST was a mere man, extending from Ebion to Photinus. The third book comprises various heresies, among others, those of the Montanists and Novatians; while the fourth takes up the later heresies, from Arius to his own time. He concludes with Nestorius and Eutyches[4]; his expressions in reference to Nestorius are so violent, that the chapter has been suspected. The fifth book is an exposition of the Catholic doctrine, to serve for a refutation of heresies. It was also in the latter part of his life that he wrote, at the request of Hypatius his Chorepiscopus, the *Questions on the Octateuch*[5], that is, on the eight first books of Scripture; or, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. He also wrote questions on the books of Kings and the Chronicles. Thus he finished his life holily, as he had begun it, in peace and com-

[2] l. 4. c. ult. [t. iv. p. 297.]

[3] Præf. in fin. [p. 189.]

[4] c. 12.

[5] v. Garner. Diss. 2. c. 3. [Auctar. Theod. p. 181.]

[n] "We find men who are the most "burdened, and even overborne, by "the thronging toils of daily life, or "solicited by the splendours of the "world, not only holding out against "the secularizing action of worldly "things, but even confirmed and elevated to a higher pitch of devotion. "The world not only has no power to "conform them to itself, but it becomes a sort of counterpressure, which "forces them to take shelter in a secret "life of self-renouncement." Adn. Manning, Serm. V.

A. D. 453. CH. XLVIII. munion with the Church[1]. He left behind him nearly a hundred and fifty letters.

[1] Id. Hist. Theod. c. 13. § 5. [p. 148.]

XLVIII. Councils in Gaul.

In this same year, 453[2], a Council was held at Angers, on the fourth of October, at which seven Bishops were present[3]; namely, Leo of Bourges, [Eustochius,] Charito, Rumoridus, Viventius of Mans, [Victorius,] and Thalassius, the new Bishop of Angers, whose election was the occasion of this Council. There were twelve canons made, some of which decree, in conformity with the Council of Chalcedon[4], that the clergy shall not plead before civil judges, except with the consent of their Bishops; that they shall not travel without their permission and commendatory letters; that they shall not enter the army, or engage in secular employments; that the vagrant monks shall be excommunicated. Violent assaults and mutilations of the body are forbidden, and the penalty of excommunication is laid on those who assist in delivering up cities[5]. All this marks the disorder consequent upon the incursions of the barbarians, who at that time overran Gaul. It was, apparently, at the beginning of his episcopate, that Thalassius consulted St. Lupus of Troyes and St. Euphronius of Autun respecting some points of discipline. We have their answer still extant[6]: we gather from it their mode of celebrating Christmas-Eve, Easter-eve, and the Vigil of the Epiphany; and that their porters were allowed to marry a second time, but not the Exorcists, or Subdeacons.

[3] Opilione Cos.

[2] Conc. t. iv. p. 1020.

[4] C. Calch. can. 5, 9, 13, 7, 4. C. Andeg. c. 1, 7, 8.

[5] c. 3, 4.

[6] Conc. t. iv. p. 1048.

The second Council of Arles[7] is supposed to have been held about this time, though we neither know the precise year, nor the names of the Bishops who assisted at it; indeed the very number of the canons, which are all that now remains of the Council, has been matter of dispute. As many as fifty-six are given in the collections, but some of them are supposed to have been inserted from other Councils. We may here mention the most remarkable. The tenth provides that "those who have fallen away in time of persecution, and "have voluntarily denied the Faith, shall go through seven "years' penance, according to the Council of Nicæa;" that is, as represented by Rufinus, in his history[8]: for the Council itself, in the eleventh canon, imposed twelve years' penance on them[9]. For the rest, it does not appear that there was at

[7] Conc. t. iv. p. 1010. v. not. Sirmond. ibid. et p. 1812.

[8] Lib. 1. c. 5. can. 12. [Opusc. p. 199.]

[9] Fleury, xi. 21.

this time any persecution except that of the unconverted barbarians who were ravaging the Empire. The twenty-third canon relates to the remains of idolatry which were still to be found among the Gauls. "If within the jurisdic-" tion of any Bishop the infidels light torches, or worship " trees, fountains, or stones, the Bishop who neglects to root " out this abuse, is guilty of sacrilege. If the owner or " the person who authorized the idolatrous act refuse to be " reformed, he shall be excommunicated." The twenty-second states that "penance cannot be given to married people except by consent," that is, cannot be given to one of the two without the consent of the other, because the state of penance made continence obligatory, as appears from the preceding canon.

A. D. 454. CH. XLIX.

When St. Leo was apprized of the re-instatement of Juvenal at Jerusalem, he returned thanks to the Emperor Marcian, in a letter dated[1] the ninth of January, A.D. 454[2]. At the same time he wrote about it to Julian of Cos[3], from whom he had received this agreeable news; he adds that he had received letters from Proterius of Alexandria, containing a satisfactory account of his faith. There was room, we may suppose, for suspecting his sincerity, as he had been a disciple of Dioscorus. But St. Leo complains that when his letter to the Council of Chalcedon was publicly read at Constantinople in the presence of the Bishops and Priests, they had read only the first part, which concerned the Faith, and not the second, which related to the enterprize of Anatolius.

XLIX. St. Leo's letter to Proterius, &c.

[1] Ep. 99.
[2] Actio et Studio Coss.
[3] Ep. 100. (al. 68.)

He wrote some time after to Proterius[4], who had sent him a letter stating his reception of Leo's letter to Flavian. He exhorts him to maintain the purity of the Faith, and to reclaim the followers of Eutyches by shewing them how widely the Catholic doctrine differs from that of Nestorius. "Let " them see," he says, "that you teach nothing but what the " Fathers taught, particularly Athanasius, Theophilus, and " Cyril, whose works you will read to them first, and after-" wards my letter to Flavian, that they may observe how " well they agree together." He also exhorts him to maintain discipline, to uphold the dignity of his Church, and to keep all the Bishops of Egypt under his authority; declaring for his part, that he has the preservation of the canons no

[4] Ep. 103.

A. D. 454. CH. L. less at heart than that of the Faith,—plainly referring to the pretensions of the Bishop of Constantinople. This letter is dated the tenth of March, 454. As the Emperor Marcian vouched for the faith of Proterius, St. Leo wrote to him at the same time[1], begging that his letter to Flavian, faithfully translated into Greek under the superintendence of Julian of Cos[2], might be transmitted to Alexandria by some trusty person, and under the Imperial seal; and that it should be addressed to the Judges of Alexandria, with orders to have it recited in public.

[1] Ep. 104. (al. 69.)

[2] Ep. 102.

L. Dispute concerning the Easter of A. D. 455.

St. Leo was in some difficulty about fixing Easter-Day for the following year, (455,) the eighth indiction. According to the calculation of Theophilus of Alexandria it would be the eighth of the calends of May, that is, the twenty-fourth of April, but this seemed to throw it too late; for it had been supposed up to that time, that Easter ought not to fall earlier than the twenty-second of March, or later than the twenty-first of April[o]. In the preceding year, (453,) St. Leo had written about it to the Emperor Marcian[3], desiring him to

[3] Ep. 94. (al. 64.)

[o] St. Leo mentions these as the limits between which Easter might range (Ep. 94); but there is reason to think that this mode of stating the *earlier* limit was a concession to the Alexandrian system, which was based on the following rules. "The Paschal "14th lune (or day of the moon) shall "never fall before March 21 (the re- "puted vernal equinox), nor after "April 18: if it fall on a Saturday, the "next day is Easter, if on a Sunday, "Easter will be the Sunday follow- "ing." In this scheme, therefore, the limits of Easter were March 22 and April 25. The Latin rule, on the other hand, made March 18 and April 15 the *termini Paschales* (Victor. Præf. p. 4); and as it allowed Easter to fall on the 16th lune, but not before, it is clear that in order to be consistent, it ought to make March 20 and April 23 the limits of Easter. But whatever the truth may be with regard to the earlier limit, it is certain that they made April 21 their *later* limit—a limit obviously irreconcileable with their own maxims: for, supposing the 15th lune to fall on April 15, a Sunday, Easter must be the Sunday following, April 22. This supposed case actually occurred in 417, when at Pope Zosimus's request the feast was celebrated on March 25 "lest "it should be held on April 22" (ne X Cal. Maji die teneretur); Ep. Paschasin. post Ep. Leon. 2. (p. 413.) In the former dispute in 444, St. Leo consented to keep Easter on April 23; but he says that he acquiesced in this only because it made the Paschal limit, April 21, coincide with the Day of the passion (Ep. 94),—the πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, though not the πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον (v. Usher. de Ignat. M. Epist. c. 9.) So great stress cannot have been laid on this April 21 without a cause; and a clue to an adequate motive has been supposed to be discovered (Ideler, Handb. i. 266) in the fact recorded by Prosper (supr. xxvi. 56), that in the year 444, Good-Friday falling on April 21, "out of reverence "for it the anniversary of the city's "foundation passed without Circen- "sian games." Whenever Easter-Day occurred later than the 21st, the great national festival would fall in Passion-Week; and at a time when old Pagan prejudices were still rife, it must have been an arduous and hazardous task to suppress that which yet, if tolerated, would be most revolting to minds occupied in exercises proper to that hallowed tide.

have the question examined by men of the highest skill, in order that Easter might be celebrated on the same day by all the Churches. He had also charged Julian of Cos to press the matter forward[1], and it is evident, from the number of letters in which he mentions it[2], that he attached no small importance to it. The Emperor sent one of his agents to Alexandria with a letter for Proterius, who to satisfy St. Leo, wrote him a long letter, in which the question is minutely examined[3]. He shews that the Pasch ought to be celebrated by the Christians, not on the fourteenth of the moon[p] of the first month, as among the Jews, but on the Sunday following, consequently, when the fourteenth falls on a Sunday, Easter must be thrown forward to the Sunday following, which is the twenty-first. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that by this rule we may have to celebrate Easter in the second month; for this month counts, not from the day of the Equinox, which is always the twenty-first of March, but from the new moon after the Equinox. He adduces several examples in confirmation of this view[q], and concludes that the calculation of Theophilus is right, and that Easter in the eighth indiction, or the year 455, ought to be celebrated on the twenty-ninth of Pharmouthi, which is the

A. D. 454. CH. L.

[1] Ep. 95. (al. 65.)
[2] Ep. 100. (al. 68.) Ep. 102. Ep. 105. (al. 70.) c. 3.
[3] post Ep. 103.

[p] By the 14th day of the moon (or 14th lune) we are constantly to understand the day of full moon. Victorius uses indifferently "Luna xiv" and "plenilunium," (Præf. p. 4.) The age of the moon was dated from its first phasis, not from the actual conjunction which would commonly take place a day earlier. It is evident how much ambiguity might arise from this cause; and accordingly Victorius says that what some called the first lune, others called the 30th and others again the 2nd: (Præf. p. 3.)

[q] In the 89th year of Diocletian, he says, (= A.D. 373), the paschal 14th lune fell on March 24, a Sunday, and Easter was kept on March 31: in 377 it fell on Sunday, April 9, and Easter was kept on April 16. Again, in 387 Sunday, April 18, being the 14th lune, April 25 was Easter-Day; and in 444 when the 14th lune was on April 18th, a Tuesday, Easter was kept on April 23. We learn from St. Ambrose that the Easters of 373, 377, and 387 were observed on the above-mentioned days at Milan also: and that in 360 Easter was kept there on April 23 (*sine ullâ dubitatione majorum*, he adds: Ep. 23. t. ii. p. 887, ed. Bened.)

Any one who is disposed to follow out the subjects of these chapters will find a compendious substitute for the mechanism of Epact, Sunday-letter, and Golden-number in the following rule. It is universally applicable to the Julian Calendar, and with two slight exceptions to the Gregorian also. "Divide the year A.D. by 19, 4, and "7 successively, calling the remainders "a, b, and c: divide $19\,a + M$ by 30, "calling the remainder d; and $2\,b + 4\,c + 6\,d + N$ by 7, leaving a remainder e. Then Easter-Day will be "the $(22 + d + e)$th of March, or $(d + e - 9)$th of April." For the Julian Calendar M and N are constant, (viz. $M = 15$, $N = 6$); but for the Gregorian variable, (being for the present century $M = 23$, $N = 4$.) See Delambre, Astron. t. iii. p. 717; and, for the proof of the formula, Cisa de Grésy in the Memorie d. R. Acad. di Torino: t. xxiv. p. 77.

A. D. 454. CH. LI. eighth of the calends of May, or the twenty-fourth of April. St. Leo yielded rather to the authority of St. Proterius, than to his reasons[r], wishing to avoid a diversity in the celebration of the feast[1]; and he wrote a letter to the Bishops of the Gauls and Spains[2], dated the fifth of the calends of August, after the Consulate of Opilio, that is, July 28, 454, informing them that the approaching Easter would be on the eighth of the calends of May, not on the fifteenth, as some thought; in other words, on the twenty-fourth of April, not on the seventeenth. And so ended the dispute.

[1] Ep. 108.

[2] Ep. 109. (al. 95.)

LI. Paschal Canon of Victorius.

To prevent difficulties of this kind in future, and that he might not be obliged blindly to follow the authority of the Alexandrians, St. Leo had a new paschal-canon drawn up; at least, it seems probable that Victorius composed his by St. Leo's order. Of one thing we are certain—that Hilarus, at that time Archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards Pope, enjoined Victorius[3] to inquire at his leisure into the reason why Greeks and Latins held such different opinions on this point[s], and to shew which method gave the more correct re-

[3] Ep. Hilar. ap. Bucher. in Can. Pasch. p. 1.

[r] The truth is that Proterius's arguments were hardly to the point. He insists, for instance, on the rule that, when the 14th lune falls on a Sunday, Easter must be kept on the following Sunday, to avoid the Jewish Pasch. Now this was a principle recognised by the Roman Church even more fully than by the Greek: for the former (as we have seen) would allow Easter to fall only from the 16th to the 22nd lune, while the latter was content with its being on the 15th.—The real source of the dispute in this case was the difference of cycles; this therefore was the point on which he should have laid out his strength. St. Leo did not admit that Sunday, the 17th of April, *was* the 14th lune. In Victorius's Cycle it is called the 16th lune; and Noris shews in detail that St. Leo evidently considered it to be so: v. Diss. II. de Cyclo Pasch. Lat. p. 124. The *authority* to which St. Leo yielded was that which attached to the Bishop of Alexandria as commissioned by the Nicæan Council to announce annually on what day the following Easter would fall; (Cyril. Prol., ap. Bucher. p. 481, Leo Ep. ad Marcian, *ibid.* p. 795. Proterius in his letter speaks of the 19 years' cycle as one "which cannot be violated," being appointed by the blessed Fathers (i. e. of Nicæa) to be "the pediment, the "foundation, the canon." From this and from the more express passages in St. Ambrose (Opp. ii. p. 882), St. Cyril (ap. Bucher. p. 72), and Dionysius Exiguus (*ib.* p. 485), it has been concluded that the Council itself put forth a cycle. Van der Hagen rejects this theory (Diss. de Cycl. Pasch. p. 172, sqq.), which has met with a strong advocate in Mr. Greswell, Diss. vol. iv. pt. 2. p. 662, sqq.

[s] The causes assigned by Victorius are, 1. the difference of cycles.—There was one, he says, of 84 y., (i. e. 6 × 14, Epiphan. Hær. 51. § 26), one of 95 y. (i. e. 5 × 19), and one of 112 y. (i. e. 7 × 16). Besides these, others had formerly been in use; thus Anatolius (in Præf. in can. Pasch., ap. Bucher. p. 439) mentions cycles of 25 and 30 years. Hippolytus published his ἑκκαιδεκαετηρίς about A.D. 220 (Euseb. H. E., vi. 22; Fleury, v. 51; see an account of it in Browne's Ordo Sæcl., p. 474); St. Cyprian a canon of similar construction in 243, (ad Calc. Opp. p. 61, ed. Fell.); Dionysius his ὀκταετηρίς about 250 (Euseb. vii. 20), and Anatolius his ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς about 270, (Id. vii. 32.) We may infer from

sult. Victorius was a Gaul of Aquitaine, who had, probably, retired to Rome to escape from the Goths. He accepted the commission[1], and, to give greater certainty to his work, undertook to recalculate the whole succession of lunations and days, (i. e. days of the week,) from the beginning of the world, according to the chronicle of Eusebius. He found that the lunar cycle of nineteen years, which the Greeks used, was more to be depended upon than those of the Latins[t], and multiplying it by the solar cycle of twenty-eight years, he made a paschal-canon of 532 years, which was larger than any that had been made up to that time. It commenced, in his mode of reckoning, with the consulate of the two Gemini, which he assigned as the year of the Passion, and ended in the year of the Incarnation, 559, according to our vulgar era. Victorius published this paschal-canon in the consulate of Constantinus and Rufus, or A.D. 457, and from that time he was pretty generally followed by the Latins[u]. The author is sometimes called Victorinus, or Victor.

A. D. 457. CH. LI.

[1] Gennad. de vir. illustr. c. 89. Ep. Vict. ap. Bucher. p. 2.

Epiphanius (Hær. 70. § 14), that the ὀκταετηρίς was commonly employed in the early Church. Elsewhere (Hær. 51. § 26) he speaks of the 84 years' cycle as used by the Jews in our SAVIOUR'S time: and hence many have stated that it was adopted from them by the Christians of the first 200 years: Bingh. xx. 5. § 4, Bucher. p. 132, 419: but this is very doubtful, v. Van der Hagen in Chron. Prosp. p. 367, sqq. It seems, however, that the cycle of 84 y. was in use at Rome before that of 112 y.; for St. Cyril, remarking on the inaccuracy of the former, says that they who introduced the latter *pejus aliquid addiderunt:* (See Ideler, Handb. p. 222, 243).—2. The different ways of calculating the new moon, (*supr.* note q,) 3. and of inserting the *saltus lunæ* (v. Ideler, p. 235. Victor., Præf. p. 3, 4.) 4. The difference as to the *termini Paschales* and the earliest lune on which Easter-Day might fall: *supr.* note p. 5. The error of epact introduced by the 84 years' cycle; *infr.* note t.

[t] 84 Julian years differ from 1039 synodical months by 1d. 6h. 48′ *in defect;* 19 years differ from 235 months by 1h. 27½′ *in excess.* Hence the cycle of 84 y. would give the new moon a day and a quarter too early at the end of one revolution: while that of 19 y. only made it a day too late in the course of its seventeenth revolution, (after 312 years.) The divergency thus produced may be illustrated by the following instance, (Ideler., *u. s.* p. 277.) The three years 298, 382, and 466 were all initial years of the Roman cycle: the new-moon of the initial year given by the table is March 31, which places the full moon on April 13. But the golden numbers of these years are 14, 3, and 11; which, in the Alexandrian scheme gave the 12th, 13th, and 15th, of April for the full moon: so that in this last year the calculations differ by two days. That this discrepancy did actually result, we know by contemporary evidence. St. Cyril (Prolog. § 5. ap. Bucher. p. 483) says, "the lunes which "they wrongly call the 3rd, 16th, and "23rd, St. Theophilus proves by the "heavens to be the 1st, 14th, and 21st;" and to the same effect Victorius, (Præf. § 5. p. 5.)

The only advantage possessed by the Roman cycle was, that on its recurrence it brought back the Paschal full moon, not only to the same day of the month, but to the same *feria* or week-day. Being purchased at the expense of astronomical truth, this was of course only an apparent advantage.

[u] Although Victorius adopted the

A. D. 454. CH. LII.

LII. Satisfaction given by Anatolius.

Anatolius of Constantinople being pressed by the Emperor, offered to satisfy St. Leo, but complained that Leo had given up the correspondence. "I only desisted," says St. Leo[1],

[1] Ep. 101.

Alexandrian plan of inserting the saltus lunæ after every 19th year, and, besides making other concessions, corrected the epact by a reduction of two days, he yet retained so many of the old Latin maxims as prevented an entire uniformity between the Eastern and Western Churches: (v. Ideler, p. 283, sqq.) Not that he himself decides against the Alexandrians:—whenever the two modes of computation produce different results, he sets both of them down, and leaves it to the Pope to choose between them. But as the latter naturally selected the date which was derived from the Latin principle, it several times happened that Easter was celebrated on different days. Thus in the years 475, 495, 496, 499, and 516 the feast was held in the West 8 days later than in the East: (see the Table in L'art de v. l. Dates, t. i. p. 10, 11. ed. 1783.) An analysis of the cases of double dates is given by Ideler, p. 283. At length Dionysius Exiguus (A.D. 525: infr. xxxii. 38) drew up a canon in complete accordance with the Alexandrian principles,—making the Paschal new moon range between March 8 and April 5 (inclusive), and allowing the 15th lune to be Easter-Day. His cycle was immediately received by the Roman Church, though Victorius's canon continued to be used in some parts of Italy so late as A.D. 550: see the fragment of a letter by Victor of Capua in Bede, De Temp. Rat. c. 49; (Opp. t. ii. p. 159, ed. 1563.)

The countrymen of Victorius adhered to his table with greater tenacity. The first canon of the IVth Council of Orleans (A.D. 541) decrees that "the "holy Pasch shall be observed by all "Priests on one day according to the "Latercculus of Victorius," (Labbe, t. v. p. 381.) In 577 Easter was kept at Tours and many other cities of France on the 18th of April (the date assigned by Victorius); some kept it with the Spaniards on March 21; (Greg. T., Hist. Franc. v. 17; infr. xxxiv. 33.) The Alexandrian date was April 25. Again, in 590 (Greg. T., x. 23; infr. xxxv. 6) "was a doubtful Pasch, be-"cause Victor in his cycle wrote, that "the Pasch fell on lune xv, but that, "to avoid the Jewish feast, the Latins "would keep it on lune xxii. Hence "many in the Gauls kept it on the "xvth, but we," at Tours, "on the "xxiind." This is important as shewing that many parts of Gaul had at this time come over to the Alexandrian rule. All traces of difference cease in France before the end of the eighth century.

We are not told on what principle the Spaniards celebrated Easter in 577 on the 21st of March:—whether they always celebrated it on the Equinox, or were following some cycle of their own. At this period they were for the most part Arians; but a few years afterwards (A.D. 587) Reccared, King of the West Goths, joined the Catholic Church, and it was probably then that the 19 years' cycle was introduced. (Ideler, p. 295.) In 620 we find Isidore of Seville continuing the Dionysian table from 627 to 721.

The contest remained longest in the British Isles. The Britons had the 84 years' cycle (as reformed by Sulpicius Severus, according to Usher, de Primord. p. 931), but with some peculiarities, such as keeping the feast from the 14th to the 20th lune, and placing the Equinox (before which the feast could not fall) on March 25; (see Lanigan's E. H. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 372, sqq.) This cycle, which was introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland and thence transferred to the Picts in Scotland, is noticed at large in Cummian's letter to Segienus, (A.D. 634,) ap. Usher., Sylloge Vet. Epp. Hibern. p. 24. The Britons carried it with them in their retreat into Wales; and it also prevailed in some parts of Northumbria: see the account of the conference at Strenæshalc (Whitby), Fleury, xxxix. 36. A letter written about A.D. 710, by the Abbot Ceolfrid, (preserved by Bede, H. E. 5. 22,) conduced greatly to settle the dispute; and Bede completed what his master had begun, so that in the year 729 the 19 years' cycle was received by the greater part of the Britons. In Charlemagne's time and for eight centuries after, Christendom was at unity on this point.

"because I found he sent me no answer at all intimating A. D. 454. CH. LIII.
"that he retracted his ambitious pretensions, especially after
"what occurred in the affair of Aëtius and Andrew; but I
"have never ceased heartily to long for his amendment."
After many letters from the Emperor, Anatolius himself
wrote to St. Leo[1] that the Priest Aëtius had been restored [1] post Ep. 105.
to his former rank of honour in the Church;—which
of course does not mean that he had resumed the office
of Archdeacon; for this, being a Priest, he could not do;
but only that he had been removed from the cemetery, which
was a sort of banishment, and again placed among the clergy
of the cathedral. Anatolius adds, "Andrew, who had been
"honoured with the dignity of Archdeacon, [not by our pro-
"moting him, but by right of seniority,] has been separated
"from the Church along with those who opposed St. Flavian
"and supported Eutyches, though, to be sure, they seemed
"to have made reparation by subscribing the letter of your
"holiness; however, they shall continue in separation until
"we know your will concerning them. As to the decision
"made in favour of the see of Constantinople by the Council
"of Chalcedon, be assured that no blame rests with me. I
"have all my life loved tranquillity, and wished to remain in
"my humble station; but you will find by the Acts that the
"clergy of Constantinople desired it, and the Bishops of
"these parts agreed to it."

Anatolius having thus given satisfaction, St. Leo wrote to
him[2]. He approves of the re-establishment of Aëtius and the [2] Ep. 106. (al. 71.)
deposition of Andrew, and adds, "If Andrew and Eufratas,
"(who, as I understand, has wantonly accused Flavian, of holy
"memory,) condemn by an authenticated writing the error of
"Eutyches as well as that of Nestorius, you shall ordain
"them Priests, after having chosen for Archdeacon a man
"who has never been suspected of these heresies. The others,
"who were involved in the same guilt, shall be restored on
"the same conditions; but those only must be raised to the
"first rank[3], who have constantly been untainted with any [3 ad officiorum primatum.]
"error." As for the ambitious claim of Anatolius, the Pope
does not appear persuaded of his sincerity in this particular.
The letter is dated the twenty-ninth of May, 454.

LIII. Other letters of St. Leo.

St. Leo wrote to the Emperor at the same time on the

A. D. 454. CH. LIV. same subject[1]; and also desires him to put a check on the monk Carosus, whom he calls very ignorant and perverse, and who had seduced a great number of people, maintaining heresy and disparaging the authority of the Council[2]. The Emperor complied with his request, and removed Carosus and Dorotheus from their monasteries, confining them to a place where they could injure no one. A little before this[3], St. Leo had desired the Emperor to send Eutyches to a greater distance, having learned from Julian of Cos that, in the place to which he was banished, he still attempted to deceive, and reviled the Catholic doctrine with the recklessness of a man in despair. Dioscorus died this year at Gangra, the place of his exile; when St. Leo heard of this, he hoped that those who had been perverted from the Faith might now be more easily induced to return[4].

[1] Ep. 107.
[2] Ep. 112. c. 2; 113. c. 1.
[3] Ep. 105. (al. 70.) c. 2.
[4] Ep. 111.

Juvenal of Jerusalem wrote to inform St. Leo of his re-establishment. "I am glad of it," answered Leo[5]; "yet when "I reflect on what has passed, it is but too plain that you "brought your misfortunes upon yourself, and that you lost "the power of opposing heretics by your inconsistency in "approving their error—for this you did virtually when, at "the false Council of Ephesus, you condemned Flavian and "received Eutyches. Ignorance on this subject," he adds, "is utterly inexcusable in men who live at Jerusalem and "have no need of books to know the truth of the Gospel, "since they see with their eyes the places where the mys-"teries were accomplished." He concludes with these two sentences, which are sufficient to quash the heresy of Eutyches: "Neither can the GODHEAD be in its essence pas-"sible, nor would the Truth have deceived us by a feigned "assumption of our nature." The letter is dated the fourth of September, 454. In a letter belonging to this year, St. Leo complains to the Emperor Marcian that the stewards of the Church of Constantinople made up their accounts before secular judges[6]; this, he said, was without precedent and contrary to the received practice, which was that the Bishops should revise the Church accounts.

[5] Ep. 110. (al. 72.)
[6] Ep. 108. c. 2.

LIV. Laws of Marcian in favour of the Church.

Theodosius, the self-styled Bishop of Jerusalem, had retired to Mount Sinai, whose monasteries, deriving their original from Egypt, preserved a close connection with the

parent country. The Emperor Marcian, therefore, sent the Decurion John into Egypt[1], with a letter directed to the monks of the country, to acquaint them with the crimes of Theodosius. He exhorts them to track out his lurking places, and to deliver him and his accomplices to the governor of the province, not in order to punish him as he deserved, but to prevent him from continuing to seduce the ignorant. The Emperor does not fail in this letter to shew the purity of his faith and so obviate the calumnies of the heretics.

A.D. 454-6. CH. LIV.

[1] Leo. Ep. 113. c. 1. C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 8.

It may be that the Decurion John was also charged to publish in Egypt a law issued by the Emperor Marcian against the heretics[2], and specially against the Eutychians, whom it styles Apollinarists[3] and subjects to the penalties formerly laid upon these last: incapacitating them for being either testators or legatees; prohibiting them from ordaining Bishops and clergy on pain of banishment and confiscation of goods; and forbidding them to hold assemblies, or speak against the Council of Chalcedon. This law is dated on the first of August, in the year 455[4]; it is directed to the Præfect Palladius, with orders to see it executed, particularly at Constantinople and Alexandria. In the same year[5], 455, the Emperor Marcian abrogated the law enacted by Valentinian on the thirtieth of July, 370, by which clergy and monks were disqualified from receiving any legacy from women[6]. Marcian permits virgins and women devoted to God to give to churches, clerks, monks, or to the poor, whatever they thought fit, whether by donation or will.

[2] C. Calch. pt. 3. c. 19. Cod. de Hæret. [lib. I. tit. 5.] leg. 8. [3 Apollinaristas, hoc est, Eutychianistas]

[4] Valentiniano VIII. et Anthemio Coss.

[5] Nov. Mart. ult. sive tit. 5.

[6] Cod. Th. de Episc. [l. 16. tit. 2.] leg. 20. Fleury, 16. 41.

We meet with a law of the preceding year, 454,[7] addressed to Palladius, Præfect of the Prætorium in the East, which confirms the privileges of the Churches, and the pensions granted in divers kinds[8] for the maintenance of the poor. It declares "all pragmatic sanctions elicited by ambition or interest in opposition to the canons" to be "null and void;" which seems to have been ordained in execution of the Council of Chalcedon[9]. In the year 456, the Emperor Marcian made a law in favour of the clergy[1], the substance of which was, that they should be subject to no jurisdiction but that of their Bishop. At Constantinople, however, they were liable to be sued before the Præfect of the Prætorium. In

[7] C. de Sacros. Eccl. [l. 1. tit. 2.] leg. 12.

[8] in diversis speciebus]

[9] Supr. c. 19.

[1] C. de Episc. [l. 1. tit. 3.] leg. 25.

A. D. 455. CH. LV.

case of need, the Steward or Defender of the Church of Constantinople was to be their bail, to the amount of fifty pounds of gold. The beadles' fees and the other law-expenses were to be laid at a lower rate upon the clergy.

LV. Death of Valentinian III. Maximus and Avitus Emperors.

Rome in the mean time was the scene of great and agitating changes. The Emperor Valentinian had a quarrel with the Patrician Aëtius[1], which, by the artifices of the Patrician Maximus and the eunuch Heraclius, who governed the Emperor, came to an open rupture, and at last the Emperor resolved to get rid of him. When, therefore, Aëtius demanded of him, with warmth, the performance of his promise, Valentinian killed him with his own hand in his palace. But he had cruelly wounded the feelings of Maximus by defiling his wife[2]. So Maximus availed himself of the friends of Aëtius to effect the destruction of Valentinian, who had imprudently retained them near his person; and as he was walking in the Campus Martius at Rome, two of them surprised and killed him, whilst no one made any attempt to defend him. This was on the seventeenth of March, 455. Such was the end of the Emperor Valentinian the Third, the last of the race of the great Theodosius. He was thirty-six years of age, of which he had reigned about thirty[3].

[1] Chronica Prosp. [t. i. p. 674.] Idat. [t. ii. p. 35.] Marcell. [p. 292.] Cassiod. [p. 230.] Victor. [p. 340.] Chron. Pasch. [p. 320.] Evagr. 2. 7.

[2] Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 4.

[3] Idat. Chr. *u. s.*

Maximus was immediately acknowledged Emperor. He was a Patrician, had been twice Consul, and was descended from the Maximus who had usurped the Imperial power in the time of Theodosius the Great. His wife being dead, he obliged Eudoxia, the widow of the Emperor Valentinian, to marry him; but when she had discovered that he was the author of Valentinian's death, she resented it so much that she sent over to Africa, inviting Genseric, King of the Vandals, with great presents, to come to Rome, which she promised would fall an easy prey. Genseric did not fail to appear, and on the rumour of his arrival many of the nobility and people retired from Rome. Maximus himself made up his mind to leave it, and allowed all to do the same; but his cowardice made him contemptible, the servants of the Emperor Valentinian killed him, cut him in pieces, and threw his limbs into the Tiber on the seventy-seventh day of his reign[4], the twelfth of June, 455.

[4] Prosp. Chron. [p. 675.]

Genseric arrived three days after, and found Rome de-

fenceless. The Pope St. Leo went out of the gates of the city to meet him, and obtained, by his entreaties, a promise that he would be content with the pillage, and abstain from murders and executions. Rome therefore was pillaged with the utmost licence for fourteen days. Among the immense riches which were carried from Rome were the sacred vessels which Titus had formerly brought from Jerusalem[x]. Many thousands were carried away captive; the Empress Eudoxia, who had called in Genseric[t], was conducted to Carthage with her two daughters, Eudoxia and Placidia; Genseric married Eudoxia to his son Huneric, and sometime afterwards sent Placidia to Constantinople with the Empress her mother. A.D. 455,6. CH. LVI. [t] Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 5.

Ten weeks after the pillage of Rome[z], Avitus was elected Emperor in Gaul, where he was Præfect of the Prætorium, and had been declared Master of the soldiery by Maximus. But in the following year, (456,) in the consulate of John and Varanus, Avitus, making a descent upon Italy, was vanquished by Ricimer, and ordained Bishop of Placentia; he died a short time after. [z] Victor. Chr. [p. 341.]

LVI. Death of St. Prosper.

It is at this revolution and the sacking of Rome that St. Prosper ends his chronicle[3], in the eighth consulate of Valentinian, when Anthemius was his colleague; that is, in the year 445; he died soon after, before the year 457. Besides the work already mentioned[4], he had composed a poem on the subject of Divine grace, entitled, *The Ingrates;* also several epigrams, and a collection of sentences from St. Augustine;—for he had made the works of this Father his principal study. His Chronicle begins at the creation of the world, and is divided into two parts: the first ends at the year 378, which is the conclusion of St. Jerome's Chronicle, and the second begins at the year 379, and ends at 455. He had also drawn up a paschal cycle[y]. As he was secretary to Pope St. Leo, some of the ancients[5] ascribe to him the letters of St. Leo against Eutyches. [3] Victor. præf. in Can. [p. 6.] [4] Supr. 26. 24. [5] Ado. Vien. Ætat. 6. [p. 285. C.] Gennad. *u. s.* c. 86. Marcell. Chr. a. 463.

The treatise 'On the calling of the Gentiles,' is commonly said to be his, while others, from the similarity of style and

[x] They were afterwards retaken by Belisarius and carried to Constantinople (Anastas. Bibl., H. E. p. 61. ed. Par.), but soon after transferred thence to Jerusalem, (Procop. de Bell. Vand. ii. 9): *vid.* Reland. de Spol. Templ. c. 13. (ap. Ugolini Thes. t. ix. p. 1146.)

[y] Gennad. de Vir. Illustr. c. 89. Isid. Hisp., Orig. vi. 17: *vid.* Van der Hagen in Chron. Prosp. p. 176.

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sentiment, assign it to St. Leo, and suppose that he wrote it before he was Pope[1]. The author discusses this question; "How is it possible that GOD can *will* that all men should be "saved, since He does all that He wills, and it is certain that "many perish[2]?" The Pelagians said that free-will was the cause of salvation, by drawing down grace upon those who use it well. But by this they destroyed grace, since they attributed it to merit. The author therefore establishes, first[3], the necessity of grace; adding[4], that we are to take care, lest we obscure plain truths, by letting our self-will urge us to pry into those which are hid from us; such as the following[5]: "Why does GOD choose some men, and not others, to be "effectually saved?" We ought not to be more curious than the Apostle, who, when speaking on this subject, did not tell us what we ought to believe, but shewed us what we ought to abstain from looking into. There are then three certain truths in this matter[6]. The first, that GOD 'will have all men 'to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth[7].' The second, that no one does arrive at the knowledge of the truth or attain salvation by his own merits, but by the assistance of grace. The third, that the depth of GOD's judgments cannot be fathomed by human intelligence, and that it is unnecessary to inquire why He does not effectually save all men, whom yet He wills should be saved. If we do not search into the point which transcends our knowledge, we shall find no contradiction in the two first truths.

[1] Quesn. Diss. 2. in S. Leo.
[2] lib. 1. c. 1.
[3] c. 6, 7, 8.
[4] c. 8. [p. 10.]
[5] c. 21.
[6] lib. 2. c. 1, 30. [p. 38, 66.]
[7] 1 Tim. ii. 4.

LVII. The charity of the Bishop of Carthage.

The captives brought from Rome to Carthage were charitably relieved by Deogratias, who had been ordained Bishop there after a long vacancy, in the year 454, at the desire of the Emperor Valentinian[8]. The Vandals and Moors divided these poor slaves among themselves, separating husbands from their wives, and children from their parents. The holy Bishop desirous of preventing this disorder, endeavoured to redeem and set them at liberty, and for this purpose sold all the vessels of silver and gold which were used for the church-service. And because there were no places capable of holding so great a number of people, he appointed them two large churches,—that of Faustus and the New Church,—which he furnished with beds and straw, giving orders every day, that each should be supplied according to his

[8] Vict. Vit. l. 1. c. 8.

need. Among them were many who laboured under sickness, partly from the sea voyage, to which they had not been accustomed, partly from the harsh treatment they met with in captivity. These the holy Bishop constantly attended, going with the physicians on their rounds[1], and according to their advice had food ministered to them in his presence. At night he visited all the beds, asking each patient how he felt. In a word, he gave himself entirely up to the work, deterred neither by his enfeebled limbs nor his decrepit age. The Arians, envious of his virtue, laid several plots for his destruction, but GOD delivered him from them all. He died, however, a short time after, having held the see of Carthage only three years. He was buried privately, while the people were at prayers, from fear that in the ardour of their affection they might carry off his body. The Roman captives lamented his death, as if now that he had left them they felt afresh all the evils of slavery. His memory is honoured by the Church on the twenty-second of March[2]. After his death, King Genseric forbad the ordination of Bishops in Zeugitana and the Proconsular province, in which there were at that time [a hundred and] sixty-four prelates. These gradually died off, so that, at the end of thirty years[3], the number was reduced to three.

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[1 circumibat; *unde* circuitor *i. q.* περιοδευτὴς *medicus; v. Menage, Jur. Civ. Amœnit.* c. 35.]

[2 Martyr. R. 22. Mart.

[3 i. e. at the time Victor was writing.]

LVIII. Genseric persecutes the Catholics.

At this time innumerable Martyrs and Confessors stood forth. Four brothers, Martinian, Saturnian, and two others, were slaves to a certain Vandal [of the sect called Millenarians.] In the same house was a captive maiden named Maxima, of rare beauty. Martinian was an armourer, and much beloved by his master; Maxima had the care of the whole house. The Vandal thinking to increase their fidelity to him, wished them to marry. Martinian gladly consented; but Maxima had been devoted to GOD, and therefore, when they entered the nuptial chamber, she persuaded Martinian to embrace continence. He gained over his brothers, and all five together escaped by night, and went to Tabraca[2], where the four brothers entered a monastery, presided over by a certain Abbot Andrew. Maxima put herself into a society of maidens in the neighbourhood. The Vandal commenced an eager search and at last found them; and having got

[2 A wild district between Utica and Hippo, covered with forests: Juv. Sat. x. 194.

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them again into his power, he put them in irons, and made them undergo various tortures; wishing that Martinian and Maxima should not only live together as man and wife, but be re-baptized.

When King Genseric heard of this, he ordered the master to torture them until they obeyed. He commanded them to be beaten with thick sticks, having sharp points projecting like saw-teeth, so that their bodies were covered with blood, and so dreadfully lacerated that their entrails appeared; yet, after repeated tortures, they always found them healed on the morrow. They were next thrust into a close prison, with fetters on their legs; but these fell to pieces in the sight of a large number of the faithful who had come to visit them: which seemed to be miraculous. Divine vengeance pursued the family of the Vandal. He died—himself and his children, and the best of his slaves and his cattle. His widow gave the servants of GOD to a relative of the King, called Sersaon, but a demon tormented his children and domestics. He mentioned it to the King, who ordered him to send the four brothers bound to a pagan King of the Moors, named Capsur. Maxima was left at liberty, and after thirty years she was still alive, and the superior of a large convent.

When the Confessors arrived at the desert where the Moorish King dwelt, and saw the number of profane sacrifices offered there, they began, by their preaching and manner of living[1], to draw over the barbarians to the knowledge of GOD. Eventually they won over to CHRIST[2] a vast multitude in a country where His name had never before been heard. They next considered by what means the Gospel might be more firmly inrooted and the good seed they had sown be watered by the baptismal showers. They therefore sent some deputies, who, having crossed the desert, arrived at a Roman city, (in other words, reached the territory of the empire.) They desired the Bishop to send Priests and ministers to this converted people, which the Bishop joyfully did. A church was erected, and a large crowd of barbarians baptized. Genseric, receiving an account of this from Capsur, ordered the servants of GOD to be tied by the feet to the back of chariots, which were then driven over places covered with briars and

[1 prædicatione et conversatione suâ]

[2 Christo Domino lucraverunt: cf. κερδήσω, 1 Cor. ix. 19—22.]

thickets, until their bodies were literally carded[1]. The Moors wrung their hands in grief: but the Martyrs looked at each other as they passed, and said, "Brother, pray for me, GOD "has accomplished our desire, this is our road to the king-"dom of heaven." Great miracles took place at their tombs. A. D. 455. CH. LIX.

[1 carperentur]

LIX. Continuance of the persecution.

After this[2], Genseric raged still more fiercely against the Catholics. He sent a person named Proculus into the province of Zeugitana, to compel the Bishops to deliver up the sacred vessels and books, thus depriving them, as it were, of their armour. The Bishops declared they could not give them up, so the Vandals seized them by force, and plundered every thing, taking even the Altar-linen to make shirts and drawers for themselves. Proculus, the perpetrator of this atrocity, died soon after, biting out his tongue piece-meal. At that time, Valerian, Bishop of Abbenza, who was above fourscore years old, boldly refusing to give up the sacred things, was driven out of the city without any attendant, and all persons were forbidden to lodge him in their houses, either in town or country. Thus the holy old man lay a long time stretched on the high road naked, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. The Church commemorates him on the fifteenth of December[3].

[2] c. 12.

[3] Martyr. R. 15 Dec.

In a place called Regia[4], the Catholics opened a church which had been closed, intending to celebrate Easter. The Arians knew of it, and one of their Priests, named Adduit, got some armed men together, and came to attack the Catholics. They entered sword in hand; some of them ascended the roofs of adjoining houses, and shot arrows in at the church windows. A reader, standing in the desk, was singing the Allelujah[a], when he was wounded in the neck by

[4] c. 13.

[a] *Alleluiaticum melos* canebat:—either one of the Psalms that begin or end with Hallelujah (Ps. 104—107; 111—117, &c.) called *psalmi Alleluiatici* by St. Aug. in Ps. 105, (t. iv. p. 1191), and one of which was called the "Alleluia response" (Cassian. Inst. ii. 11): or, more probably, the chant, consisting of several repetitions of the word Hallelujah, which was commonly sung after the reading of the Epistle, or, as directed by the IVth Council of Toledo, after the Gospel. (Labbe, t. 5. p. 1709.) This latter mode was a peculiarity of the Mozarabic rite; Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 6. § 4. The Roman Church, according to Sozomen, formerly used it only once a year, at Easter (vii. 19); a practice maintained by Vigilantius (Hieron. adv. Vig.; t. ii. pt. 2. p. 281.) In the African Churches it was sung during the whole of Quinquagesima, or the period between Easter and Whitsunday, (August. in Ps. 110. t. 4. p. 1244. Serm. 210. 252. t. 5. p. 931. 1042), but then only; many Churches used it at other seasons as well (Epp. 36. 55. t. ii. p. 75. 141), all, however, omitting it during Lent and resuming it at Easter; shewing, says St. Augustine, that after

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an arrow, the book dropped from his hand, and he fell down dead. Many were killed with arrows and javelins on the steps of the Altar. Those who did not die on the spot were afterwards tortured, and then by the King's command almost all of them massacred, especially those who were of mature age. The Church commemorates these Martyrs on the fifth of April[1]. Elsewhere, as at Tinuzuda, the Arians rushed in furiously at the time of the Communion, threw the Body and Blood of CHRIST upon the pavement, and trampled upon it with their feet. Genseric, acting under the advice of his Bishops, had ordered that none but Arians should serve in his house or in that of his children. They found a Catholic, named Armogastus, in the service of Theodoric, the King's son. He was several times tortured with thongs tightly twisted round his legs and round that brow on which CHRIST had planted the banner of His cross[2]. He looked up to heaven, and the thongs burst asunder. They next used stronger cords, of hemp, but these broke as soon as he invoked the name of CHRIST. Being tied up by one of his feet, with his head downward, he was seen to sleep as if he lay on a bed of down. When Theodoric his master beheld this, he wished to have his head cut off, but Jocundus, his chaplain, an Arian Priest, dissuaded him, saying, "You must "kill him by multiplying your torture; if you behead him, "the Romans will begin to preach him up as a Martyr."

[1] Martyr. R. 5. Apr.

[2] in quâ Christus vexillum suæ fixerat crucis, *sc. in baptismo.* Fleury; *Après avoir fait le signe de la croix,*]

the trials of this life we shall enter into peace where "Hallelujah will be our "meat, our drink, our still-energizing "rest (*actio quietis*), our whole joy;" (Serm. 252. t. 5. p. 1042. Cf. Serm. 255. p. 1050). In some places its use pervaded the employments of common life: it was sung by the countryman of Bethlehem following his plough (Hieron. Ep. 34. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 552), was the word first lisped by children (Ep. 57. p. 593), and formed the burden of the boatman's song (Sidon. Apoll. ii. Ep. 10.) It was the κέλευσμα by which Christians cheered one another on through the voyage of life (Aug. de Cantico Novo c. 2. t. vi. p. 591), and their song of thanksgiving when any of their party reached the shore of eternity. (Hieron. Ep. 84. p. 662.)

Isidore (Origg. vi. 19) remarks on *Hallelujah* and *Amen* being retained in all languages, that so the Church on earth may re-echo the very words of the Blessed in heaven, (see Rev. xix. 4.) In singing the Hallelujah (according to the description of later writers) the voice was kept suspended on each syllable, in full intonation, through several bars (in plures neumas vel neumatum distinctiones pertrahimus, Rupert., de Div. Off. i. 35), suggesting thoughts "of that state, "when there shall be no need for the "utterance of words, but by the mere "act of thought, mind shall shew to "mind all it contains in itself:" Amalar. iii. 16; quoted by Bona, *u. s.*, ii. 6. § 5. cf. de Psalmod. c. 16. § 7.

On the omission of the word from the English Liturgy, see Wheatly, iii. 7. § 5: it is popularly retained in the hymn for Easter-Day.

Throughout the Empire the barbarians gave the name of *Romans* to the old inhabitants of the provinces[1]. Theodoric therefore sent Armogastus into the province of Byzacena to work at drains and dykes; then, to increase his shame, he sent him to keep cows near Carthage, [where every body might see him.] Meanwhile the Confessor, having it revealed to him that his death was near, called a Catholic named Felix, the Prince's steward, and said, "I beseech you, as you will "answer for the same before GOD, to bury me under this "holm-oak." Felix, who looked upon him as an Apostle, answered, "GOD forbid, I will inter you in a church with the "honour you deserve." Armogastus insisted upon it, and Felix unwilling to grieve him, promised. The holy Confessor died a few days after. Felix set about digging at the foot of the tree, but the hardness of the earth and the roots stopped him. At length having cut through these, and digging on, he found a coffin of the finest marble, as if put there expressly for him.

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A person named Archinimus, of the city of Mascula, was assailed by various artifices to make him renounce the Catholic Faith; the king himself condescended to flatter him, and promised to load him with wealth. At last he condemned him to be beheaded; but loth to confer on him the glory of martyrdom, he gave secret directions, that, if at the moment of execution he shewed any symptoms of fear, they were to put him to death; if he remained firm, they were to spare him. The Confessor displayed unshaken courage, and was left alive.

Saturus, Steward of Huneric's house, often made free-spoken remarks upon Arianism. An Arian Deacon, named Marivadus, or Varimadus, laid information against him, and Huneric pressed him to become an Arian, threatening, in case he did not comply, to take from him his house and substance, his slaves, and children, and even his wife, and to marry her before his face to a camel-keeper. Saturus challenged them to do their worst; but his wife, unknown to him, asked for a short delay. She came to him in a secluded place, where he was praying; her clothes were torn, her hair loose, her children came after her, and she held in her arms a little girl still at the breast. She threw it down

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at her husband's feet, before he was aware of their presence, and embracing his knees, said to him, "Pity me, sweetest, "pity thyself, and these our children, and reduce them not "to slavery; we are of noble descent; do not expose me to "an infamous marriage, and that while you are living. GOD "sees well that you will do this unwillingly." He answered in the words of Job[1], "'Thou speakest as one of the foolish "'women.' If you loved me, you would not drag me to the "second death[2]. Let them do what they will, I will still re- "member the words of my LORD[3]; 'If any man leave not his "'wife, his children, his lands, his house, he cannot be my "'disciple.'" He was stripped of every thing, and reduced to beggary; he was forbidden even to appear in public. The Church honours these three martyrs on the twenty-ninth of March[4].

[1] Job ii. 10.

[2] ad secundum mortem. Fl. *à une seconde mort.*]

[3] Luke xiv. 26.

[4] Martyr. R. 29 Mart.

After this Genseric ordered the church at Carthage to be shut up; and scattered the Priests and ministers, (for there was no Bishop,) to various places of exile. This lasted up to the time of the Emperor Zeno. Genseric caused a great deal of injury to the Catholics of several provinces beyond the limits of Africa, as in Spain, Italy, (especially the southern part,) Sicily, Sardinia, Greece, Epirus, Dalmatia, and even Venetia. For being strengthened by the assistance of the Moors, after the death of Valentinian[5], he sent out vessels in the spring of every year, to make descents, first on Italy and Sicily, and then on the provinces of the Eastern empire, pillaging wherever they came, carrying off great numbers of captives, and ruining whole cities.

[5] Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 5.

LX. The Empress Eudocia abandons the schism.

The Empress Eudocia, the widow of Theodosius, who was at Jerusalem, heard with extreme grief of all that happened at Rome,—the violent death of the Emperor Valentinian her son-in-law, the irruption of the Vandals, the captivity of her daughter Eudoxia and of her grand-daughters, who were carried off to Carthage. Moreover[6], her brother Valerius, and her daughter's son-in-law Olybrius, often wrote to her to leave the Eutychians, and return to the communion of the Catholic Church. She was in great perplexity of mind, not being willing to act against her conscience, or to prefer the love of her relations to what she believed the true Faith. She resolved, therefore, to consult the most renowned hermits. She

[6] Vit. S. Euthym. p. 64.

sent Anastasius, Chorepiscopus of Jerusalem, to Antioch, to St. Simeon Stylite,—at that time a great light of the Church, —with a letter in which she described the state of her soul, and desired his counsel. He answered, "Know that the "devil, seeing the richness of thy virtues, has desired to sift "thee as wheat, and the scoundrel[1] Theodosius, being his in- "strument, has filled thy soul with darkness and confusion. "But be of good cheer, thy faith hath not failed. But I "marvel much, that, being so near the fountain-head, thou "shouldest come to draw at so distant an outlet. Thou "hast the divine Euthymius, follow his instructions and be "saved." A. D. 455. CH. LX. [1 λυμεὼν]

When Eudocia had received this answer, being told that St. Euthymius never entered cities, she ordered a tower to be erected in the highest part of the whole Eastern desert, about thirty furlongs to the south of his lavra, that she might the more frequently converse with him. She sent Cosmas, the Warden of the Cross, and Anastasius, the Chorepiscopus, to seek him. They did not find him at his lavra, for on the news of her intended visit he had retired to Rubas; so taking with them Theoctistus one of his disciples, they found him, and after many entreaties, with great difficulty induced him to come to the tower, which had just been built, and on the site of which a monastery was afterwards founded. The Empress was overjoyed at the sight of the Saint, and throwing herself at his feet, said, "Now I see that GOD has visited "me by your presence." The holy old man, after having blessed her, said[2], "Henceforth, my daughter, take heed to "thyself. These fatal calamities in Italy happened to thee, "because thou wast led astray by the villany of Theodosius. "Lay aside, then, this unreasonable obstinacy, and in ad- "dition to the other three general Councils, of Nicæa against "Arius, of Constantinople against Macedonius, of Ephesus "against Nestorius, receive likewise the definition put forth "by the Council of Chalcedon. Withdraw thyself from the "communion of Dioscorus, and embrace that of Juvenal." Having said this, he prayed in her behalf[3], took his leave of her, and retired. [2 p. 66.] [3 ὑπερευξάμενος]

Eudocia, struck with admiration of his virtue, followed his directions, as if GOD had spoken to her by his mouth. She

A. D. 455. cir. LX. immediately returned to Jerusalem, and by the mediation of the Priests Cosmas and Anastasius, was reconciled to the Archbishop Juvenal and the Catholic Church. Her example brought back great numbers of laymen and monks whom Theodosius had seduced. Elpidius, the Archimandrite, shook off the delusion[1], but Gerontius continued in the schism, with a large body of people whom he drew after him; among whom were even two monks, Marcianus and Romanus, who [2κοινοβία] left the Abbot Elpidius, and afterwards founded monasteries[2], one at Bethlehem, the other at Tekoah.

[1] p. 67.

END OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH BOOK.

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